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Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier
1753-1758



Culture Service

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AT FORT ALLEN
An illustrative woodcut by Alexander Anderson (1775-1870)

Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier, 1753-1758

BY

WILLIAM A. HUNTER



COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL AND
MUSEUM COMMISSION

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Preface

JUST OVER two centuries ago the Province of Pennsylvania, a colony founded by pacifist Quakers, entered unwillingly upon an extensive program of military action. By the spring of 1756 more than a dozen forts garrisoned by paid Pennsylvania troops marked for the first time a boundary between the white settlements and a hostile wilderness. On the historical scene these frontier forts, the first ones built by Pennsylvania, stand like monuments marking the close of a day of unarmed colonists and friendly Indians and the beginning of an era of frontier conflict and troubled Indian relations.

As symbols of the kind of western frontier which Pennsylvania thereafter shared with its neighbors, these forts have long held a strong historical and romantic appeal. Samuel Hazard, concluding his series of *Pennsylvania Archives* in 1856, chose to end the final volume with a collection of notes regarding the forts known to him; and in 1893 the General Assembly authorized Governor Robert E. Pattison "to appoint five persons to make inquiry in relation to the various forts erected by the early settlers of this Commonwealth prior to the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three, as a defense against the Indians. . . ."

The findings of this committee, the *Report of the Commission to Locate the Site [sic] of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, were published in 1896 in two volumes. Familiarly known as *Frontier Forts*, this work was not designed as a history, and considered as such it has obvious shortcomings; for the members of the commission very sensibly divided the area of the State among them for research, and each man necessarily wrote his own report. Inevitably these reports vary in style and accuracy, and the publication as a whole lacks unity; the Provincial forts of the French and Indian War, for example, are divided among three different sections of the work where, moreover, they are mixed with forts of later date. Despite these drawbacks, the report long remained the standard work on the subject, and was reissued with some additional material in 1916.

Since that time many shorter articles relating to the forts have been published, and much additional material has come to light. However,

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the published articles usually have dealt with individual forts or with those of a limited area, the new material has not been widely used, and there has been no later general work on the subject.

At the instance of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, the late Professor Wayland F. Dunaway, dean of Pennsylvania historians, undertook to remedy this deficiency by preparing a manuscript history which took more recent publications into account and which presented the material on a historical basis rather than on the geographical system of the *Frontier Forts*. Even as this work was in progress, however, further original materials, such as the Contrecoeur papers with their new light on the French forts, became available; so it was decided to prepare a more detailed work based as far as practical on the original sources. Fuller treatment and the factors of available time and funds have dictated the decision to limit the present volume to the forts constructed before the Forbes campaign of 1758. A subsequent volume, it is hoped, will include the forts built by the British in 1758 and those of later date.

For the period covered by the present volume, each fort is allotted a separate section, and where necessary the account is carried beyond the year 1758 in order to round out the story. Regional interest and the work of local historians warrant in some instances the telling of a fort's history in fuller detail than its military significance alone would have required. In addition, the histories of some forts as previously known must be corrected and amplified in the light of new information. For both these reasons, therefore, and incidentally to illustrate the nature of the sources, numerous and sometimes extended excerpts from the documents have been incorporated into the text, where a number of them appear in print for the first time. On the other hand, a recently published study by Charles Morse Stotz renders superfluous here any detailed account of the methods of fort construction, concerning which the reader should consult *Drums in the Forest*, the joint work of Mr. Stotz and Alfred Procter James.

Although much of the interest in the frontier forts, and especially in those built by this Province, has been regional or local, these forts were in fact essential parts of organized and inclusive military undertakings and cannot therefore be dealt with either adequately or accurately without some consideration of the over-all military system and situation. The present study, accordingly, while presenting a separate account of each fort, seeks also, without attempting a purely military

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history, to give an account of the military establishment adequate to show the significance and the role of the individual fort.

It has seemed desirable also to include some background account of the Indians. Even during the French and Indian War, when opposing Europeans built the forts and fought the few pitched battles, it was the Indian raids that gave the continuing if irregular hostilities their distinctive quality; and in subsequent years Indian warfare was a familiar and characteristic aspect of frontier life. Despite its importance, the Indians' part in the hostilities is not easily documented, for it was in the nature of their warfare to avoid direct encounters with the troops and the forts. Typically, their forays consisted of surprise attacks upon isolated settlers or their families. Few of these attacks were of the proportions of a massacre, and only in their cumulative effect were they of military significance.

Because of the essentially personal nature of the Proprietary government, records of provincial Pennsylvania are widely scattered. Aside from those in State custody, the greatest wealth of relevant documents is in the extensive holdings of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Very valuable collections are also held by the American Philosophical Society, and there are significant papers widely scattered in other repositories. Without the generous assistance of the custodians of these record collections the present volume could not have been written. Staff members of all the institutions visited were most helpful, and the provision of microfilm copies has facilitated the use of records not otherwise readily accessible.

Plans for the present work originated with Dr. S. K. Stevens, Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. The Commission itself has made publication possible, and its members have shown a warm interest in its progress. Special credit is due Dr. S. W. Higginbotham, Director of the Bureau of Research, Publications, and Records, not only for final editing of the manuscript but for many helpful suggestions throughout. Mr. Donald H. Kent, Chief of the Division of Research and Publications, made available his own collections of notes and was of constant assistance. Mr. Frank Martin, Artist Designer, prepared the maps. To them and to other associates on the Commission staff, including Mrs. Autumn L. Leonard, Miss Martha Simonetti, Dr. Paul A. W. Wallace, and John Witthoft, the writer offers his warmest thanks.

Members of the secretarial staff of the Commission have performed an indispensable service, and special credit is due Mrs. Carole Bowling

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and Mrs. Ruth Ann Myers, who prepared the final manuscript for the printer.

Special thanks are owed to Dr. John W. Huston for generous help, to Douglas Macfarlan, Anthony G. Reese, Director of the Bureau of Land Records, and to Charles Morse Stotz for maps and drawings, and to H. E. Luhrs, Miss Lily Lee Nixon, D. W. Thompson, and Nicholas B. Wainwright. Use of the Contrecoeur papers was greatly facilitated by unpublished translations prepared by the late Dr. Armen Kalfayan, Miss Blair Hanson, and Donald H. Kent, though these have not always been followed in detail. Other translations were made by the present writer.

Tribute should be paid finally to the late Professor Wayland F. Dunaway, whose unpublished work, though conceived and executed on a different design from the present volume, was the first step toward a more reliable account of Pennsylvania's frontier forts.

Chapter V of the present work appeared in the July, 1955, issue of *Pennsylvania History* under the title of "First Line of Defense, 1755-56," and the account of Fort Carlisle included in Chapter IX was published in a different form in 1956 by the Hamilton Library and Historical Association of Cumberland County, as *The Provincial Fort at Carlisle (1755-1758)*.

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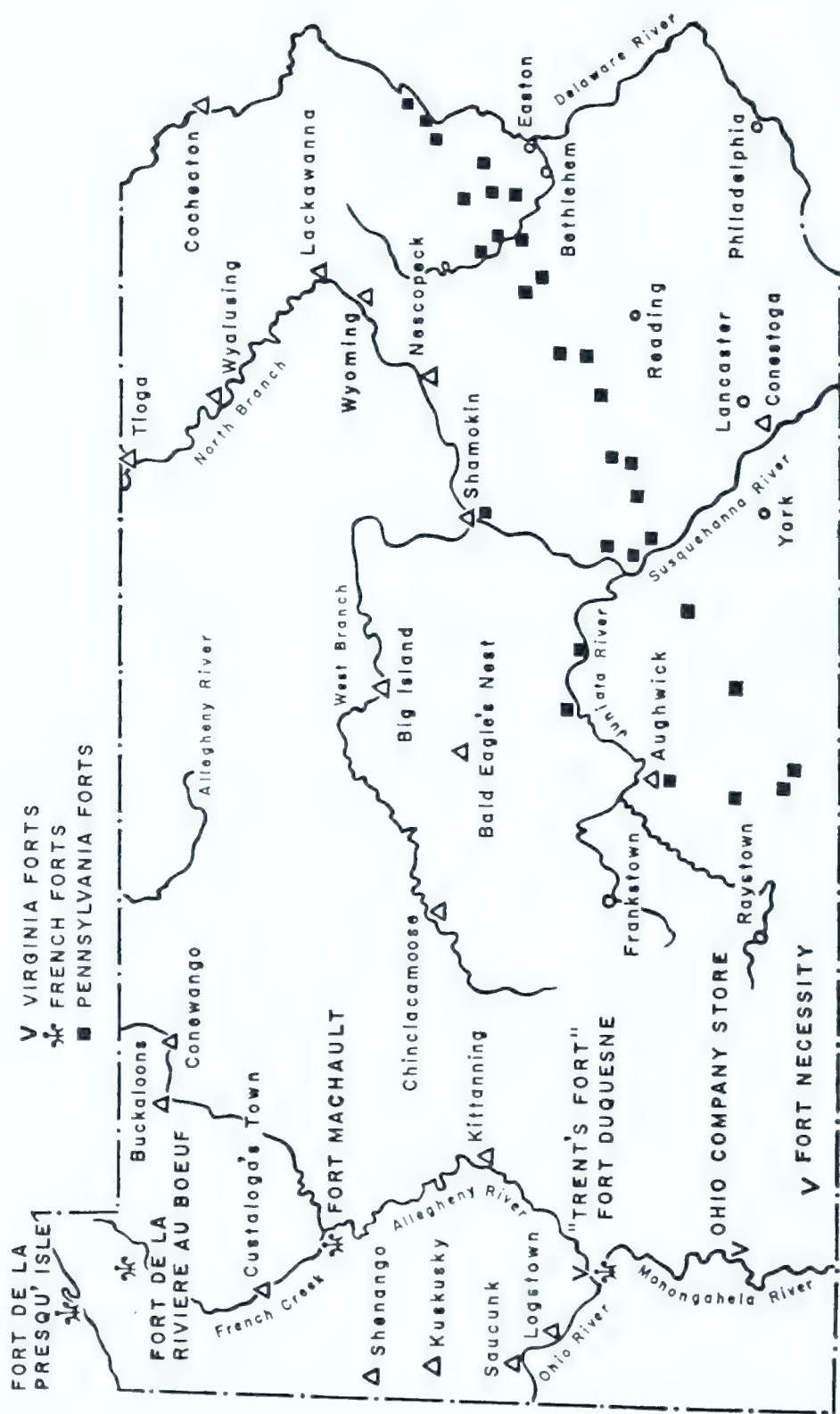
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ABBREVIATIONS

ASQ, V-V	Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Fonds Viger-Verreau
<i>Bouquet Papers</i>	Stevens, Kent, and Leonard (eds.), <i>The Papers of Henry Bouquet</i>
BRH	<i>Bulletin des Recherches Historiques</i>
<i>Col. Bouquet Papers</i>	Stevens, Kent, and Roland (eds.), <i>The Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet</i>
CR	Pennsylvania, <i>Minutes of the Provincial Council</i> ; cited as <i>Colonial Records</i>
<i>Dinwiddie Papers</i>	Brock (ed.), <i>The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie</i>
<i>French Invasion</i>	Kent, <i>The French Invasion of Western Pennsylvania</i>
<i>Frontier Forts</i>	Pennsylvania, <i>Report of the Commission to Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania</i>
<i>History of Bouquet Johnson Papers</i>	Darlington (ed.), <i>History of Colonel Bouquet</i> Sullivan, Flick, and Hamilton (eds.), <i>Papers of Sir William Johnson</i>
<i>Mercer Papers</i>	Mulkearn (ed.), <i>George Mercer Papers</i>
<i>Montcalm Journal</i>	Casgrain (ed.), <i>Journal du Marquis de Montcalm</i>
NYCD	O'Callaghan and Fernow (eds.), <i>Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York</i>
PA1, PA2, PA3, PA5, PA8	Pennsylvania, <i>Pennsylvania Archives</i> , First, Second, Third, Fifth, and Eighth Series
<i>Papiers Contrecoeur</i>	Grenier (ed.), <i>Papiers Contrecoeur</i>
<i>Péan Memoir</i>	<i>Mémoire pour Michel-Jean-Hugues Péan</i>
PMHB	<i>Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography</i>
<i>Pouchot Memoir</i>	Hough (ed.), <i>Memoir upon the Late War in North America</i>
PPC	Papers of the Provincial Council, in Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Division of Public Records
PR	Provincial Record, in Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Division of Public Records
<i>Précis des faits</i>	<i>Mémoire contenant le Précis des faits . . .</i>
RAPQ	<i>Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec</i>
<i>Statutes at Large</i>	Pennsylvania, <i>The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania</i>
<i>Wilderness Chronicles</i>	Stevens and Kent (eds.), <i>Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania</i>

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The Frontier Background

THE STORY of Pennsylvania's frontier forts begins, and ends, on the upper Ohio in the western part of the present State. This fact is one that does not fit the conventional pattern, which would have the first white settlers erecting blockhouses and palisades at settlements in a narrow space between the forest and the sea; and then abandoning these first fortifications and building new ones farther inland as they extended their settlements. However, this was not the course of events in Pennsylvania.

For a time in the seventeenth century such a fortified coastal frontier had existed on the lower Delaware, where Dutch and Swedish settlements antedated the founding of Pennsylvania. Printzhof, founded in 1643 on Tinicum Island just below present Philadelphia, was the administrative center of New Sweden, not the capital of Pennsylvania; and although Swedish settlers became loyal residents of Penn's province, the purpose and policies of the older colony were of a different character from those of its Quaker successor. Dutch conquest of New Sweden in 1655 and English conquest in 1664 brought changes of regime; but within what later was Pennsylvania they occasioned little change beyond the arrival of a small number of English settlers.¹

From 1681, however, when William Penn received his charter, until 1755, when enemy-instigated Indians attacked the white settlements, Pennsylvania flourished under a government which neither erected fortifications nor maintained a militia—and which was notorious for its grudging and evasive responses to royal appeals for contributions to intercolonial defense.² In 1747, it is true, in the threatening days of King George's War, a non-Quaker, Benjamin Franklin, founded the "Association," an organization of volunteer militia companies whose elected officers received commissions from the Proprietors'

¹ This is not to discount the importance of the Swedish and Dutch colonies in initiating European settlement and in the development of Indian relations. To identify their governors as Pennsylvania officials, however, is anachronistic.

² These maneuvers are traced in some detail in Robert L. D. Davidson, *War Comes to Quaker Pennsylvania, 1682-1756*, which, despite its title, deals with official Provincial action rather than with specifically Quaker reaction.

Lieutenant Governor; and one of these companies, an artillery unit, in 1748 erected the Association Battery below Philadelphia. Except that the officers' commissions were granted under the general authority of Penn's charter, however, these Associators had no legal basis and received no governmental support.³

Of the factors that contributed to Pennsylvania's distinctive character, the most obvious and most important was the widely known and respected pacifism of the Quakers. So strong was the Quaker impress on the young colony that the Quakers maintained control of the Assembly until the French and Indian War despite their declining proportion in the population and despite the return of Penn's descendants to the Anglican communion. It is a mistake, nevertheless, to see an expression of Quaker pacifism in the Pennsylvania Assembly's every objection to supplying military contributions; in part such opposition was the familiar resistance of legislatures to Proprietary or Crown proposals; in part it was the even more familiar objection of elected officers to spending money for purposes not their own.

A second and closely related factor was the generally peaceful nature of the southern Delaware bands, the Indians with whom the Quaker settlers had the longest and closest relations. A half-century of contact with Dutch and Swedish traders had accustomed these people to Europeans; and the position of prestige which they enjoyed among their Algonquian relatives added to their value as friendly neighbors. Perhaps this early, and certainly at a later time, the Delawares were generally identified as a "woman nation." This designation, puzzling to Europeans, apparently was not in its original sense derogatory, but characterized a people who did not go to war; the term certainly did not characterize the northern Delaware bands, the Munsees or Minisinks, who were notoriously less placid. If recognition of the Delawares as a "woman nation" antedates the period of Quaker influence, these Indians must at least have been greatly encouraged and confirmed in the role through successive decades of unobtrusive, undogmatic Quaker influence and example.⁴

A third contribution to the peaceful state of early Pennsylvania, though one not much noted in its records, was the destruction of the

³ For the origin of the Association, see *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 26 and December 3, 1747. See also Theodore Thayer, *Pennsylvania Politics and the Growth of Democracy, 1740-1776*, 21-24.

⁴ See Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Woman, Land, and Society: Three Aspects of Aboriginal Delaware Life," in *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, XVII (1947), 1-35, and the works there cited.

Susquehannocks, a once-powerful group of Indians who had established themselves on the lower Susquehanna River and who seem to have served as middlemen in the exchange of beaver skins and European trade goods through the region between the upper Ohio and the Delaware-Chesapeake coastal area.⁵ The destruction of the Susquehannocks as a people in 1675-1676, in consequence of epidemic and of hostile attacks by Iroquois and white, left a vacancy filled chiefly by the southern Delawares who, having acquired a taste and a need for European goods, quickly assumed something of the Susquehannocks' role in the fur trade. Drawn to the Ohio by this business, they took white Pennsylvania traders with them; and by 1725 both Indians and white traders were firmly established there, having their chief center in the neighborhood of present Kittanning.⁶

It is to this close association of white trader and Indian hunter, made possible by the factors just noted, that Pennsylvania owed its advantage of early and effective entry into the Ohio lands. The acculturated southern Delawares and their trader associates in fact constituted the first wave of settlers from southeastern Pennsylvania to the Ohio. The outcome, as Provincial Secretary Richard Peters later wrote, was that by 1753

[George] Croghan & others had Store houses on the Lake Erie all along y^e Miami River, & up & down all the fine Country waterd by y^e Branches of y^e Miamis, Sioto, & Muskingham Rivers & upon the Ohio from Buckaloons an Indian Town near its head to below y^e Mouth of y^e Miami River an Extent of 500 miles on one of y^e most beautiful Rivers in y^e world. . . .⁷

It should be noted finally that by circumstances of history and geography Pennsylvania was not until 1753 faced with real threat of armed foreign invasion. New England and New York might suffer French attack and shape their policies to the threat; Pennsylvania was

⁵ William A. Hunter, "The Historic Role of the Susquehannocks," in John Witthoft and W. Fred Kinsey, III (eds.), *Susquehannock Miscellany*, 8-18.

⁶ For some early references to movement of southern Delawares into former Susquehannock territory, see *Pennsylvania Archives*, [First Series], I, 67; Maryland, *Archives of Maryland*, XX, 509-10; Pennsylvania, *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania (Colonial Records)*, III, 36-38 (1840 ed.). Cited hereafter as *PA1*, *Maryland Archives*, and *CR*, respectively.

⁷ Richard Peters, "Detail of Indian Affairs," Papers of the Provincial Council, Public Records Division, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission. Cited hereafter as PPC. Printed in *PA1*, II, 238. The original manuscript, a rough draft, includes a trial text in the right column and corrections and additions in the left. Wretched writing and misapprehension of the relation between these columns has occasioned the repetition in print of "ye Ohio from Bar" [*sic*] and "the Ohio from Bockaloons" [*sic*].

more fortunately situated for experiments in pacifism, and the chief danger here, perhaps, was the attractive one of accepting continued peace and prosperity as visible proof of the rightness of the Assembly's proceedings and of the wrongness of its critics and opponents.

The reaction of some Quaker politicians to the outbreak of Indian hostilities in 1755 illustrates the fatuity of such doubtful logic. William Penn's Indian policy, resting on belief in human brotherhood and practiced under favorable circumstances, had proved remarkably successful, so that until the French and Indian War Pennsylvania had no western frontier as we have come to understand the term, no borderland set apart by lawlessness and by conflict between white and Indian. The obvious interpretation seemed to be that the Indians behaved well because they had been treated fairly in accordance with Quaker principles. But when these Indians turned hostile in 1755, Israel Pemberton and others, embittered by their disputes with the Proprietaries and their agents, added the dubious corollary that the Indians were behaving badly because the Proprietaries had dealt with them unjustly. To prove their point (and to discredit their political opponents), Pemberton's faction persuaded a Delaware leader, Teedyuscung, to charge the Penns with fraud in a twenty-year-old land purchase.⁸ The "Walking Purchase" of 1737 was not above criticism, it is true; but what should be more obvious is the fact that the notoriety of that transaction was far more the consequence of these political accusations than the occasion for them.

Pemberton's was a blind logic—blind to the active agency of the French in provoking Indian hostility, blind to the fact that the hostile Indians included some, notably Shingas, in no way affected by the "Walking Purchase," blind to the latent discontent of any dispossessed people, no matter how humanely or peaceably removed.

The important fact must not be lost in the bitterness of bickering between Assembly and Proprietary, in the prejudiced interpretations of an old treaty, or in the confused representations of the able but overprompted Teedyuscung; the important fact is Pennsylvania's

⁸ Theodore Thayer, *Israel Pemberton, King of the Quakers*, 81 ff. The Quaker thesis is embodied in [Charles Thomson,] *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delawares and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest*, a partisan tract which more than one unwary reader has mistaken for sober history. Teedyuscung made his accusation at Easton in November, 1756, but Thomas Penn, in England, had heard of the scheme months earlier; on February 14, 1756, he wrote to Richard Peters: "Dr. Fothergill has an account of another charge Friends has made up for the Delawares that they have been cheated. . . ." Penn Manuscripts, Penn Letter Book, IV, 232, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

three score years and ten of peace. Because of this peace the government of Pennsylvania built no forts before 1755; because of it Pennsylvanians gained an early interest and advantage in the Ohio country; because of it war, when it came, was not in its origins a conflict between whites and Indians.

Although association with the westward-trending Delawares gave Pennsylvania traders an early advantage in the Ohio country, the fur trade drew venturers from other directions as well. Those from Maryland and Virginia reached the upper Ohio by way of the Potomac, the Youghiogheny, and the Monongahela. Of Maryland traders, the best known is Colonel Thomas Cresap. Hugh Parker, a Maryland trader working for Lord Fairfax of Virginia, was trading at Kuskusky (present New Castle, Pennsylvania) in 1748, the first year in which this important Indian settlement is named in the records. The Ohio Company, of which more will be said, included Marylanders as well as Virginians among its members.⁹ Despite their handicap of distance, French traders also visited this country. Establishment of a permanent French post at Niagara in 1720 lessened Seneca interest in a Pennsylvania trade outlet. A dozen years later the French were reported building "a Fort with Loggs, at or near the said River Ohio"—possibly in the vicinity of present Warren on the upper Allegheny—and one of their traders, Toussaint Le Cavelier, was making regular visits to Shawnees who, removed from eastern Pennsylvania, had then recently settled on and near the lower Kiskiminetas River.¹⁰

While the situation and responses of the Indian population of the Ohio country need not be examined in detail, a few points deserve stressing. The most significant, probably, is the fact that the eighteenth-century Indian residents of this area did not represent the original population but rather were Indians who had moved in from other places. Most of them had come from nearer the coast, from New York, eastern Pennsylvania, and adjacent areas, and therefore had a background of contact with Europeans and of adjustment to such contact. If this was true especially of the southern Delawares, it was also true, though perhaps in lesser degree, of all these migrants.

A second point closely related to the first is that in consequence of their acculturation, or adjustment to European contacts, these Indians

⁹ Lois Mulkearn (ed.), *George Mercer Papers Relating to the Ohio Company of Virginia*. Cited hereafter as *Mercer Papers*.

¹⁰ For references to the French post, see *PAI*, I, 304, 309-10. For Toussaint Le Cavelier, see *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec, 1929-1930*, 217-87 *passim*; *CR*, III, 473; *PAI*, I, 299-301, 304-306. The first of these is cited hereafter as *RAPQ*.

of the upper Ohio were dependent upon the white trader. Firearms, metal utensils, and European fabrics were essential features of their adopted manner of life; and the Indians themselves carried on little of the traffic in these commodities. So, though the Indians grumbled about prices and complained of the whiskey traders, they regarded trade itself as an absolute necessity.¹¹

On the other hand, the same Indians who invited the white trader had no welcome for the white settler. At the beginning the settler was no problem. For a time Pennsylvania's interest was one of trade only. This colony's western limits were fixed by charter; and although the lines had not been run and their location remained uncertain, colonization presumably would not affect them. Husbanding their resources, the Penns preferred to grant land in relatively small tracts to individual settlers; and their policy of not giving title until the Indians' claim was satisfied went far toward avoiding trouble. When Pennsylvania traders were ranging far beyond the Ohio, the settlements were still comfortably enclosed between the Delaware River and the Blue Mountain; later, in 1750-1751, the Proprietary government sought on the one hand to protect the traders on the Ohio and acted on the other hand to expel settlers from unpurchased lands beyond the Blue Mountain between the Juniata and the Maryland line.¹²

Virginia's contrasting policy was a source of earlier uneasiness to the Indians. In theory, at least, Virginia extended limitlessly westward and northwestward; and this fact alone was an encouragement to the making of extensive land grants and to schemes for colonization. Thomas, Lord Fairfax, as a conspicuous example, was heir to a great tract of land between the Rappahannock and the Potomac; and in 1745 the King's Privy Council upheld Fairfax's contention that the inland boundary of this tract ran between the sources of the two rivers. The Ohio Company, set up in 1747, received Governor Sir William Gooch's permission two years later to take up 200,000 acres of land west of the Alleghenies. Christopher Gist, who in 1750-1752 explored

¹¹ When once-hostile Indians returned to amity with the English, their first concern was for the renewal of trade. Seizing on the opportunity offered by Christian Frederick Post's trip to the Ohio in September, 1758, the Delaware leaders Shingas and the Beaver sent back requests for a saddle, good cotton bed lace, and good linen for shirts. *Missions, Personalia: Christian Frederick Post, Archives of the Moravian Church*.

¹² As early as March 23, 1731, Seneca chiefs sent a message to Governor Patrick Gordon approving trade at Adiego (Kittanning) but objecting to the building of permanent houses there. Abr. Wendell to Governor Gordon, Kanaossedago, March 23, 1730/1, PPC; contemporary translation in *Pennsylvania History*, XXI (1954), 345. For the 1750 evictions, see *CR*, V, 440-49.

the Ohio lands for the company, duly reported a Delaware Indian inquiry "where the Indian's Land lay, for that the French claimed all the Land on one Side the River Ohio & the English on the other Side."¹³ However, a common Indian-British apprehension of French intervention on the upper Ohio tended to discourage dissension for the time.

A third significant aspect of the Indian population of the upper Ohio is that of the relationships among the various groups who had entered the region. Here it is necessary to distinguish between the conventions of official European policy on the one hand and the actual situation on the other; and the matter is further complicated by the fact that for official purposes the British and the French subscribed to contradictory interpretations of Indian claims and relationships.

The Indian population of the upper Ohio area probably increased through the first half of the eighteenth century and declined during the latter part; but at best it was surprisingly small by European standards. In 1731 Pennsylvania traders estimated it at less than seven hundred warriors, "about three hundred Delawares, two hundred & sixty Shawanese, one hundred Asswekalaes, & some Mingoes"; in addition, there may have been some Senecas settled on the upper Allegheny at that date.¹⁴ In 1748 Conrad Weiser reported 789 warriors; the largest groups were then the Delawares, Senecas, and Shawnees, in about equal number (165, 163, and 162, respectively); the Iroquois as a whole (including Senecas) accounted for 292 of the total of 789.¹⁵ Since all these Indians were immigrants without any traditional claim to specific localities and since their first interests were in the hunting, there was no fixed assignment of territory and no recognizable pattern of settlement.

The League of the Iroquois, by no means a political unity by European standards, was a loose but ingenious aboriginal confederacy which, banning conflict among its component members, increased the effectiveness of these members in dealing with outsiders. In the inter-tribal wars over the beaver trade, which broke out soon after the beginnings of trade between Indians and Europeans, the Iroquois were highly successful, seizing control of extensive hunting territories,

¹³ William R. Darlington (ed.), *Christopher Gist's Journals*, 78; see also *Mercer Papers*, 39, 269.

¹⁴ See the depositions in *PAI*, I, 299-302, 305-306. The tabulation, 301-302, includes some misreadings: *a Alymaepy* (Alymacapy), *Assunnepachlaupon* (Assunnepachta upon).

¹⁵ Weiser Journal, *CR*, V, 351; see also Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, I, 31.

whose weakened and disunited previous occupants and users they destroyed or scattered.¹⁶ Unable and in fact not greatly inclined to occupy these depopulated areas themselves, the Iroquois permitted and even encouraged nonhostile Indians to settle upon them in communities among and over whom the League attempted with varying success to maintain a measure of order. Sometime after the downfall of the Susquehannocks, for example, such an Indian community was formed at Conestoga, near the site of the old Susquehannock towns. Composed originally of Senecas and of Susquehannock captives, this settlement attracted bands of roving Shawnees, Conoys from Maryland, and Delawares from farther east; and although most of these Indians later removed to the Ohio or to the Iroquois country farther north, the Conestoga Indian community survived until 1763.

On the basis of their success in the seventeenth-century beaver wars, the Iroquois claimed the Ohio country as hunting territory and regarded those of their people who went there as having the status of hunters. As both supply and demand fell off in the beaver trade, the upper Ohio lost its special value, and the Iroquois evidently raised no objection to other Indians' use of it; on the contrary, they subsequently rather encouraged settlement there as a means of discouraging raiding attacks by Indians living to the south and west of the region. The actual extent and nature of Iroquois influence in this country fluctuated with events and are very difficult to evaluate; and the picture is complicated by the League's claim to authority in the region, coupled with its denial of official status to those of its people who lived there. As the Indian colonies on the Ohio attained some stability, their members began to conform to the familiar practices of Indian diplomacy by designating "council fires" at which formal councils must be held and by choosing "kings" who were the recognized spokesmen for their groups; and despite the League's reluctance to accord official status to its people on the Ohio, these formalities were completed several years before the French and Indian War.

Superimposed on these realistic if varying relationships were two contradictory patterns of official European claims. In the British interpretation, the Iroquois were British allies and had given or entrusted their lands to the Crown. As a matter of policy, therefore, the British supported Iroquois claims in their most extensive form and, interpreting them in a sense more European than Indian, found in them

¹⁶ George T. Hunt, *The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations*.

a basis for claims to British sovereignty on the Ohio.¹⁷ Adjunct to this interpretation was the official position that the Indians resident upon these lands were subjects, wards, or vassals of the League. That the Iroquois had in fact become the object of a measure of terror, submission, or respect on the part of their neighbors cannot be contested; but the precise nature of these relationships was inconstant and ill documented and certainly not to be defined in terms of European politics. Nevertheless, the fiction of Iroquois empire or suzerainty had practical as well as theoretical value, justifying the practice of dealing through the League only rather than with a number of disparate Indian groups. New York—where, once the power of the Hudson River Indians was broken, the Iroquois were in fact the only significant groups—soon adopted an Iroquois-based Indian policy. Pennsylvania, once the Delawares had surrendered their original lands, found it advantageous to follow suit. Finally, at a treaty held at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744, Virginia recognized Iroquois authority on the Ohio, and the League acknowledged the Virginia claim there, with the understanding that Virginia should recompense the League as the Ohio lands were settled.

The French, of course, took a quite different position, claiming the Ohio on the grounds that "M. de La Salle took possession of it when it was inhabited by the Shawnees, against whom the Iroquois made war incessantly, and who have always been our friends."¹⁸ The French encouraged the removal of Shawnee bands from eastern to western Pennsylvania, where they settled principally near the mouth of the Kiskiminetas (*Rivière d'Atigüé*) and where the French trader Toussaint Le Cavelier paid them regular visits in the 1730's. Subsequently, about 1745, the Shawnees having the strongest French sympathies moved farther west, and another band from the Wyoming Valley settled at Logstown (Ambridge, Pennsylvania); but the latent hostility of all these Shawnees toward the Iroquois was very useful to the French. At the same time, neither this support of the Shawnees nor the French denial of Iroquois control of the Ohio was of great practical significance to the League; and the latter point was in fact

¹⁷ This British claim rested upon the reputed Iroquois submission of their lands to the Crown in 1701 and on the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, which acknowledged the Iroquois as under British dominion. Extent of Iroquois territory by British definition is shown by the John Mitchell map of 1755.

¹⁸ Conseil tenu par des Tsonnontouans . . . , September 2 [-3], 1753, and Conseil des Chaouanons de Sonioto, July 17, 1754, Fernand Grenier (ed.), *Papiers Contrecoeur et autres documents concernant le conflit anglo-français sur l'Ohio de 1745 à 1756*, pp. 53-58, 61-62. Cited hereafter as *Papiers Contrecoeur*.

more a contradiction of English than of Indian claims. In any event, these theoretically unfriendly gestures were offset by more practical steps. The French post at Niagara provided a base for trade and diplomatic relations from the Genesee country to the Forks of Ohio; and missionary work among the Iroquois provided the French with valuable native intermediaries, the "French Mohawks" or Caughnawagas. Weiser noted in 1748 that of the seventy-four Mohawk warriors then on the Ohio twenty-seven were "French Mohawks."¹⁹

The period of Anglo-French hostility known as King George's War (1744-1748) brought the tensions and alliances on the Ohio into sharper relief. In 1747, during this period of hostility, George Croghan aided and encouraged some Indians who attacked the French, and he and the Indians then appealed to Pennsylvania for help. Assisted by some of the Ohio Indians, segments of the Wyandots and the Miamis left the French, resettled at Kuskusky (near present New Castle, Pennsylvania), Conchake (Coshocton, Ohio), and Pickawillany (Piqua, Ohio), and entered into alliance with the British. Then, in the following year, Croghan and Conrad Weiser delivered presents from Pennsylvania and Virginia to the allied Indians at Logstown. These and subsequent negotiations between these two colonies and the Ohio Indians brought protests from the Onondaga Council of the Iroquois, who denied the authority of their Ohio "hunters" to transact business; but the growing significance of that region made "direct" negotiation with the Onondaga Council in fact the slower and more devious procedure.²⁰

Among the Indians themselves, this greater emphasis on the Ohio is reflected in the establishment of a council fire at Logstown and the appearance of the Seneca Tanaghrisson, the "Half King," as spokesman for the resident Indians. Both institutions are first documented in 1748 and evidently were then of recent origin. Tanaghrisson, it is true, is named in a document of the previous year, but not as a "half king."²¹ It is commonly assumed (but not known) that he was appointed by the League; but if so, his role was modified by circumstances. In practice he spoke for the Indians on the Ohio, and in the events leading into the French and Indian War he acted more as an agent of Virginia than of the League.

¹⁹ Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels*, I, 31, note.

²⁰ See generally Nicholas B. Wainwright, *George Croghan: Wilderness Diplomat*; and Paul A. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, Friend of Colonist and Mohawk*.

²¹ Weiser Journal, *CR*, V, 358; Adecaghtonadoe, Tanareeco, *et al.*, to President [Palmer], Allegainey, April 20, 1747, PPC, printed in *PAI*, I, 737-38.

The first official business transacted at Logstown apparently was Croghan's delivery of the Pennsylvania present in April and May, 1748, at which time it was agreed to hold there the council at which Weiser delivered the further Pennsylvania and Virginia presents in August and September of the same year. The demand made by the Indians at Kuskusky that this later conference be held at their town and the acknowledgment by Tanaghrisson and Scarroyady (Iroquois deputy to the Shawnees) that they were "new biginners" in diplomacy attest to the recency of these diplomatic arrangements. Designation of Logstown as a council place evidently was not an act of the League. Replying in 1751 to a message from Virginia, the Indians at Logstown asserted that "our Brothers of Pennsylvania have kindled a Council Fire here." Virginia accepted this arrangement and in June, 1752, met the Ohio Indians here in a somewhat inconclusive effort to obtain ratification of the Lancaster treaty of 1744. Incidental to the Logstown treaty of 1752, the Half King and the Virginia commissioners recognized Shingas as "king" of the Delawares on the Ohio; and in this instance Pennsylvania followed Virginia's lead.²²

As has been noted, the war of 1744-1748 was also the occasion for the organization in Pennsylvania of the extralegal (but officially approved) Association. As an effective force, this volunteer militia had very serious shortcomings. It could draw on no public funds, and it had no basis for effective discipline. Even discounting the concentration of Quakers about Philadelphia, that area, the most populous but also the least threatened part of the Province, could supply the largest number of men, while the exposed back country had the smallest number. This last defect was aggravated by the fact that the territorial form of organization impeded mobility; however, since the Province suffered no attack during King George's War, this shortcoming was of no immediate consequence. On the credit side, this first experiment in preparedness gave Pennsylvanians a taste of military training in an inclusive, if loosely organized, defense system. Moreover, the Association furnished both a name and a model for the first companies raised at the time of French and Indian hostilities some eight years later. There are suggestions that units of the Association may have maintained nominal existence through these years; and in any event

²² Croghan journals, *CR*, V, 287-89, 537; Weiser Journal, *ibid.*, 349-50, 358; minutes of treaty at Carlisle, *ibid.*, 685; minutes of treaty at Logstown, *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XIII (1905-1906), 155, 167-68; see also *Mercer Papers*, 61-62, 133-35.

their officers naturally would be looked to for leadership in time of emergency.²³

The period of nominal peace beginning in 1748 saw little slackening of hostilities on the Ohio. In 1749 a French expedition commanded by Céloron de Blainville entered the Allegheny by way of the Chautauqua portage from Lake Erie and, descending by boat to the mouth of the Miami, carefully mapped the courses of the river and laid formal claim for France to the lands bordering it. In their progress the French warned off the English traders; and the resident Indians, as well as the traders, began to voice the opinion "that their Brothers the English ought to have a Fort on this River."²⁴

The first definite proposal for a Pennsylvania "Fort or Block-house" on the Ohio soon followed, in the form of the Proprietary offer of £400 toward the expense of building and £100 annually for maintaining a garrison:

I think, an House with thick Walls of Stone with small Bastions might be built at no very great Expence, as it is little matter how rough it is within side; or a Wall of that sort perhaps fifty feet square, with a small Log House in the middle of it, might perhaps do better: the Command of this might be given to the principal Indian Trader, and he be obliged to keep Four or Six Men at it, who might serve him in it. . . .

The Assembly, however, who preferred to call the proposed structure "a strong House upon the *Ohio*," declined this offer.²⁵

In the light of later developments, it is interesting to note that the proposed blockhouse—or strong house—was designed to protect traders, not settlers, and that the enemy envisioned was French, not Indian. It may be noted too that even the strongest of the later Provincial forts was not built of stone.

The French countered proposal with action. On June 21, 1752, a party of Chippewa and Ottawa Indians, led by a French officer, Charles Langlade, attacked the Miamis at Pickawillany, killed and ate their pro-British chief, and scattered the resident Indians and the traders. In lesser incidents other Pennsylvania traders were despoiled of their

²³ Lancaster County Association officers, 1747-1748, *Pennsylvania Archives*, Fifth Series (PA5), I, 22-25. Note the 1754 reference to "Capt. Thomas McKee," CR, V, 761-62, and the 1755 one to "Coll^o Benjamin Chambers," PA1, II, 463-64.

²⁴ George Croghan to Governor Hamilton, Logstown, December 16, 1750, as entered in the manuscript Provincial Record, cited hereafter as PR; printed in CR, V, 497.

²⁵ An Extract from the Proprietarie's Letter, as entered in PR, M, 115; printed in CR, V, 515; *Pennsylvania Archives*, Eighth Series (PA8), V, 4153.

goods and imprisoned. Events clearly foreshadowed greater French attempts to gain control of the Ohio.

A sobering feature of these developments is the discrepancy they point up between the extent and development of Pennsylvania trade in the Ohio country and the inability of the Province to protect that trade in time of danger. When Governor James Hamilton received news in May, 1753, that a French army was actually on the march, he at once sent messengers to the Ohio to warn the Indians; and the sources indicate that it was upon receipt of this warning that the Ohio Indians served on the French the first of three formal notices forbidding them to proceed. Unfortunately, however, Pennsylvania could offer the Indians little but encouragement. Writing to Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia on May 6, Governor Hamilton informed him of the warnings he had received and of the message sent to the Ohio Indians, and acknowledged his inability to initiate more effective action:

I should be well pleased to know whether it be intended by your Colony to erect any kind of Fort on the Lands granted to the Ohio Company, and my Reason for desiring this Information is that I have received Directions from the Proprietors of Pennsylvania to enter into any [sic] reasonable Measures to assist You in any Design of that Sort; only taking your Acknowledgement that this Settlement shall not prejudice their Right to that Country. . . .²⁶

What opposition the French encountered in their occupation of the upper Ohio came not from Pennsylvania but from Virginia and her Indian ally the Half King.

If the French intervention strained relations between Pennsylvania and her Indian allies, it proved damaging also to relations among the Indian groups themselves. Two sets of relationships were affected by this event; one the relations between the Onondaga Council and the Iroquois on the Ohio, the other those among the Ohio groups themselves.

The Iroquois on the Ohio had always enjoyed a degree of independence. This was a natural consequence of their remote position and was a matter of no concern to the Onondaga Council so long as it occasioned no conflict. The attitude of the League, as has been noted, was simply that the Ohio colonists were "hunters," who of course could not conduct their own diplomacy but must abide by the decisions reached by the Onondaga Council. The 1744 agreements entered into

²⁶ PR, M, 115; printed in CR, V, 629-30.

by Virginia and the League at Lancaster and Pennsylvania's support of the anti-French incidents of 1747 furnished occasion for a breach. A delegation of Ohio Indians had visited Philadelphia in November to ask aid for themselves and their allies at Cuyahoga; and though they later, to the Iroquois agent, Shikellamy, professed entire obedience to the League, they readily accepted the subsequent establishment of a council fire at Logstown, as well as the gifts delivered there. In 1750, when Conrad Weiser invited the Six Nations to meet with the Virginians at Winchester to ratify the Lancaster treaty of 1744, the Indians countered by proposing to meet at Albany.

After some pause I told them, that I believ'd the Governor of Virginia could not come to Albany, and would perhaps give the Presents to the Indians at Ohio, as the Ohio Indians were one and the same with the Six United Nations, and of their own Blood— they made answer that the Ohio Indians were but Hunters and no Counsellors or Chief Men, and they had no Right to receive Presents that was due to the Six Nations, although they might expect to have a Share, but that Share they must receive from the Six Nation Chiefs, under whom they belong.²⁷

As has been said, Pennsylvania and Virginia continued, however, to meet and treat the Ohio Indians at Logstown; so, despite these Indians' lip service to Onondaga, the relations were strained.

A further basis for possible friction among the Ohio Indians was the problem of relations among the various resident groups. To say that the Iroquois "owned" the Ohio country and that other Indians resident there were their "subjects," "vassals," or "tributaries" is far from a simple statement of fact, and at best involves application of European political terms to a quite alien situation. That the Iroquois had great influence among the Ohio peoples is undeniable, however, whatever the terms used to describe the situation; and, generally speaking, that influence was greatest nearest the Iroquois home country. Even this influence was inadequate, however, wholly to control and protect the various resident groups; relationships between Indian groups constantly shifted and were profoundly affected by European trade and politics.

Such, then, was the status of things in the Ohio country on the eve of the French invasion. Pennsylvania had traders there but no settlers. Virginia and Maryland were pushing projects for settlement. The Indians in the region were recent migrants among whom the Iroquois

²⁷ PR, M, 89; printed in CR, V, 478.

exercised a strong but ill-defined influence. They were at peace with the whites, but they were becoming increasingly concerned by the threat of white settlement. The French claimed the Ohio country and were determined to forestall its occupation and control by British colonists. The situation was uneasy, but as the year 1752 ended there were no troops and no forts in western Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER TWO

The French Invasion and British Resistance

FRONTIER FORTS in Pennsylvania were the product of French expansion and occupation of the upper Ohio Valley. Their story begins with the establishment of the first French posts on Pennsylvania soil in 1753. This produced Virginia and British opposition, including the erection or partial erection of a few hastily constructed forts. Braddock's defeat in 1755 insured French domination until General Forbes' expedition in 1758. This chapter presents a brief review of the developments in this period as an introduction to a detailed study of the Virginia and French forts contained in the two succeeding chapters.

THE FRENCH INVASION, 1753

The French establishment of posts on the upper Ohio in 1753-1754 came as the culmination of a long process. Behind this move, so alarming to English officials, was the story of French penetration into the heart of the continent, by way of the St. Lawrence to the Great Lakes, by way of the Lakes to and beyond the Mississippi, and along that river from its upper courses to the Gulf of Mexico. Behind their entry into the upper Ohio lay French development of the fur trade, diplomatic dealings with the Indians, the planting of missions, and the establishment of forts along a line from Montreal to Niagara, to Detroit, and thence by the Maumee and the Wabash to the lower Ohio.

The French action must be seen, moreover, as a response to the aggressive entry of English traders into this Ohio country. By establishing relations with the Wyandots, the Miamis, the Ottawas, and other western Indians, they extended their influence, damaged French trade, disrupted French relations with the natives, and threatened the whole French position. If these English traders were to be stopped, they must be deprived of their bases in that area.

The French establishment of military posts in this region had been preceded by earlier activity there. At their Niagara post, dating from

1720, the French had dealt with the western Iroquois, endeavoring to weaken English influence among them; and from here Toussaint Le Cavalier had operated among the Iroquois and the Shawnees. By way of Niagara in 1739, Longueuil's expedition had crossed by Chautauqua Lake to the upper Allegheny, and then had descended that river and the Ohio, to which Longueuil laid formal claim for France by setting up the royal arms at present Big Bone Lick, Kentucky.¹ King George's War, accompanied as it was by Indian trouble encouraged by English traders, sharpened French apprehension. In 1749, accordingly, Céloron de Blainville, following in the steps of Longueuil, led the expedition which made official claim to the upper Ohio, warned English traders from the region, and—especially at Logstown (Chiningué) on August 8-11—advised the Indians to accept French friendship. Within two years the French sent Philippe-Thomas de Joncaire back to Chiningué to reaffirm Céloron's speeches and established a trading post which operated there until the time of the military occupation.²

Wise after the event, French officials later asserted that the establishment of armed posts on the upper Ohio had been a mistake and that the French should have been content to drive out the English traders and to win over the Indians through trade.³ It cannot be certain, however, that the commercial approach would have been more successful than the military. Goods reached the upper Ohio faster and more cheaply from Philadelphia than from Quebec; and, in the end, Indian alliances must have proved flimsy materials on which to base control of the country.

Despite the background of earlier posts established at Niagara, Detroit, and elsewhere, and that of previous activity on the upper Ohio itself, the French action of 1753 was a massive undertaking, involving the necessity of moving large numbers of men and their equipment over long and difficult routes of march and the attendant problems of supplying such a force. A further hazard was the uncertain attitude of the resident Indians, most of whom were Iroquois

¹ Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent (eds.), *The Expedition of Baron de Longueuil*. The expedition is noteworthy for demonstrating the value of the Ohio route between Canada and Louisiana and for the De Léry-Mandeville map of 1740, an unaccountably uneven portrayal of the Ohio but probably the first one based on formal firsthand observations.

² C. B. Galbreath (ed.), *Expedition of Celoron to the Ohio Country in 1749*. The Bonnacamp map, a product of this expedition, shows the courses of the Ohio with remarkable accuracy.

³ *Memoire pour Messire François Bigot*, quoted in Guy Frégault, *François Bigot, Administrateur français*, II, 72.

and Delawares on friendly terms with the English. Finally, the chief of the proposed French posts was to be established in an area where English traders already were seated, at a place much more accessible from the neighboring English colonies than from Canada.

Military as the French undertaking was in character, it was nevertheless not, strictly speaking, an act of war. Between the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in October, 1748, at the end of King George's War and the British declaration of war on May 17, 1756, Britain and France were nominally at peace. It was a period of dubious peace to say the least, including as it did not only the French occupation of the upper Ohio but also the unsuccessful Virginia and British efforts to oppose and dislodge the French forces. The fact remains, however, that the French acted only to establish effective control over land to which they had previously laid claim. Only in the eyes of the British—who of course also claimed the region—was the French action an "invasion."⁴

The French venture of 1753 was carried out under the authority of the Marquis Duquesne, who at the end of July, 1752, had succeeded the Baron de Longueuil as governor of New France. However, by a curious arrangement, governmental responsibility in the colony was divided between the Governor, who represented the crown and had the military command, and the Intendant, whose functions, generally civil, included the procurement of supplies. François Bigot, intendant since 1748, was thus also much concerned in the Ohio venture; and a letter he wrote on October 26, 1752, is worth quoting for its summary of the French plan:

To accomplish this, it is necessary to send 2000 Frenchmen with 200 of our domiciliated savages to this river [the Ohio] by way of the Chatakoui[n] [Chautauqua] portage in the spring; to build a store house at the lower end of this portage on the shore of Lake Erie, and another at the end of this same portage on Lake Chatakoüin; likewise, to make a fort at La Paille Coupée [present Irvine, Warren County, Pennsylvania] where M. de Joncaire is located, another at the Written Rock [McKees Rocks, below Pittsburgh] or at Chiningué [Logstown, present Ambridge], and a third at Sonhioto [Scioto River]. The garrisons of these forts will be taken from the 2000 men; the remainder will go to spend the winter with the

⁴ The present account of this decisive French undertaking owes much to Donald H. Kent, *The French Invasion of Western Pennsylvania, 1753*, which, utilizing the recently published *Papiers Contrecoeur* and other French sources, supplies information not to be found in previous studies of this subject. Cited hereafter as *French Invasion*.

Illinois, if they see they will be unable to reach Montreal in the fall. . . .⁵

Bigot, not one to pass up the opportunity, furnished supplies to his personal profit. After the war, he and some of his associates were convicted of embezzlement, and Bigot lost the whole of his dubiously acquired fortune.

Since New France is commonly thought of as comprising the Great Lakes drainage area and Louisiana that of the Mississippi and its tributaries, one might wonder why this expedition to the Ohio was undertaken from Canada. In view of the close ties between the Ohio country and that about the Lakes, it had been proposed to transfer the whole area from the administration of New Orleans to that of Quebec; and in 1749 a partial transfer had been made. The Illinois country by this arrangement remained part of Louisiana, but the Ohio, with the posts of the Miamis, White River, and Ouiatanon, was placed under the commandant of Detroit.⁶

The year 1753, therefore, found the French about to enter upon the actual expedition. Governor Duquesne had named Captain Pierre-Paul de La Malgue, Sieur de Marin, to head the expeditionary force, with Michel-Jean-Hugues Péan as second-in-command. Among the officers, the Chevalier François Le Mercier, in charge of engineering and artillery, deserves special mention, for it was under his supervision that the new French forts were to be built. At the beginning of February the first detachment of troops set out from Montreal on their way to the Ohio. On the Ohio itself at this time, Joncaire was stationed at the Seneca town of La Paille Coupée (Brokenstraw, or Buckaloons) near the point where the expedition was expected to enter the Ohio (the Allegheny); and another French agent, Pierre-Louis Boucher de Niverville, Sieur de Montizambert, was operating a trading post near Logstown, intended site of the major French fort on the river.

The first French detachment, which left Montreal on February 1, consisted of 250 men under the command of Lieutenant Charles Deschamps de Boishébert. Its destination was the Lake Erie end of the Chautauqua portage (near present Westfield, New York), where Boishébert was to prepare for the arrival and passage of later bodies of troops; and it arrived there about the middle of April. Meanwhile,

⁵ Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent (eds.), *Wilderness Chronicles of Northwestern Pennsylvania*, 41. Cited hereafter as *Wilderness Chronicles*. See also *French Invasion*, 14.

⁶ Guy Frégault, *Le Grand Marquis Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil et la Louisiane*, 335.

however, the Governor learned of the harbor at Presqu'isle (present Erie, Pennsylvania); and, persuaded that this would provide a better approach to the Ohio, he had on March 23 ordered the expedition to go by this route rather than by way of Chautauqua. Still later, hearing that the Presqu'isle landing might present some difficulty, Duquesne decided to entrust the operation to Marin himself; but before news of this change of plans reached him, Boishébert and his detachment effected the landing at Presqu'isle about May 3.

Meanwhile, on April 15 the first detachment of the main force, seventy men commanded by the engineer Le Mercier, had left Montreal; and about a month later this officer arrived at Presqu'isle to direct the building of the first French fort (Fort de la Presqu'isle) within the present bounds of Pennsylvania.⁷

On the eve of Le Mercier's departure, the Governor on April 14 sent orders to Captain Claude-Pierre Pécaudy de Contrecoeur, commandant at Fort Niagara, whom he instructed to inform the local Iroquois, settled at "the Village of the Portage," of the French intention to settle on the Ohio;⁸ and in a later report Contrecoeur wrote of the "grateful way" in which the Indians had received this formal notice. It remained to be seen, of course, whether the Indians on the Ohio would take the same attitude.

Captain Marin, commander of the expedition, set out from Montreal on April 26, and about June 3, a month after the initial landing at Presqu'isle, he arrived there with the main force. With a base firmly established, the French were ready to take the next step; so about June 20 Marin chose the site for the second fort (Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf), which Le Mercier began to build on July 12. This fort, at the site of present Waterford, marked the southern end of the Presqu'isle portage and was the first fort on the waters of the Ohio.

Marin's second-in-command, Péan, arrived at Niagara late in July with the last consignments of men and supplies; and from that place he made a visit to Presqu'isle for a conference with Marin and Le Mercier on August 14. By this time difficulties were apparent. Marin had begun a month earlier to complain about irregularities in the shipments of provisions; and now sickness had become a problem. At this stage, the plan of campaign for the year called for the building of three more forts: Anjou, at Venango (present Franklin, Pennsylvania); Duquesne, at Chiningué (Logstown); and Sonihoto (Scioto);

⁷ It may be noted that the "Erie Triangle" was the last territory acquired by the State, in 1792.

⁸ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 31-32.

and it assumed a force of 1,800 men. Taking account of the state of the provisions and of the condition of the men, the three officers now concluded that the size of the expedition must be reduced: Leaving thirty men to garrison Presqu'isle and sixty to man the boats, twenty to garrison Le Boeuf, and thirty at Anjou, Marin would enter the Allegheny with a force of 1,350 men of whom 130 would garrison Duquesne, and 100 Sonihoto.

Even this was to prove too optimistic an appraisal. Nevertheless, Marin began to clear French Creek (*Rivière au Boeuf*) for the better passage of boats; and Joncaire, summoned from La Paille Coupée, took post at Venango. Meanwhile, the French received and rejected the first protests of the Ohio Indians. Sometime in June apparently, the Delawares about Venango had delivered the first protest, evidently a feeble one. In early July a delegation of Ohio Iroquois, apparently headed by Scarroyady (the Iroquois deputy to the Shawnees), delivered the second warning. Finally, on September 3, the Half King, heading a third delegation, presented a demand that the French withdraw—a demand which Marin bluntly rejected.⁹ But this progress was offset by grave setbacks. The Indian protests, however boldly answered, were a cause of uneasiness and of course reflected the growing concern of Pennsylvania and Virginia; and although the Pennsylvania Assembly refused to act, Virginia began preparations to oppose the French advance. Sickness among the troops increased, and Marin became gravely ill. Péan reported to Governor Duquesne that the expeditionary force would have to be still further reduced, from 1,350 to 900 men. It was decided that it was better to break off the campaign for the year and to send Péan and Le Mercier back to Montreal with all the troops except the garrisons of the forts. Soon afterward, on October 29, 1753, Captain Marin died at Le Boeuf.

VIRGINIA AND BRITISH COUNTERMEASURES, 1753-1755

The French inability to attain their full objectives in a single year's campaign gave the English a respite which they used as they were able. It was obvious that any immediately effective British action to oppose the French advance would have to be taken by the colonies nearest the scene of action. New York, immediately bordering Canada, could not divert its attention to the remoter Ohio. When Governor George Clinton was warned that French forces had passed Oswego, he sent

⁹ The three warnings are enumerated by Scarroyady, addressing the Pennsylvania commissioners in September, 1753; see their report in *CR*, V, 666-67.

word to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania; and Hamilton in turn sent word to the governors of Maryland and Virginia and also sent two messengers (one by the Potomac, one by the Juniata) to carry the warning to the Ohio.¹⁰

John Harris, one of these two messengers, reached the Ohio on May 12, four days after the arrival there of two Indians sent by the Onondaga Council "to give the Ohio Indians Notice of the Preparations the French were making to attack them."¹¹ However, Governor Hamilton could do little more. New York could not send help to the Ohio; the Pennsylvania Assembly would not, asserting as late as March 9, 1754, that it had not been proved that the new French forts were within the bounds of Pennsylvania. So, as has been noted, Governor Hamilton was reduced to assuring Governor Dinwiddie on May 6 that the Penns approved any measures Virginia might take to defend the Ohio, provided these did not prejudice Pennsylvania's claims there.

According to the account given later by Scarroyady, it was the message carried by John Harris to the Ohio that occasioned the first Indian protest against the French advance. "Agreeable to a Custom established among the Indians," Scarroyady said, the Delawares at Venango "forbad by a formal Notice the Commander of that Armament . . . to come farther than Niagara."¹²

In view of the concern felt by both British and French regarding the Indians' attitude and of the consequences of their later acceptance of the French occupation, it is unfortunate that so little is known about this Indian protest, made apparently sometime in June. Identification of the Delawares as a "woman nation" (a nonwarring people) may explain the "established custom" to which Scarroyady alluded. In 1753 an English trader, John Fraser, had been for some time at Venango and undoubtedly had some influence with the local Indians, whose chief man was a Delaware named Custaloga. It was reported that Custaloga's people made their protest to the French commander Marin at Rivière au Boeuf. However made, the protest was ineffectual. Fraser moved down the river; and by mid-July it was known at Logstown that Custaloga and his people were busy helping the French move their goods from Presqu'isle to Le Boeuf.¹³ One obstacle

¹⁰ Provincial Council Minutes, May 21, 1753, *CR*, V, 607-608; Governor Hamilton to Governor Dinwiddie, May 6, *ibid.*, 629.

¹¹ Intelligence of Robert Callender *et al.*, *ibid.*, 614-15.

¹² Report of Commissioners Richard Peters *et al.*, *ibid.*, 666.

¹³ William Trent Journal, in Mary Carson Darlington (ed.), *History of Colonel Henry Bouquet and the Western Frontiers of Pennsylvania, 1747-1764*, 18-19, 22. Cited hereafter as *History of Bouquet*.

remained—some Delawares having been killed by Caughnawagas during the previous winter, Custaloga's people had forbidden these French allies to enter their country. Urged by the French, the Caughnawagas performed the customary ceremonies, however, and the difficulty was removed.¹⁴

Deprived of access to British trade goods and incapable of withstanding the French, the Delawares about Venango had little if any alternative course of action open to them; but Custaloga's alignment with the French put the Delawares about the Forks of Ohio in a difficult position; for they had closer connections with the English, and their "king," Shingas, owed his position to recognition by the Half King's band, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. Naturally enough, Shingas' policy became noticeably noncommittal.

The second Indian notice to the French was delivered, early in July apparently, by an Iroquois delegation headed by Scarroyady. The Iroquois agent or representative among the Shawnees, Scarroyady is frequently referred to by the Shawnee version of his name, Monacatootha.¹⁵ He undoubtedly had used his influence among those people; and it is interesting to note that in a letter of July 10 Governor Duquesne advised Marin to make much of the Delawares, who, he said, had their share of good qualities but to speak threateningly to the Shawnees, "who have surely embroiled heaven and earth."

In the meantime Virginia took steps to strengthen its ties with the Ohio Indians. In July William Trent went to Logstown to deliver a present to these Indians, and while there he also on August 10 invited their leaders to attend a council at Winchester. Scarroyady and his delegation had returned on August 7 from their interview with the French commander Marin at Presqu'isle, who had rejected their proposals. The Indians then decided to form two parties, one of which,

¹⁴ *Ibid.* Duquesne to Marin, July 10, 1753: "I hope the Loups will make peace with those rascals from the Sault who slew them," Archives du Séminaire de Québec, Fonds Viger-Verreault, 5:62:6; cited hereafter as ASQ, V-V. Duquesne to Saint-Pierre, January 30, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 99.

¹⁵ This Indian's identity is sometimes concealed by these variations of name. His Iroquois name appears as OrScainyadee, Scarrowyady, Scaruneate, etc. In *Papiers Contrecoeur* it appears through misreading as Lkinronyaty, p. 71, and through translation as *cotté ducielle*, "side of the sky," p. 366. His Shawnee name was also a translation, as is indicated by reference to a later Shawnee chief, a different person, "Manacotootha signifying ye Scy," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXVII (1913), 30, cited hereafter as *PMHB*. A further source of confusion is the fact that after Tanaghrisson's death, October 4, 1754, Scarroyady sometimes was referred to as the Half King. The quotation from Duquesne's letter is from ASQ, V-V, 5:62:6.

headed by the Half King, should undertake a final embassy to the French, while the other group, headed by Scarroyady, went to Winchester.¹⁶

The Half King delivered his message to Marin on September 3 and, speaking in the name of the warriors on the Ohio, demanded in forceful terms that the French abandon their plans. Marin as forcefully refused, challenging the Half King's authority as he did so. Marin knew of course that he had won over some at least of the Delawares; and on the following day in separate conference the Shawnees of the embassy repudiated the Half King's stand. The Half King returned home and, "with Tears in his Eyes," advised the English traders to withdraw from the Ohio.¹⁷

Governor Dinwiddie now took the final step short of the use of force and sent a formal message (dated October 31, 1753) demanding to know by what authority the French had occupied land "so notoriously known to be the Property of the Crown of Great-Britain." George Washington, who volunteered to deliver this message, arrived on November 25 at Logstown, where he consulted with the Half King and other Indians who could supply information about the new French forts and the routes of travel. To deliver the Governor's message, Washington had to make his way to the nearer of the two forts, that on French Creek. But "The nearest and levellest Way" to this fort—probably by way of present New Castle and Greenville and the mouth of Conneaut Lake outlet—"was now impassible, by Reason of many large mirey Savannas," according to the Half King; so it would be necessary to go by way of Venango.¹⁸

Further complication and delay was occasioned by the Half King's determination to have another interview with the French. Marin, the French commander who had so overawed the Indians, had recently

¹⁶ Trent's journal, *History of Bouquet*, 17-40.

¹⁷ French account of the Conference in Conseil tenu par des Tsonnontouans . . . , September 2 [-3], 1753, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 53-58; Scarroyady's account in report of Richard Peters *et al.*, *CR*, V, 667-68; Half King's account in John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Diaries of George Washington*, I, 48. For the reference to the Half King's return, see Callender and Teaffe to William Buchanan, September 28, 1753, *CR*, V, 684.

¹⁸ Washington's journal of this trip has been printed many times, the best-known edition being that by John C. Fitzpatrick. It was first published in 1754 by William Hunter at Williamsburg, reprinted in facsimile by Colonial Williamsburg, and by T. Jefferys in London, reproduced in Hugh Cleland, *George Washington in the Ohio Valley*. Citations in the present work follow the Williamsburg edition, cited as *Journal of Major George Washington*. Christopher Gist's journal of this trip is in Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, Third Series, V, 101-108.

died. The Delawares at Venango had accepted his speech belt at the time of the first Indian embassy and the Half King's own people who had accompanied Scarroyady on the second embassy had also accepted a wampum belt, "a large white Belt 13 rows deep with four Towns and Forts worked in it with black Wampum."¹⁹ Not having dared, perhaps, to return this belt at the time of his own embassy in September, but encouraged by Marin's death and by the show of Virginia opposition to the French, the Half King now was resolved to send a delegation of Ohio Iroquois, Shawnees, and Delawares with Washington and to return the French speech belts as a sign of Indian rejection of French friendship. This undertaking provided an additional reason for going by way of Venango, where the Indians of the upper Ohio were accustomed to hold council.

Washington's mission was as successful as could have been hoped. Arriving at Venango on December 4, Washington was entertained by Joncaire, who was stationed there (in a house abandoned by John Fraser), and then escorted to Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf. There the new French commander, Le Gardeur St.-Pierre, accepted Governor Dinwiddie's letter for transmittal to Governor Duquesne and, in a letter dated December 15, declined to disobey orders by retiring from his post as Virginia demanded.

The Half King was only partially successful. He failed in the first place to assemble the intended delegation—the Shawnees simply did not appear; and the Delaware "king," Shingas, excused himself on grounds of his wife's sickness and sent a message for Custaloga. The Half King himself and only three other Indians, all Iroquois, accompanied Washington and his party to Venango.²⁰ Here Custaloga adopted an evasive course, declining to return the French belt on the excuse that Shingas had sent no speech for the occasion. At the fort, the Half King did return the belt received by his people; but it took all Washington's efforts to counteract French blandishments and get the Indians away again.

¹⁹ Trent Journal, *History of Bouquet*, 36; *Journal of Major George Washington*, 8, 15.

²⁰ Washington identifies them as "the Half-King, *Jeskakake*, *White Thunder*, and the Hunter" (*Journal of Major George Washington*, 13). The second of these probably was the Cayuga known to the French as Dejiqueque (*Papiers Contrecoeur*, 104, 105, 114, 189); another source identifies White Thunder with the Seneca better known as the Belt of Wampum or Kaghswaghtaniunt ("Journal of . . . the Seamen . . .," in Winthrop Sargent, *History of an Expedition Against Fort Duquesne* . . . , 378); and Kiasuta, later identified by Washington as having been one of the party, is assumed to have been the young hunter. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Diaries*, I, 423-24.

On the return trip the group broke up at Venango. The Half King decided to remain a day or two at Venango and then go down by canoe. In fact, he did not return to Logstown until January 15, and he then came in company with some French soldiers.²¹

In accordance with his instructions from the Crown, Governor Dinwiddie now began preparations to oppose and expel the French by force. To the colony's advantage, the Ohio Company had resolved on July 25, 1753, to erect a fort on the south side of the Ohio at present McKees Rocks, then the home of the Delaware "king," Shingas. William Trent had inspected this site a month later on his return from Logstown and had expected to return within another month to begin work. Later the plans were revised, and the Forks of Ohio selected as the site of the fort. Washington inspected both places in November on his way to Logstown and thought the Forks of Ohio much better for the purpose. On his return trip, Washington on January 6, 1754, "met 17 Horses loaded with Materials and Stores for a Fort at the Forks of *Ohio*, and the Day after some Families going out to settle."²²

Governor Dinwiddie now undertook to transform this commercial undertaking into a military one.²³ In accordance with his Council's recommendations of January 21, he issued commissions to Major Washington to command a company of one hundred militia from Frederick and Augusta counties, to Captain William Trent to command a company of the same size recruited among the Indian traders and others, and to Major John Carlisle as commissary; then he summoned the Assembly to provide for raising a larger force. The Assembly, by an act of February 23, voted £10,000 for defense. By a somewhat awkward arrangement (later used also in Pennsylvania), this fund was to be expended by a commission of fourteen men, consisting of ten burgesses and four councilors.

Relieved of dependence upon the militia, Dinwiddie now undertook to raise six paid Virginia companies of fifty men each, to be commanded by Colonel Joshua Fry and Lieutenant Colonel George Washington. In addition, he could count on the eventual support of three independent companies of British regulars—two stationed in New York and one in South Carolina—and he hoped for aid from neighboring colonies and from two nations of southern Indians, the Catawbas and the Cherokees.

²¹ Croghan Journal, *CR*, V, 732.

²² *Journal of Major George Washington*, 22.

²³ The Virginia campaign of 1754 is described in detail in Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington*, I, 351-411.

Neither the neighboring colonists nor the Indians appeared, however; and recruiting was slow. Not until about April 18, 1754, did Washington leave Winchester at the head of 159 men, captained by Jacob van Braam, Peter Hog, and Adam Stephen. On the previous day, though Washington did not receive the news until April 20, Captain Trent's ensign had been compelled to surrender the uncompleted fort at the Forks to the French. The problem facing Virginia was no longer that of reinforcing its own troops at the Forks in order to hold the region, but that of establishing a base for attacking an enemy holding that position. Accordingly, Washington undertook, while awaiting reinforcements, to open a road to the junction of Redstone Creek and the Monongahela River and to fortify the storehouse which Trent had built there for the Ohio Company.

He set up a camp at the Great Meadows, where his party had arrived on May 24, and began work on the road. Warned by the Half King that a French party was near by, the Virginians and the Indians surprised this party on the morning of May 28, killed its leader, Joseph Coulon de Villiers, Sieur de Jumonville, and killed or captured all but one of his followers. Expecting a French reprisal, Washington began two days later to fortify his camp at the Great Meadows; sometime thereafter the place was named Fort Necessity.

Washington's men continued work on the road to Redstone, and in the meanwhile some of the reinforcements arrived. On June 1 the Half King and some other Ohio Iroquois came to the camp with their families, some eighty or a hundred persons in all. Colonel Fry had died on May 29 of a fall, but on June 9 his troops, the last three companies of the Virginia regiment's six, joined Washington, who by that time had learned of his promotion to colonel. George Muse, who brought up the reinforcements, advanced from major to lieutenant colonel. At the same time, however, Governor Dinwiddie had named Colonel James Innes, who was expected with troops from North Carolina, to be "Commander-in-Chief of all the forces," which of course would include troops other than Virginians. Finally, about June 14, the Independent Company arrived from South Carolina, under command of Captain James Mackay. The presence of both provincials and regulars created problems of command which Washington and Mackay were unable to solve. So Mackay's men remained at the camp, and the Virginians continued work on the road. At Gist's plantation (southwest of present Connellsville) on June 19-21, Washington held an inconclusive council with Iroquois, Delaware, and

Shawnee Indians. The Delawares and Shawnees declined to commit themselves; and even the Half King and his warriors returned to the camp instead of remaining with the Virginians. Receiving word from Scarroyady on June 28 that the French had received reinforcements and were about to attack, all the English troops assembled at Gist's; but a council of war agreed it would be better to retire to Fort Necessity, which they reached on July 1.

The little fort, somewhat strengthened in the next two days, and its inadequate garrison were quite incapable of sustaining the French attack which began on the morning of July 3. At the end of the day the commanding officers agreed to surrender; and on July 4 the garrison marched off with the honors of war, leaving behind them two hostages (Captains van Braam and Robert Stobo) and a number of wounded under the care of eleven men detached for that purpose. On July 9 the defeated garrison was back at Wills Creek. Meanwhile Colonel Innes had arrived at Winchester on June 30. Two of his five North Carolina companies arrived there on July 9, and the two companies of regulars from New York came two or three days later. To this place came also Washington's demoralized Virginians; the regulars from South Carolina remained at Wills Creek. The Half King and his followers, though they had withdrawn from Fort Necessity before the French attack, accompanied the retreating troops to Wills Creek; but they then went with George Croghan to his trading post at Aughwick (now Shirleysburg, Pennsylvania).

Governor Dinwiddie, relying on further aid from neighboring colonies, promptly proposed a new expedition to drive the French from their new Fort Duquesne at the Forks. In early August Washington received a letter written from the French fort by Captain Stobo on July 29, asserting that there were then only two hundred troops at that place, with two hundred more expected shortly. However, the proposed campaign, a doubtful venture in terms of the condition of the troops on hand, became impossible when the Virginia Assembly withheld its support.

In October, 1754, Governor Arthur Dobbs of North Carolina arrived from England with funds for defense and instructions from the Crown, which he revealed in a conference with the governors of Virginia and Maryland. Governor Horatio Sharpe of Maryland received a commission as lieutenant colonel and orders to command the troops "raised on this part of the continent"; Innes, previously in command, was placed in charge of the camp at Wills Creek. The three

governors agreed that Sharpe should raise seven hundred men to join the independent companies on the campaign. Dinwiddie undertook to have the officers of the Virginia regiment recommissioned as captains of independent companies, with himself a colonel. Displeased with this plan, Washington resigned his commission.

About this time Dinwiddie also began to appeal to the home government for two regiments of British troops; and in December, 1754, he learned that plans to this purpose had in fact been made and, furthermore, that two regiments were to be raised in New England. Sir John St. Clair, assigned to the post of deputy quartermaster general of the forces in America, arrived in Virginia in January, 1755, and lost little time in going to Wills Creek to inspect the roads and Fort Cumberland. Major General Edward Braddock himself arrived the next month, in advance of his two regiments, the 44th and the 48th, commanded by Colonels Sir Peter Halkett and Thomas Dunbar, respectively. Washington obtained an appointment to Braddock's staff as an aide-de-camp.²⁴

Braddock arrived on May 10 at Fort Cumberland, which had been much improved and enlarged. The forces assembled here, totaling about 2,200 men, included the two British regiments of 700 men each, three independent companies, 60 artillerymen and 30 seamen to handle heavy guns, and eleven companies of provincials—nine from Virginia, one from Maryland, and one from North Carolina. From Pennsylvania came only some volunteer frontiersmen, headed by George Croghan and Andrew Montour, and a hundred Indians (men, women, and children) of the Half King's band.²⁵ The Half King himself had died in October, 1754, but Scarroyady (Monacatootha) had succeeded him as head of the Iroquois refugees from the Ohio. Instead of troops, Pennsylvania had undertaken to open a road from Shippensburg westward by way of Raystown (present Bedford) to carry supplies to the advancing army. In favorable contrast to some other contractors,

²⁴ See for Braddock's campaign, *ibid.*, II, 1-102; and Lee McCardell, *Ill-Starred General*, 135-272.

²⁵ Franklin Thayer Nichols, "The Organization of Braddock's Army," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, IV (1947), 125-47. For the Pennsylvania volunteers see Wainwright, *George Croghan*, 85 ff. "Captain Jack," accepted even by Winthrop Sargent as leader of a party of frontier volunteers (*History of an Expedition . . .*, 196-97), is a fictitious personage who first appears in spurious documents contributed to Samuel Hazard (ed.), *Register of Pennsylvania*, IV (1829), 389-91, 416; V (1830), 191. Redmond Conyngham called these texts to the attention of Sherman Day (*Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania*, 264), and the story is further elaborated upon in U. J. Jones, *History of the Early Settlement of the Juniata Valley*, 134-39.

Benjamin Franklin got 150 Pennsylvania wagons and 500 horses (of 1,500 contracted for).

The campaign moved on to its tragic conclusion. Halkett's men began the march toward Fort Duquesne on June 7; and by the 10th the whole force was in motion. A month later on July 9 the main force of 1,450 men crossed the Monongahela to the site of present Braddock, east of Pittsburgh; but Colonel Dunbar, lacking sufficient horses to draw the wagons, had progressed only a few miles beyond Fort Necessity. The story of Braddock's defeat on that day is beyond the scope of this work. It was a complete disaster in which Colonel Halkett was killed, Braddock himself mortally wounded, and 977 of his 1,459 men were officially reported killed or wounded.

Its causes have long been debated. Americans, both then and since, have found it easy and attractive to blame Braddock himself and, more generally, the British regulars. On the other hand, the provincials themselves at this time had little experience in frontier warfare, even those who had served with Washington at Fort Necessity or those who had garrisoned Fort Cumberland. Their performance before and after Braddock's defeat does not indicate that they would have managed matters better, though wiser use of the provincials and Indian allies might have avoided the surprise of Braddock's force. The defeat of course underlined the fact that the campaign plans had not provided for possible failure—no bases or permanent camps had been established along the route of march, and the beaten forces had no choice except to retreat all the way to Fort Cumberland.

Unfortunately, the disaster did not end there. On July 21 there was still a force of 110 officers and 1,613 privates at Fort Cumberland under command of Colonel Dunbar; and it was theoretically possible to reorganize for a new offensive. However, the men were badly demoralized; the loss of officers, equipment, and supplies had been heavy; there had been no provision for maintaining such a garrison at this place; and Dunbar was not the man to save the situation. Nothing was farther from that officer's mind than a new campaign. In the middle of July he was ready to go into winter quarters. Having decided to abandon Fort Cumberland, he called a council of war on August 1 to approve this action and on the following day set off for Philadelphia with the remains of the artillery and all the able men except the provincials—a total of 1,516 men. This force did not winter

in Pennsylvania, however; for General William Shirley, temporarily in general command, ordered them to New York.²⁶

Braddock's campaign itself produced no forts on the Pennsylvania frontier, but his defeat was directly or indirectly responsible for the erection of the most extensive system of frontier forts Pennsylvania has ever had. These Pennsylvania forts, however, were not constructed immediately; and, being designed for defense only, they stood remote from Fort Duquesne.

Until 1758 the British post closest to the French was Fort Cumberland, not uncommonly referred to as "the British fort," or—even by Pennsylvanians—as "our fort."²⁷ Colonel Dunbar's departure on August 2, 1755, left this place garrisoned by some two hundred Virginians, thirty men of a Maryland company, and a few North Carolina troops, all under Colonel James Innes, whom Braddock had named governor of the fort. Leaving on an extended trip to North Carolina, Innes left Lieutenant Colonel Adam Stephen of Virginia in command. His authority was disputed, however, by Captain John Dagworthy of Maryland who arrived at the fort about October 1, claiming the command on the strength of an old British commission. The dispute was not settled until Innes' return in April, 1756. During this time the garrison was weakened by desertion. About August 15, 1755, Innes had had about 160 men; two months later Dagworthy had 137.²⁸ After Innes' return, the fort was garrisoned by Virginia troops until April, 1757, when Maryland assumed responsibility and returned Dagworthy there with a garrison of 150 men.

FRENCH CONTROL ESTABLISHED

Governor Duquesne had scarcely reviewed the wretched veterans of the unfinished 1753 campaign before he began preparations for a new one in the spring of 1754. He was now engaged in a race since the English were fully aware of the French plan. Although it is now known that the British colonies were unwilling or unable to take really

²⁶ Freeman, *George Washington*, II, 86 note, 105; *CR*, VI, 499-500, 521-22, 549, 559-65.

²⁷ Edward Shippen to William Allen, Lancaster, July 4, 1755, alludes to a previous letter from Shippensburg with an account of people killed "near our Fort," *ibid.*, 459. Unwary writers, citing this as evidence for a fort at Shippensburg, have failed to note that the earlier letter, dated June 30, states clearly that "The People were murdered but 4 miles from Will's Creek." See *PAI*, II, 362-63; XII, 413.

²⁸ Governor Sharpe to Governor Morris, Annapolis, August 29, 1755, *ibid.*, II, 397; *id.* to *id.*, October 11, 1755, *CR*, VI, 643.

effective action, the French could not appreciate or rely upon this weakness. The British had gained several months for preparation of a countermove; the Half King's "Sonont8ans had mutinied and insolently blocked the road"; and Washington's midwinter delivery of Governor Dinwiddie's note showed that Virginia intended to oppose the French advance.

Even before operations were suspended in the fall of 1753, changes had been made in the French plans in hopes of speeding operations. In a letter of October 14, 1753, Duquesne had eliminated the proposed forts of Anjou (Venango) and Sonihoto (Scioto), leaving only the fort at Chiningué (Logstown) to be constructed on the Ohio; and he ordered Captain Jacques Le Gardeur, Sieur de Saint-Pierre, to replace Marin if necessary. Saint-Pierre arrived at Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf by December 3 in time for Washington's delivery of Governor Dinwiddie's letter, but, suffering from the hardships of his journey, he at once requested to be relieved.

It was Captain Claude-Pierre Pécaudy, Sieur de Contrecoeur, commander of the fort at Niagara, who succeeded to the command on the Ohio and established the major French post on that river. Duquesne on December 24 had written him to prepare for the troops that would be assembled at Niagara: 350 in the winter, 150 more in the spring, and 600 on the opening of navigation. With the 300 men who had wintered in the upper country, the total numbered 1,400. Having received Saint-Pierre's request for relief, the Governor on December 25 ordered Contrecoeur to turn over the command of Niagara to his son Ensign Claude-François Pécaudy de Contrecoeur and "to take possession of the Belle Rivière, where you will have Fort de Chinengué built, after which you will come back to Niagara."²⁹

On or soon after January 27, 1754, Captain Le Mercier, the engineer, left Montreal with a picked force of some 350 men and with further instructions for Contrecoeur. For the sake of greater speed, the new commander was to leave only eighteen officers and men at Presqu'isle and twelve at Rivière au Boeuf and to "enter the Belle Rivière with a full 600 men whose appearance will make a more vivid impression on the Indians than if this detachment were double that number of the sort sent last year." The formal orders repeated that Contrecoeur was to build a fort at Chiningué; in his letter, however, Duquesne wrote: "If it is true that there is a river six leagues this side of Chinengué,

²⁹ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, December 24, 1753, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 86-87; *id.* to *id.*, December 25, 1753, *ibid.*, 89-91.

which they say is the usual route of the English who came from Philadelphia, you will place the fort at that spot to bar their passage and to stand in the way of their trade."³⁰

Contrecoeur and Le Mercier had much work to do at Niagara; and even after their arrival at Presqu'isle boats had to be built and supplies transported to the Rivière au Boeuf and down to Joncaire's post at Venango. Contrecoeur's movements are poorly documented, but by March 2 he was presumed to have arrived at Presqu'isle;³¹ and by March 16 he had relieved Saint-Pierre at Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf. Le Mercier joined him here on March 20; and a letter written nine days later reported that Contrecoeur had gone down the Rivière au Boeuf and that Le Mercier was about to follow with the rear guard.³² Meanwhile, an ensign, the Sieur de La Chauvignerie, had been sent to Chiningué with a detachment of fifteen men and had arrived there on January 15, accompanied by the Half King and other Iroquois Indians. He found the Pennsylvania trader Croghan and some others there, and the Indians were none too friendly; so La Chauvignerie moved next day to a place a short distance down the river, where the Indians allowed him to build a cabin. He then appealed to Saint-Pierre for reinforcements.³³

Like the Virginians, the French authorities changed their plans on the location of the Ohio fort. A Virginia detachment arrived first at the Forks and had just completed an enclosure at the site when the French force came down the Allegheny on April 16, and Le Mercier presented Contrecoeur's demand to surrender. Outnumbered, Ensign Edward Ward and his Virginians marched off next day, leaving the French in triumphant possession.

The contest was by no means at an end, however; Washington was just leaving Winchester with two Virginia companies and other English detachments were on the way. Almost simultaneously, a French force commanded by Péan began to leave Montreal. The French now had actual possession of the disputed territory and the advantages possessed by a despotic government in making and executing general plans. On the other hand, they were handicapped by distance. Despite the work of the previous year, men and supplies had to travel a long and

³⁰ *Id.* to *id.*, January 27, 1754, *ibid.*, 93-94.

³¹ Bigot to *id.*, March 2, 1754, ASQ, V-V, 4:341.

³² Duquesne to *id.*, April 15, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 113-14; *id.* to *id.*, May 9, 1754, *ibid.*, 123.

³³ La Chauvignerie to Saint-Pierre, Chiningué, February 10, 1754, *ibid.*, 99-100; Croghan Journal, CR, V, 732.

difficult road from Montreal to the Ohio, and the future of Fort Duquesne remained uncertain.

Headed by Lieutenant De Carqueville, an advance party of Péan's force left Montreal just after Easter (April 14)³⁴ and proceeded by way of Niagara to the Chautauqua portage to prepare for the detachments that would follow. The main force, divided into several brigades, set out about the first of May and reached the Lake Erie end of the portage about six to seven weeks later. At approximately the same time Captain Louis Coulon de Villiers and three other officers arrived on June 14 with about 125 Indians who were hurried with detachments of troops over the Chautauqua route to the Ohio. Péan himself, destined for Detroit, moved on to Presqu'isle on July 14. By this time the immediate crisis at Fort Duquesne had passed; and on July 30 Péan's force, including De Carqueville and a detachment that had returned from the Ohio, left for Detroit.

Aside from insisting that the English must be expelled from the Forks of Ohio, Governor Duquesne had advised Contrecoeur to pursue a relatively cautious course until Péan's arrival. In a letter of April 15 he wrote that he would not for the present complain about English settlements at any distance: "I would certainly not pick a quarrel with people who would be some 10 or 12 miles distant from the riverbank." Péan was instructed on May 9 to drive off any English traders found "not farther than six leagues from the river."³⁵ On May 28, however, a French detachment of thirty men headed by Ensign Villiers de Jumonville was surprised and wiped out by Washington's troops; Jumonville and nine others were killed, and all but one of the rest were captured. Since England and France were nominally at peace, the French promptly accused the English of murder, which they undertook to avenge. Arriving at Fort Duquesne on June 26 with his party of Indians, Captain Coulon de Villiers, Jumonville's brother, took command of five hundred men about to leave under Le Mercier; and it was this detachment that took Fort Necessity on July 4, 1754.

By this time the new French fort had been enclosed; and, with the arrival of reinforcements and the expulsion of the small Virginia forces from the field, the French position was for the time secure. The series of armed encounters—the French expulsion of the Virginians from the Forks, Washington's attack on Jumonville, and De Villiers' capture

³⁴ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, April 15, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 115; Thomas Forbes Journal, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, IV (1909), 272.

³⁵ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, April 15, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 115; Duquesne, instructions to Péan, May 9, 1754, *ibid.*, 121.

of Fort Necessity—were clear warnings, however, of an intenser struggle to come.

The race between English and French was repeated in 1755 and terminated with the almost incredible defeat of Braddock on July 9. The French good fortune was threefold: their victory assured freedom from English attack for an extended period, it provided a quantity of valuable supplies, and it won over the Indians as French allies and auxiliaries. The defeat also brought a declaration of war, issued by the British government on May 17, 1756, and made known in America after the usual delay occasioned by slow communications. In Pennsylvania, the declaration was read at an Indian treaty at Easton on July 30 and in Council at Philadelphia on August 11; and it was formally published the next day.³⁶

During the three-year period 1755-1758, the French forts in western Pennsylvania suffered no attack. This freedom is explained by a combination of circumstances: disunity and military ineffectiveness of the English colonists, employment of the English regular forces in other fields of action, and effective French use of the Indians to disrupt the English frontier settlements. Such action as the French saw was in the field, and it was generally restricted to encounters between small parties sent out from Fort Duquesne and Fort Cumberland, respectively, and to French participation in Indian raids. Pennsylvania alone maintained during this three-year period a body of 1,400 troops, equal in number to the total French force on the Ohio; but they were rendered relatively ineffectual by the colony's unchangeably defensive policy and by its military inexperience.

The French during this time strengthened Fort Duquesne and erected a fourth fort, at Venango, naming it Fort Machault. Supplying the Ohio posts was a permanent problem, compounded of long distances, bad roads, seasonal changes of weather and water level, and official dishonesty. The state of Indian relations fluctuated. Inconstant and almost abjectly dependent upon European trade goods, the resident Indians turned to the French when English traders left the Ohio. Golden French promises and the incredible booty obtained from Braddock secured their loyalty for a time. Later, despite the French inability to provide trade on the English scale, pillage of settlers' homesteads supplied some Indian wants, but necessarily in a diminishing measure. Inevitably, there was discontent, and it was

³⁶ *PA1*, II, 659-60, 735-37. It may be noted that although the French posts had been established under direction of Duquesne, the hostilities were directed by Vaudreuil, who succeeded to the government on June 23, 1755.

certain that the first clear signs of French weakness would shake the Indians' attachment to their cause.

One French post vital to this story lay outside present Pennsylvania. Niagara, as noted earlier, had been a French post since 1720; and the fort later built there was important both in Indian relations and in communications with the remoter posts. French occupation of the upper Ohio increased Niagara's importance in both roles. All troops and supplies from Canada went to the new forts by way of Niagara, where they were unloaded, moved over a portage to the "Little Fort" above the falls, and carried on to the Ohio by way of Chautauqua or Presqu'isle. At Niagara the French courted the western Iroquois and those Delawares and Shawnees who had fled in the winter of 1755-1756 from Pennsylvania to the Chemung. Indian war parties from Niagara raided the settlements not only in northeastern Pennsylvania but even toward its southern borders.

Captain Contrecoeur commanded at Niagara until he left early in 1751 for the Ohio. He was succeeded by his son Ensign Contrecoeur, who was promptly embarrassed by the desertion of five men from the garrison³⁷ and who was replaced in April by François Boucher de Laperrière. The command passed in November, 1755, to Captain Lefebvre Duplessis. Captain Pouchot, who improved the fort, was commandant in 1756-1757 and, following Jean-François de Vassan, returned to command in 1759 in the final months of French control.

Forced by General John Forbes to evacuate Fort Duquesne in November, 1758, the French remained in possession of the other three forts and maintained small detachments among some of the hesitatingly loyal Indians. An attempted English attack on Fort Machault in the spring of 1759 was frustrated by bad weather and an Indian attack upon the supply boats. The end of the French occupation came with the English siege of Niagara. Retention of this post was vital to maintenance of the French supply line; and their garrisons were withdrawn from the Ohio in an attempt to raise the siege and hold the fort. The defeat of the relief party anticipated the surrender of Niagara itself on July 25, 1759; and the French occupation of western Pennsylvania terminated only a year before the end of French rule in Canada.

³⁷ Contrecoeur to Madame Contrecoeur, March 19, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 110; Alexander Colhoun to Governor De Lancey, April 12, 1754, E. B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow (eds.), *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, VI, 832-33. Latter work cited hereafter as *NYCD*.

CHAPTER THREE

The Virginia Forts

THE FRONTIER FORTS erected in Pennsylvania under the authority of Virginia were few in number, makeshift in construction, and of short duration. These three forts were in fact the by-products of the unsuccessful opposition of Virginia to the French advance into the Ohio Valley, which has been described in Chapter II. All were built in 1754, and all fell into French possession the same year.

Although the earliest French forts were built before the Virginia forts, the history of the latter is presented in this chapter, while discussion of the French forts has been reserved for Chapter IV. This procedure has been followed since the French forts lasted until 1759, and it has seemed desirable that the history of each fort should be considered as a unit from the time of its erection until its abandonment and destruction by the French.

Since the military struggle centered about the Forks of Ohio, now regarded as the head of that river, it may be well to note that in the eighteenth century both British and French commonly thought of the Allegheny River as the upper part of the Ohio, and accordingly sometimes spoke of the forts erected at the site of the present Pittsburgh as standing at the mouth of the Monongahela; they did not think of them as being also at the mouth of the Allegheny.

THE OHIO COMPANY STORE

The Ohio Company store, which stood at the present Brownsville, Fayette County, at the mouth of Redstone Creek, was a log building measuring about twenty-two by thirty feet, provided with loopholes but otherwise unfortified. The structure was not intended for a fort nor was it ever used as one. However, since it is once or twice referred to as a fort in the writings of the time and since it is sometimes confused with "Trent's Fort" at the site of present Pittsburgh, a brief account seems appropriate.

William Trent had been in the employ of the Ohio Company since late 1752 and also had executed missions for Governor Dinwiddie.

In July, 1753, he had gone to Logstown with a present for the Indians and had also delivered an invitation, brought by Thomas Burney, for some of the Indian leaders to attend a treaty at Winchester.¹

Trent and his men built the Redstone storehouse in January, 1754. Washington, returning from delivering Dinwiddie's message to the French at Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf, met Trent on January 6 north of Wills Creek (present Cumberland, Maryland) with a train of "17 Horses loaded with Materials and Stores for a Fort at the Forks of Ohio";² but the first concern was to build the storehouse. Captain Joncaire, whom Washington had seen at Venango, sent the local Delaware chief (presumably Custaloga) to find out what the English were doing. When he returned on February 18, this chief reported that

when he arrived at Teyaondeshongen [Monongahela], he had delegated a chief of his tribe to go to a fork in that river. The courier says he saw a thousand men [!] building a fort there, that as soon as this fort is finished, they are to come and build another at the mouth of that same river. . . .³

By the time Joncaire received this somewhat magnified information, Trent had ended this work, and on February 17 had "arrived at the Forks of Monongahela (from the Mouth of Red Stone Creek, where he has built a strong Store House)."⁴

At Redstone, Trent had received from Governor Dinwiddie a commission as captain of a Virginia company of one hundred men, whom he was to enlist, "and with the s'd Comp'a and the Assistance of our good and faithful Friends and Allies the Ind's of the Six Nat's and such others as are in Amity with them and Us, to keep Possession of His M'y's Lands on the Ohio and the Waters thereof."⁵

On March 6 La Chauvignerie, the French officer stationed at Chiningué (Logstown), sent scouts to reconnoiter the fort Trent's men were building at the mouth of the Monongahela. There, at the Forks of Ohio, the scouts met a French deserter who told them "that at ten leagues along the same river [the Monongahela], where they [the English] made a warehouse (*un Entrepas*) there have arrived six

¹ Trent Journal, *History of Bouquet*, 17-40; Governor Dinwiddie to the Half King *et al.*, July 10, 1753, *Mercer Papers*, 286.

² *Journal of Major George Washington*, 22.

³ Joncaire to Saint-Pierre, February 20, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 102.

⁴ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 4, 1754: Annapolis dispatch dated March 14, citing letter from Trent and Gist to Washington, February 19.

⁵ Edward Ward deposition, June 30, 1756, *History of Bouquet*, 41; Dinwiddie to Trent, January 27, 1754, R. A. Brock (ed.), *Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie* . . . , I, 56-57, cited hereafter as *Dinwiddie Papers*.

cannons loaded with six and eight [pound] balls, which are to be sent immediately to the house they are working on at present."⁶

Other Virginia troops under Lieutenant Colonel Washington, who were to have joined Captain Trent, had not left Winchester when on April 17 the French forced Trent's men to surrender their unfinished fort at the Forks of Ohio. Washington, who heard of this surrender three days later and learned the full story from Trent's ensign, Edward Ward, on April 22, had to decide on a new course of action. In a council of war at Wills Creek on April 23 it was decided to open a road to the store at Redstone and to fortify that post so that it might serve as a base where the Virginia forces could assemble for an attack on the French. "We will endeavour," Washington wrote the Governor on April 25, "to make the road sufficiently good for the heaviest artillery to pass, and when we arrive at Red-stone Creek fortify ourselves as strongly as the short time will allow."⁷

However, the French were to reach this point, too, ahead of Washington. Contrecoeur on May 23 sent out a thirty-man detachment, officially for the purpose of warning Washington out of the Ohio country. He instructed the commanding officer, Ensign Jumonville, "to follow the river Mal-engueulée in pirogues as far as the shed, after which he is to march until he finds the road connecting with the one the English have had constructed."⁸ On the morning of May 28, however, this French party was wiped out by Washington and his Indian allies. Having established a camp at the Great Meadows, where he later built Fort Necessity, Washington resumed work on the road; but this was still unfinished on June 29 when, hearing that he was to be attacked by a larger French force, Washington decided to retreat to Fort Necessity.

The French detachment, numbering some five hundred men commanded by Captain Coulon de Villiers, set out from Fort Duquesne on June 28. Like his brother Jumonville, De Villiers proceeded up the Monongahela, "considering that if the English had continued their

⁶ Saint-Blin to [Saint-Pierre], March 11, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 108. Since Saint-Blin says he has come to Chiningué "according to your order," he cannot be writing to Contrecoeur as the editor of these papers assumes; it evidently was Contrecoeur, however, who, having replaced Saint-Pierre, actually received the letter.

⁷ Washington Journal, *ibid.*, 138-42; Washington to Governor Dinwiddie, John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings of George Washington . . .*, I, 41, cited hereafter as Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings*.

⁸ Contrecoeur, summons to be delivered by Jumonville, May 23, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 130-31; Contrecoeur, orders to Jumonville, *Mémoire contenant le Précis des faits . . .*, 104, translated in *Pennsylvania History*, XXI (1954), 361. The latter source is cited hereafter as *Précis des faits*.

march, they might have reached the shed [*le hangard*]." Two days later they camped near the shed, "which was built of pieces laid lengthwise and provided with a number of loopholes, and which was about thirty feet [*trente piés*] long by twenty-two wide."⁹ Two days after the surrender of Fort Necessity, De Villiers' party returned here on July 6, uncovered some goods that had been concealed by the English, and burned the building.¹⁰

One later reference to the site may be noted. In March, 1755, Captain Contrecoeur, commanding at Fort Duquesne, sent his son with a party of six Canadians and three French Mohawks "to go remove a cache which I had been assured was at the shed the English built last year at the head-waters of the *rivière ma langueuillée*, . . . where there were many guns and files for the forges." Arriving at the place on March 17, Ensign Contrecoeur found that much of the goods had been removed. His men went hunting, and during their absence three Englishmen appeared on the same errand as the French. The ensign (to his father's great satisfaction) captured them singlehanded.¹¹ Questioned at Fort Duquesne three days later, the spokesman for the three, André Maynard, asserted that "he had been the third to come and get arms and tools which had been hidden last year when the English evacuated their first fort on the Belle Rivière, which stuff belonged to sundry individuals who had come on the Belle Rivière with Captain Trent."¹²

The Virginia base at the mouth of Redstone Creek thus had a very short life. At the same general site, however, after the British victory over the French, Fort Burd was built in 1759 to guard communications between Fort Cumberland and Fort Pitt.

"TRENT'S FORT"

A second storehouse begun by Captain Trent stood at the Forks of Ohio within the present Point State Park in Pittsburgh. Erected in March, 1754, it was adapted soon afterward for use as a makeshift fort

⁹ De Villiers Journal, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 197-98. The French *piéd* was about four-fifths of an inch longer than the English foot. Ensign Ward later described the building as "a strong square Log House with Loop Holes," *History of Bouquet*, 42. In the fictionalized account by J. C. B. it is described as "forty feet long by twenty wide, made of Timbers laid upon each other and roofed with bark." Sylvester K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent, and Emma Edith Woods (eds.), *Travels in New France by J. C. B.*, 60.

¹⁰ De Villiers Journal, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 202.

¹¹ Contrecoeur to Varin, March 25, 1755, *ibid.*, 306-307.

¹² Deposition of English deserters, *ibid.*, 283.

and so served as a substitute for the more formal defense which Virginia had proposed to build at this place.

The proposal to erect a Virginia fort at the Forks of Ohio developed out of the earlier plan of the Ohio Company to establish a fort and settlement on that river. The decision is recorded under date of July 25, 1753:

Resolved that it is absolutely necessary that the Company should immediately erect a Fort for the Security and protection of their Settlements on a hill just below Shertees Creek upon the South East side the River Ohio that the Walls of the said Fort shall be twelve feet high to be built of Sawed or hewn Logs and to inclose a piece of Ground Ninety feet Square, besides the four Bastions at the Corners of sixteen feet square each, with houses in the middle for Stores Magazines &c.' [sic] according to a plan entered in the Company Books. . . .¹³

However, this location, then the home of "King" Shingas and some of his Delaware Indians and the site of the present McKees Rocks, later was rejected in favor of one at the Forks of Ohio.

William Trent, who went to Logstown in the summer of 1753 to deliver a Virginia present to the Indians and invited some of their leaders to a council at Winchester, set out for home on August 24.¹⁴ Three days later John Fraser wrote from the "Forks":

Capt^t Trent was here the night before last, and viewed the Ground the Fort is to be built upon, which they will begin in less than a month's time; the Money has been laid out for the building of it already, and the great Guns are lying at Williamsburg ready to bring up.¹⁵

Although Fraser's report is much too optimistic, it is valuable as a record of the Ohio Company's preparations and change of plans.

George Washington, on his way to the French forts with Governor Dinwiddie's letter, examined the proposed sites on November 23-24, just three months after Trent did, and unhesitatingly recommended the site at the Forks:

As I got down before the Canoe, I spent some Time in viewing the Rivers, and the Land in the Fork, which I think extremely well situated for a Fort, as it has the absolute Command of both Rivers. The Land at the Point is 20 or 25 Feet above the common Surface of the Water, and a considerable Bottom of flat, well-timbered Land all around it,

¹³ *Mercer Papers*, 147-48.

¹⁴ Trent Journal, *History of Bouquet*, 39-40.

¹⁵ Fraser to Young, August 27, 1753, entered in PR, M, 217; printed in CR, V, 660.

very convenient for Building: The Rivers are each a Quarter of a Mile, or more, across, and run here very near at right Angles: *Aligany* bearing N.E. and *Monongahela* S.E. the former of these two is a very rapid and swift running Water, the other deep and still, without any perceptible Fall.

About two Miles from this, on the South East Side of the River, at the Place where the *Ohio* Company intended to erect a Fort, lives *Shingiss*, *King of the Delawares*; we call'd upon him, to invite him to Council at the *Loggs-Town*.

As I had taken a good deal of Notice Yesterday of the Situation at the *Forks*, my Curiosity led me to examine this more particularly, and I think it greatly inferior, either for Defence or Advantages; especially the latter; For a Fort at the *Forks* would be equally well situated on *Ohio*, and have the entire Command of *Monongahela*, which runs up to our Settlements and is extremely well design'd for Water Carriage, as it is of a deep still Nature; besides, a Fort at the *Fork* might be built at a much less Expence, than at the other Place.—

Nature has well contrived this lower Place, for Water Defence; but the Hill where on it must stand being about a Quarter of a Mile in Length, and then descending gradually on the Land Side, will render it difficult and very expensive, making a sufficient Fortification there.—The whole Flat upon the Hill must be taken in, or the Side next the Descent made extremely high; or else the Hill cut away: Otherwise, the Enemy may raise Batteries within that Distance without being expos'd to a single Shot from the Fort.¹⁶

On his return trip to Virginia in January, 1754, Washington reported that just north of Wills Creek on "the 6th we met 17 Horses loaded with Materials and Stores for a Fort at the Forks of *Ohio*, and the Day after some Families going out to settle. . . ."¹⁷

William Trent, who was responsible for this work, had as his immediate task the building of a storehouse at the juncture of Redstone Creek with the *Monongahela*; and while he and his men were at work there other plans were made which changed the character of his undertaking. Governor Dinwiddie, having received from Washington the French reply to his letter, convened his Council, which on January 21 made its decisions:

On Consideration where of it was the Opinion of the Board, that it will be sufficient at present for his Honour to order a Draught of One Hundred Men out of the Militia in the

¹⁶ *Journal of Major George Washington*, 4-5.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

Counties of Frederick, and Augusta; and their Advice that the cheif Command be given to Major Washington, and a Captain's Commission to M^r William Trent to raise what Traders and other Men he can to annoy the Enemy; that M^r John Carlyle be appointed Commissary of Provisions; and that the Commanding Officer be directed to proceed immediately to the Defence of our Settlements on the Ohio: they further advised the Governor to call the Assembly in order to raise a greater Force to appose the Designs of the French. . . .¹⁸

The recommended commissions were issued on or about January 27; and Trent, who received his captain's commission at Redstone (about February 10, according to Croghan's later statement), now found himself in the position of defending for Virginia the fort he was to build for the Ohio Company.¹⁹

According to the commission, Trent was to raise and command not more than one hundred men and to appoint "Officers under You . . . not exceeding 1 Capt. and 1 Lieut't"; and with these men and the Six Nations Indians and others, he was "to keep Possession of His M^y's Lands on the Ohio and the Waters thereof and to dislodge and drive away, and in case of refusal and resistance to kill and destroy or take Prisoners all and every Person and Persons not Subjects of the King of G.B. who now are or shall hereafter come to settle and take Possess'n of any Lands on said River Ohio, or on any of the Branches or Waters thereof." The accompanying letter outlined the Governor's plans and added a few details of instruction. Trent was to raise his company "in Augusta and in the exterior Settlem'ts"; a blank commission was sent for the lieutenant he selected; "and I desire You may march Y'r Men out to the Ohio where a Fort is propos'd to be built. When You are there You are to protect and assist them in finishing the Fort and to be on Y'r Guard ag'st any Attempts of the French."²⁰

In a deposition made by Edward Ward on June 30, 1756, is an account of Trent's proceedings:

That at the Time said Captain Trent received the Governor of Virginias Orders, he was at Redstone Creek. . . . That when said Trent received the Governors Instructions to raise a Company he despatched Messengers to several parts of the Country where the Indian Traders lived, there being no other Inhabitants in that part of the Country except four or five

¹⁸ Virginia, *Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, V, 460.

¹⁹ *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 48-57, 59; Croghan journal extracts, *NYCD*, VII, 269.

²⁰ *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 55-57.

Families who had lately settled there and were upwards of Sixty Miles from the inhabited Part of the Country. That one of said Messengers, employed by Captain Trent came to the place where this Deponent was and informed him of said Trent having received such Instructions and upon the Half King and Monacatoochas receiving advice that said Trent had orders to raise a Company of men, they sent him a Message to come immediately and build a Fort at the Forks of the Monongahela and Ohio and that they would assist him as soon as they could gather the People. On receiving such Message said Trent got Rafts made and every other thing necessary for his march and accordingly did march with what few men he had then raised in order to meet the Indians as they requested.²¹

Writing from Logstown on February 3, 1754, George Croghan excused himself for not making a personal report to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania:

I Would aWeated on y^r honner in Company with M^r Montour and M^r Patten Butt that M^r Trent is Just Come outt with y^e Verginia goods and has brought A quantity to [*sic*] Toules and workmen to begin a fort and as he Cant talk y^e Indian Languidge I am oblidg^d to Stay and aSist him in Delivering them goods. . . .²²

This must have been a preliminary visit. An Annapolis dispatch, based on a letter Trent and Christopher Gist wrote Washington on February 19, reported that

The 17th Mr. Trent arrived at the Forks of Monongahela (from the Mouth of Red Stone Creek, where he has built a strong Store House) and met Mr. Gist, and several Others; in two or three Days they expected down all the People, and as soon as they came here to lay the Foundations of the Fort, expecting to make out for that Purpose about 70 or 80 Men. The Indians were to join them, and make them strong. . . .²³

Edward Ward's deposition, previously quoted, continues the story:

That Captain Trent marched from Redstone Creek to the mouth of the Monongahela where a number of Indians of different Nations met him, at which Time and place this Deponent was present having met Captain Trent on his march and received his commission as Ensign from him. Captain Trent on meeting with the Indians made a speech to them and delivered them a present, which was sent by the

²¹ *History of Bouquet*, 41-42.

²² PPC, February 3, 175[4]; printed in *PAI*, II, 119.

²³ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 4, 1754.

Governor of Virginia. After the Treaty was finished Captain Trent laid out the Fort and cleared the Ground and got some logs squared, upon which the Chiefs of the Six Nations then present went with us to the ground and laid the first log and said, that Fort belonged to the English and them and whoever offered to prevent the building of it they the Indians would make war against them.²⁴

Trent's conference with the Indians seems to be reflected, somewhat confusedly, in the story heard by a French officer at Logstown on February 26 to the effect "that the English were to arrive at the Forks in three days, a thousand men at first."²⁵

"At this meeting," according to Croghan, "the Indians insisted that he [Trent] should set his men at work, which he did, and finished a Store House, and a large quantity of timber hew'd, boards saw'd, and shingles made." A Frenchman who, from an island in the river, spied upon the English on March 7 reported that "I noticed a building well along in construction, but because of the distance I could not know in what manner they were constructing their fort, since it was still only marked out, according to the report of the Indians."²⁶ Shelter was the first necessity, of course; and, as has been noted, no defenses seem to have been erected until a month later, just before the arrival of the French.

It will be noted that Captain Trent seems to have been permitted another officer. The lieutenancy, for which he had received a blank commission, went to John Fraser, the trader whom the French had evicted from Venango; but Fraser had accepted only on condition that he might remain at his own place at the mouth of Turtle Creek (near the scene of Braddock's later defeat) and visit the fort when he saw fit.²⁷ Meanwhile, changes had been made in the Virginia military establishment. With passage of the £10,000 supply act on February 23, Governor Dinwiddie turned from efforts to use the unsatisfactory militia to the raising of enlisted troops under Colonel Joshua Fry and Lieutenant Colonel George Washington. This change had little real effect on Trent's men, however, who continued to regard themselves as militia.

Trent's company was in fact undermanned and poorly supplied. In

²⁴ *History of Bouquet*, 42-43.

²⁵ La Chauvignerie to Saint-Pierre, February 26, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 105.

²⁶ Croghan journal extracts, NYCD, VII, 269; Saint-Blin to [Saint-Pierre], March 11, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 108.

²⁷ Washington to Governor Dinwiddie, June 12, 1754, Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings*, I, 80.

January, as has been noted, Washington had met Trent's string of seventeen packhorses going out with supplies; but this was a difficult season for such transportation. Ensign Ward recalled later

That Captain Trent left the Inhabitants and crossed the mountains in the middle of winter and brought a quantity of flour and Indian Meal with him on horseback over the mountains with great difficulty. Those Mountains being impassible in winter if deep snows happen. The first concourse of Indians that gathered at that time during the Treaty were maintained by Captain Trent out of the Flour and Indian Meal, he took with him and depended upon the Indians killing meat for him. For which purpose he took with him a large quantity of goods to pay for it to the Delaware Indians, they being the only Indians who lived adjoining, to the place where the Fort was building, and could not be prevailed upon to hunt, tho' often applied to and offered great prices for any kind of meat they could bring in, even seven shillings and sixpence for a Turkey. At this time the Indians were much inclined to the French, but were afraid to declare in their favour. We lived upon Flour and Indian Meal chiefly, while, it lasted, sometimes getting a Turkey at a very extravagant rate. After the Flour and Meal was gone we lived chiefly upon Indian Corn, all that could be got we purchased.²⁸

Under such conditions Trent's men made little progress on the "fort," but they expected the arrival of reinforcements and supplies from the settlements. Christopher Gist sent word that "Major Washington with a Detachment of the Virginia Regiment were on the march to join us and would be with us in a few days."²⁹ Washington did in fact arrive at Winchester about April 10, but was delayed there by lack of transport for supplies.³⁰ Finally, Captain Trent left for his home near Wills Creek to obtain and bring up some provisions. Since Lieutenant Fraser did not stay at the fort, Trent left Ensign Ward in command of the garrison of thirty-three soldiers.

Robert Callender, an Indian trader at the place, showed Ward a letter on April 13 warning that the French "were to be down by that time."³¹ Ward went at once to Turtle Creek to see Fraser; but the lieutenant, who also had word of the French descent, thought nothing could be done. Next morning Ward conferred with the Half King and Scarroyady, who advised that the fort, then "begun, but hardly

²⁸ *History of Bouquet*, 43-44.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 44.

³⁰ Freeman, *George Washington*, I, 347.

³¹ Ward deposition, May 7, 1754, William M. Darlington (ed.), *Christopher Gist's Journals . . .*, 277.

advanced,"³² be strengthened with a stockade; and Ward set the men to work on this. He also sent Captain Trent a copy of the letter he had seen. The Half King sent a message by Christopher Gist asking when the English would come; the Indians were angry over the delay, he said, and threatened to move away. Again Ward appealed to Lieutenant Fraser, asking him to come to the fort; but Fraser declined on the ground that he had business to settle with his partner.

The last gate of the stockade was erected on April 16, and Ensign Ward and forty-one men (including the thirty-three soldiers) awaited the arrival of the French. On the same day, as they were to learn, Captain Contrecoeur and his force of six hundred men encamped a short distance up the Allegheny, and Contrecoeur drew up two notices which were to be delivered the following day by Le Mercier. One of these, addressed to the British commanding officer, called for peaceful withdrawal from French territory; the other, addressed to the Indians (the Half King and his people) with the garrison, expressed displeasure with their behavior and advised them to disperse.³³

On the morning of April 17 the French re-embarked and floated on down toward the Forks. What followed can be told as Ward himself reported it:

. . . That the French first appeared to him at Shanopins Town about two Miles distant from the Fort . . . that they moved down within a small distance from the Fort, Then landed their Canoes, and marched their men in a regular manner a little better than Gun shot of the Fort. That Le Mercier a French Officer sent by Contrecoeur the Commandant in Chief of the French Troops came with an Indian Interpreter, called by the Mingoes the Owl, and two Drums, one of which served for Interpreter between Le Mercier and him; Le Mercier presently deliver'd him the summons by the Interpreter, looked at his watch which was about two, and gave him an hour to fix his Resolution, telling him he must come to the French Camp with his Determination in Writeing He says that half an Hour of the time allowed him he spent in Council with the Half King, who advised him to acquaint the French he was no Officer of Rank or invested with powers to answer their Demands and requested them to Wait the Arrival of the principal Commander.³⁴ That at the time the

³² Washington Journal, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 134; translated in *Pennsylvania History*, XIX (1952), 10.

³³ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 116-19. A translation of the summons to the English is printed in *CR*, VI, 29-30.

³⁴ Freeman makes the plausible suggestion that the Half King recalled Joncaire's similar reply of December 6, 1753, at Venango; see Freeman, *George Washington*, I, 352.

Summons was deliver'd to him, the Half King received a Belt of Wampum much to the same purpose.

That he went accompanied with the Half King, Rob^t Roberts, a private Soldier, and John Davidson as an Indian Interpreter, that the Half King might understand every word he spoke at the French Camp, That he there address'd himself to the Chief Commander Contrecoeur and expressed himself agreeably to the above mentioned advice of the Half King, That the French Commander told him he should not wait for an Answer from any other person, And absolutely insisted on his determining what to do that Instant, or he should immediately take Possession of the Fort by Force. That he then observeing the number of the French, which he judg'd to be about a Thousand and considering his own weakness being but Forty one in all, whereof only Thirty three were Soldiers, Surrender'd the Fort with Liberty obtained to march off with everything belonging thereto by twelve o'Clock the next Day [April 18, 1754]. . . .³⁵

The Half King was highly indignant. He "stormed greatly at the French at the Time they were obliged to march out of the Fort and told them it was he Order'd that Fort and laid the first Log of it himself, but the French paid no Regard to what he said."³⁶ On the same day, April 18, he, Scarroyady, and the Belt of Wampum sent a message to the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania to let them know "how We were used by the French" and to appeal for help.³⁷

That Ward overestimated the size of the French force is not surprising, nor is it important. "He was credibly Informed," he testified, "by an Englishman who attended the French Commandant that they had 300 Wooden Canoes, and 60 Battoes and had four men to each Canoe and Battoe, that they had also Eighteen Pieces of Cannon three of which were nine Pounders."³⁸ This was the account Ward repeated to Washington, whom he met on April 22 at Wills Creek and which Washington included in his letters.³⁹

Ensign Ward had with him two young Indians of the Half King's band. Washington sent one of them back with a reply to the Indians' message of April 18. The other warrior accompanied Ward to

³⁵ Ward deposition, Darlington (ed.), *Gist's Journals*, 275-76.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 278.

³⁷ Printed in *CR*, VI, 31. See *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 137-38, for a French translation of this message and *Pennsylvania History*, XIX (1952), 11, for a retranslation into English.

³⁸ Darlington (ed.), *Gist's Journals*, 278.

³⁹ Washington Journal, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 136.

Williamsburg; two days after their return on May 17, Washington sent him with a second speech to the Half King.⁴⁰

Meanwhile Captain Trent's men arrived at Washington's camp, apparently by way of the storehouse at Redstone, where they had concealed some of their supplies.⁴¹ These men, most of whom had been traders and employees, still regarded themselves as militia and therefore not under Washington's authority. To avoid trouble in camp, Washington ordered them to wait at Captain Trent's place for the Governor's instructions; but the men disregarded this order and disbanded. When Ensign Ward returned from Williamsburg, he brought letters dated May 4, expressing the Governor's displeasure with Trent and Fraser for their long absence from their post, "Which Conduct and Behaviour" he ordered Colonel Joshua Fry to "enquire into at a Court Martial, and give Sentence accordingly."⁴² There is no record, however, of such action being taken.

The first attempt to fortify the Forks of Ohio had ended in failure. Planned originally by the Ohio Company, the project had been taken over by the colony of Virginia to counter threatened French military action. In place of the proposed fort, however, the Virginia detachment was able to erect only a storehouse, unfortified until April 13 when work was begun on a stockade to transform the post into a rude fort. Arrival of Captain Contrecoeur and a French army three days later rendered the Virginia position hopeless. The post was surrendered on April 17, and the timbers of the storehouse, or perhaps the structure as a whole, were used by the French in constructing Fort Duquesne.

FORT PRINCE GEORGE

All accounts of "Trent's Fort" clearly show this structure to have been in fact a storehouse, which presumably would have been included in the fort intended to be built at the Forks of Ohio. Surrounded by a hastily constructed stockade, however, this building became itself a makeshift fort, a substitute, however inadequate, for the proposed fortification with which it is frequently confused; and its history terminated on April 17, 1754, when Ensign Ward surrendered it to the French.

The proposed fort, in contrast with Ward's rudely extemporized

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 136-44, 149-51.

⁴¹ Deposition of English deserters, *ibid.*, 283.

⁴² Dinwiddie to Washington, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 147-49.

defense, did not at this date exist even on paper. Almost two weeks after the fall of "Trent's Fort," but before news of the event had reached Williamsburg, Governor Dinwiddie wrote on May 1 to Governor Sharpe of Maryland that "The Plan of the Fort is not yet Drawn, as the Ground is not fix'd on being left with discretional Power to the Engineer";⁴³ and Ensign Ward himself stated in his deposition of June 30, 1756, "that there was no Fort but a few Palisades he ordered to be cut and put up four days before the French came down."⁴⁴

From another of Dinwiddie's letters, written on September 23, 1754, to Horace Walpole, it is known that the unbuilt fort was to have been named Fort Prince George, presumably to compliment the man who became George III;⁴⁵ but nothing suggests that this name ever was applied to, or intended for, the structure known unofficially as "Trent's Fort."

FORT NECESSITY

Fort Necessity stood near present U.S. Route 40, northwest of Farmington, Fayette County. Begun by Lieutenant Colonel George Washington on May 30, 1754, it was surrendered on July 4 to an attacking French force. As historical records and archaeological evidence prove, the fort consisted of a single low building in the center of a circular stockade a little over fifty feet in diameter. This fort had no place in Virginia military plans, but was a product of the failure to reinforce the Forks of Ohio in time to prevent French seizure of that place in the spring of 1754.

As has been stated in the account of "Trent's Fort," the plan approved by Governor Dinwiddie's Council on January 21 of that year called for the use of two bodies of militia: Captain William Trent and a hundred men, recruited among Indian traders and others from Augusta County and the frontier, were to constitute an advance party "to annoy the Enemy"; Major George Washington was to command a hundred more, fifty each from Frederick and Augusta counties, with orders to join Trent's company and complete the Ohio Company's fort on the Ohio.

⁴³ *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 145.

⁴⁴ *History of Bouquet*, 45. Richard Peters later described "Trent's Fort" as "a small, illconstrued house at the Mouth of the Monongevalo," *PAI*, II, 238.

⁴⁵ *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 343: "I raised a Co. of Men and some Artificers, and sent them to the Ohio to build a Fort in His M'y's Name, and to call it Fort Prince Geo." Thomas Cresap wrote of it in 1767 as "Fort St. George So called in the [Ohio] Company's Books" (quoted in *Mercer Papers*, 623). Cresap's recollection may have been faulty, and Dinwiddie is in any event the better authority.

With the Assembly's passage of a supply bill, enacted February 23, the Governor enlarged his plans and discarded militia in favor of a regularly enlisted Virginia Regiment under Colonel Joshua Fry and Lieutenant Colonel Washington as field officers and composed of three hundred men organized in six companies of fifty men each. By orders from London, this force was to be increased by three independent companies of British regulars, one stationed in South Carolina and two in New York; and Governor Dinwiddie expected the support of a considerable number of Cherokee and Catawba Indians.

Captain Trent's men (far fewer than a hundred) began in February to build a storehouse at the Forks of Ohio; but it was not until April 2 that Washington (commissioned as of March 15) left Alexandria with the vanguard of 120 men in two companies headed by Jacob van Braam and Peter Hog.⁴⁶ At Winchester about April 10 he was joined by Captain Adam Stephen's company, increasing his total force to 159 men. Leaving here a week later, he received on April 19 a letter from Captain Trent (then near Wills Creek, present Cumberland, Maryland) urging haste, "because a corps of 800 French are hourly expected."⁴⁷ Next day he had the first report that Trent's ensign had had to surrender on April 17; and on April 22 he met Ensign Ward himself at Wills Creek.⁴⁸

It was now impossible for Washington to carry out his original orders. In a council of war held April 23 he decided to advance to the new Ohio Company storehouse at Redstone and to fortify it as an advanced base; he wrote to tell the governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania of his intentions and sent a message asking the Half King and his Indians to meet him at "the fork of the road" (near present Summit, southeast of Uniontown, Pennsylvania).

The detachment resumed its march about April 29, taking with it some cannon which it had just received. Opening their own road through rough country, the troops took almost a month, until May 24, to advance to the Great Meadows, site of the later fort. That morning Washington received a message from the Half King, informing him that a party of French was in the field looking for him.

The same day we arrived at the meadows at two o'clock, where we found a trader who told us he came that morning from Mr. Gist's, where he had seen two Frenchmen the previous

⁴⁶ Washington Journal, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 134; translated in *Pennsylvania History*, XIX (1952), 10.

⁴⁷ Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings*, I, 40 ff.

⁴⁸ Washington Journal, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 136.

night; and that he knew there was a strong detachment on the march, which confirmed the news we had received from the Half King. Consequently, I stationed troops behind two entrenchments which were natural formations, and had our wagons put there, too.⁴⁹

Four days later, early in the morning of May 28, 1754, Washington joined the Half King and a few followers, who had tracked the French party. In the encounter which shortly followed, the French commander, Ensign Jumonville, and nine others were killed, twenty were captured, and one man escaped to carry the news to Fort Duquesne. One of Washington's men was killed, and Lieutenant Thomas Wager and one or two others were wounded. It was the first bloodshed in the open Anglo-French contest for the Ohio country, though both sides previously had used threats of force. It took place in a time of nominal peace, and Jumonville's official errand was to warn Washington off French territory. On the other hand, the encounter took place beyond the area in which Contrecoeur was then authorized to assert authority;⁵⁰ and Jumonville's proceedings did not accord well with his official status of envoy. The French, however, were prompt in asserting that Jumonville had been assassinated.

Following this engagement Washington returned to Great Meadows, where on May 30 he began to "raise a fort with a little palisade" since he feared attack by a larger French force when they learned of Jumonville's defeat. That the preparations were not very extensive, however, is suggested by the short time within which they were completed. On May 31 Washington wrote to his brother John Augustine that "We have already got entrenchments, are about a pallisado which I hope will be finished today." He noted in his journal on June 1 that "We are finishing our fort," and on Sunday, June 2, that "there were prayers in the fort." To Governor Dinwiddie he wrote on June 3 that "We have just finish'd a small palisado'd Fort, in which, with my small numbers, I shall not fear the attack of 500 men."⁵¹

Precisely when and how the fort was named is not known. The name Fort Necessity appears in Washington's journal under date of June 24 and is used casually, as a name already known.⁵² Its propriety as the

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 154; translation in *Pennsylvania History*, XIX, 19.

⁵⁰ Marcel Trudel, "The Jumonville Affair," *Pennsylvania History*, XXI (1954), 351-81.

⁵¹ Washington Journal, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 161-62; Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings* I, 70, 73.

⁵² Washington Journal, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 180: *fort de Nécessité*.

name of an emergency, makeshift defense seems obvious, but it is not actually known why and by whom it was selected. Writing a year later, on May 12, 1755, John Bannister Jr. said “. . . we built a fort called ‘Necessity,’ from the great difficulty of procuring necessities for subsistence when our soldiers were there employed.”⁵³

When the French counterattack failed to materialize, Washington, using the fort as his base, resumed work on the road to Redstone. On June 1 a body of the pro-English Iroquois joined him, “the Half King, Queen Aliquipa, and about 25 or 30 families, making nearly 80 to 100 persons, including women and children”; and on June 9 long-awaited reinforcements arrived.⁵⁴ Commanded by Major George Muse, they comprised the last three companies of the Virginia Regiment, under Captain Robert Stobo, Captain Andrew Lewis, and Lieutenant George Mercer. Far under full strength, they numbered only some eighty men. They brought with them nine small guns, of the sort commonly called swivels because of the way they were mounted; and they probably brought the news of some changes of command.

Washington had heard three days earlier of the death of his superior, Colonel Fry. In consequence of this accident, Washington was promoted to colonel, Muse to lieutenant colonel, and the senior captain (Stephen) to major.⁵⁵ Colonel James Innes, however, had been named “Commander-in-Chief of all the forces,” which of course would include the independent companies as well as the Virginians.

On June 12 scouts reported a party of Frenchmen approaching. As it turned out, the party consisted of nine French deserters; but Washington, taking all precautions, went out to meet them with 130 of his men and 30 Indians, “and ordered Major Muse to repair into the fort, and erect the small swivels for the defence of the place.”⁵⁶

About two days later Washington received what were to be his last reinforcements, the 3d Carolina Independent Company of one hundred men, commanded by Captain James Mackay.⁵⁷ Their presence, unfortunately, created a problem neither Washington nor Mackay could

⁵³ To Robert Bolling, *William and Mary Quarterly*, Old Series, X (1901), 104.

⁵⁴ Washington Journal, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 162-64. Writing to Governor Dinwiddie on June 3, Washington dated the Indians' arrival on June 2. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings*, I, 72.

⁵⁵ *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 193.

⁵⁶ Washington Journal, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 164-65; Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings*, I, 78.

⁵⁷ For the date see Freeman, *George Washington*, I, 387; for a description of the troops see Nichols, “The Organization of Braddock's Army,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, IV (1947), 125 ff.

solve despite their cordial personal relations: for Washington, a provincial officer, could not command British regulars.⁵⁸ The difficulty was resolved, not very satisfactorily, when, on June 16, Washington's Virginians resumed work on the road to Redstone while Mackay's company and the Half King's Indians remained at Fort Necessity. From this date until July 1, therefore, it was actually Captain Mackay who commanded at the Great Meadows.

From June 19 to June 21 the Half King and a few of his followers joined Washington at Christopher Gist's place for an Indian conference. Having heard that the Delawares and Shawnees had turned against the English, Washington had invited the Delaware leaders to meet him; they arrived on the 18th, and on the same day eight "Mingoes" (Iroquois), apparently in the French interest, arrived from Logstown.⁵⁹ In all, the Indians present at the conference included "the Half King and several Iroquois, Loups [Delawares], and Cha8anons [Shawnees], up to the number of 40." The council was inconclusive. The Delawares reported that the Onondaga Council had invited them to remove to "the source of Susquehanna," away from the threat of war. The chiefs present—"King" Shingas, Keekyuscung, Delaware George (Nenatcheehunt)—professed to be friendly but unable to show their feelings openly. At the close of the conference, in spite of Washington's appeals, the Indians returned to the Great Meadows.

A week later word arrived from Scaroyady (who had not yet joined the Indians at the camp) that the French had received reinforcements and were about to attack. The report was in fact well founded. Captain Coulon de Villiers, brother of the "murdered" Jumonville, had arrived at Fort Duquesne on June 26 with some 125 Indians; and, finding Captain Le Mercier under orders to set out with 500 soldiers, De Villiers on the grounds of seniority claimed and was given command of this detachment.⁶⁰

On June 28, the day De Villiers set out from Fort Duquesne, Washington called a council of war at Gist's. At his request, Captain Mackay marched the Independent Company down from the Great Meadows

⁵⁸ Freeman, *George Washington*, I, 388-91.

⁵⁹ It is worth noting that by July 1 Governor Duquesne knew that Joncaire had had the "supposed English army" reconnoitered and knew that it consisted of only four hundred men. Duquesne to Contrecoeur, July 1, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 208.

⁶⁰ For a fuller account of these and subsequent events see Freeman, *George Washington*, I, 396 ff. Washington's journal breaks off at June 27. De Villiers' journal, June 26-July 7, is in *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 196-202.

so that the forces might not be separated. Gist's buildings were hastily palisaded for possible defense; but the council held June 29 decided to make the stand at Fort Necessity. Dragging with them the nine swivels which had been brought to Gist's, Washington's Virginians and Mackay's regulars returned to Fort Necessity on July 1 after a difficult and exhausting march.

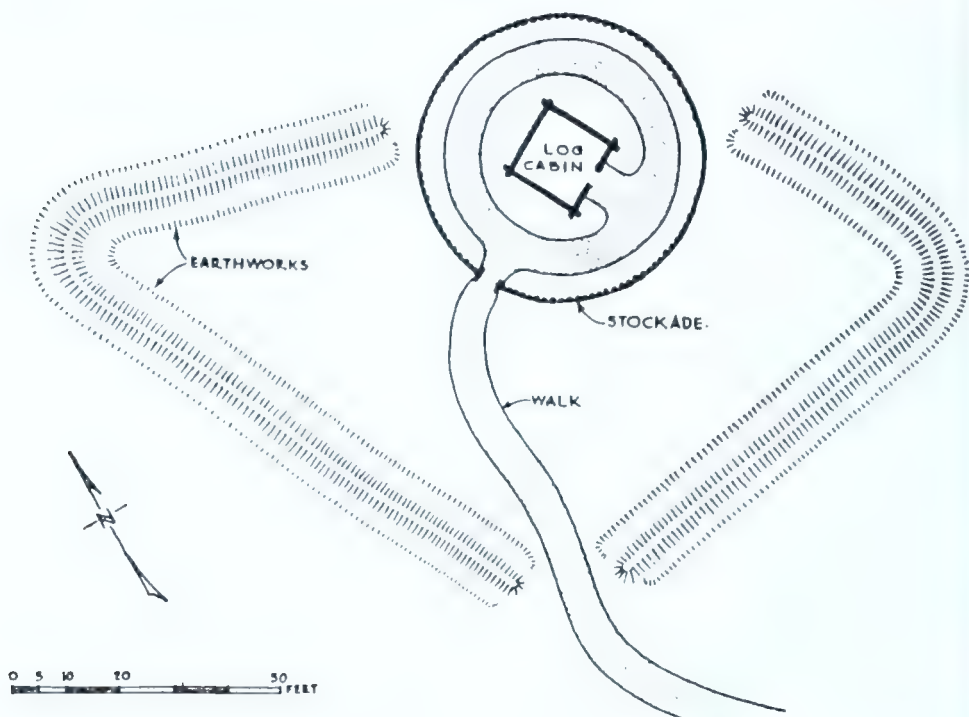
Meanwhile, uncertain of the English position, De Villiers' detachment had advanced up the Monongahela to the Ohio Company store at Redstone, near which they camped on the night of June 30. Two days later they found the abandoned camp at Gist's which they described as "three houses surrounded by several upright posts, and some enclosures whose interior was commanded from the neighboring heights." Marching all the way in the rain on July 3, they passed the scene of Jumonville's defeat and, nearing Fort Necessity, exchanged fire with an English party outside the fort.

The garrison had done what they could to improve the makeshift defenses, which the Half King later described as "that little thing upon the Meadow."⁶¹ Not much could be done, of course. Constructed early in June, when the Virginia force numbered 160 men, the fort had not been enlarged after the arrival of reinforcements on June 9 brought the total to some 240. The Virginians were busy opening a road thereafter; the Independent Company, which remained at the Great Meadows, did not exceed a hundred men. Now, with some 350 men to shelter, the structure was quite inadequate.

Basically, the fort consisted of a circular stockade, fifty-three feet in diameter, in the center of which stood a low shed about fourteen feet square. John Shaw, who served in one of the Virginia companies that arrived at the fort on June 9, in a deposition dated August 27 of the same year described it as "a Small Stocado Fort made in a Circular fform round a Small House that Stood in the Middle of it to keep our provisions and Ammunition in, And was Cover'd with Bark and some Skins, and might be about fourteen ffeet Square, And the Walls of the Fort might be eight ffeet Distance from the said House all Round."⁶² Five years later, on September 10, 1759, Colonel James Burd, on his way to build a fort at Redstone, described it as "a small circular stockade, with a small house in the centre; on the outside there is a

⁶¹ Weiser Journal, printed in *CR*, VI, 152.

⁶² Shaw Deposition, in J. C. Harrington, *New Light on Washington's Fort Necessity*, 128-32. The distance of "eight ffeet" between the house and the palisade cannot be right and should perhaps be eighteen feet.



Harrington, New Light on Washington's Fort Necessity

DIAGRAM OF FORT NECESSITY RESTORATION, 1954

The ground plan for the restoration of Fort Necessity by the National Park Service in 1954 was based upon a careful archaeological investigation of the site.

small ditch goes round it about 8 yards from the stockade. . . ."⁶³ It appears in fact that the only thing added after the return of the troops on July 1 was, as Washington wrote, "a small Intrenchment, which we had not Time to perfect."⁶⁴ Archaeological study indicates that the entrenchment inclosed an area roughly diamond-shaped, having the circular stockade at one of the obtuse angles.

The French attack began on the morning of July 3 sometime between nine and eleven o'clock. The English were at first drawn up in order before the entrenchment, but seeing that the French did not intend an open attack they withdrew to the trenches. Here the defenders were exposed to the rain, while the French and their Indian allies were partially sheltered in the woods. Both sides kept up an irregular fire until night, when at eight o'clock the French called a parley at which they proposed that the English surrender the fort and retire with the

⁶³ Burd Journal, quoted in Day, *Historical Collections*, 336.

⁶⁴ Harrington, *New Light on Washington's Fort Necessity*, 125, quoting an account in the *Virginia Gazette*, July 19, 1754.

honors of war. As the garrison was in no condition for prolonged resistance, Washington and Mackay signed the terms of surrender.

In the difficult conditions under which the surrender terms were transmitted, Washington was unaware that De Villiers, in consistency with the official French representation, had written into the document an acknowledgment that the killing of Jumonville was an assassination.

On the morning of July 4, 1754, the troops set out for Wills Creek, leaving behind eleven men to take care of the wounded who could not be moved and Captains Stobo and Van Braam as hostages. Of the English force, some thirty men were killed, including Lieutenant Mercier of Mackay's company,⁶⁵ and seventy wounded; on the French side, two Frenchmen and an Indian were killed, and fifteen Frenchmen and two Indians wounded. The Half King and his followers had retired from the Meadows before the fighting began; some thirty of the Indians rejoined the retreating troops at Wills Creek, but went from there to George Croghan's post at Aughwick (present Shirleysburg) near the Juniata River, referred to in Shaw's deposition as "Jemmy Arther."

After the garrison's departure De Villiers had Fort Necessity destroyed, and on his way back to Fort Duquesne he burned Gist's place and the Ohio Company store as well.

As Colonel Burd's description indicates, the ruins of Fort Necessity were visible for some time afterward. French letters refer to the place both as Fort Necessity and as "the burnt fort" (*le fort brulée*). Thus, on July 31, 1755, Captain Contrecoeur reported that he had on the previous day sent three Indians with horses to bring files, chisels, and swords from the burnt fort.⁶⁶ Reporting their return from Fort Necessity on August 3, Contrecoeur informed Governor Vaudreuil that

I have sent some strings of wampum to the Loup village with which I invite them to come with all their horses to go near Fort Necessity, which the English abandoned, to see what we can find, which can be brought over along the lower Malanguellée River, where there are eight leagues of portage . . . I gathered all I could of what the English left.⁶⁷

Since the site lay on the main route of travel between Virginia and the Forks of Ohio, both English and French scouting parties must frequently have visited it. Braddock passed this way in June, 1755, on

⁶⁵ *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 280, 286.

⁶⁶ Contrecoeur to Vaudreuil, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 406.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 408.

his march toward Fort Duquesne.⁶⁸ Washington, being sick, was not with Braddock then; but he was present on July 13 when the General died during the retreat and was buried a short distance north of the fort site. Three years later Washington wrote to Colonel Bouquet on August 2, 1758, urging that the same route be used for the new campaign against Fort Duquesne and recommending the Great Meadows as a campsite.⁶⁹ Washington subsequently became the owner of the site, patented to him by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania on February 28, 1782.⁷⁰

Nineteenth-century surveyors of the visible traces of earthworks, unable to distinguish between the line of the outer entrenchments and that of the stockade, were responsible for the supposition that Fort Necessity was in the shape of an irregular triangle or diamond. Its true outlines and dimensions were determined by the National Park Service through archaeological investigations completed in 1953. The present reconstruction of the fort is based upon these findings.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Reporting the troops' arrival at the Great Meadows on June 25, an anonymous journalist wrote: "In ye middle of this spot is Fort Necessity; built by Mr. Washin[g]ton last Year when he retreated from the French; it was a small four-sided figure, with a trench dug round it. . . ." Charles Hamilton (ed.), *Braddock's Defeat*, 45. The figure described is that of the visible earthwork, not that of the demolished stockade.

⁶⁹ S. K. Stevens, Donald H. Kent, and Autumn L. Leonard (eds.), *Papers of Henry Bouquet*, II, 298 ff. Cited hereafter as *Bouquet Papers*.

⁷⁰ Patent Book 6, Vol. 1, p. 136, Bureau of Land Records, Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg.

⁷¹ Harrington, *New Light on Washington's Fort Necessity*; see also Frederick Tilberg, "Washington's Stockade at Fort Necessity," *Pennsylvania History*, XX (1953), 240-57.

CHAPTER FOUR

The French Forts

UNLIKE the posts built and briefly held by Virginia forces, the French forts in western Pennsylvania were part of a deliberately planned and unified undertaking. Their establishment was the visible evidence of French triumph and their continued existence measured the success of the venture. Forts erected at Prequ'isle and Le Boeuf in 1753 secured the French gateway into the Ohio country; Fort Duquesne, begun a year later, was the strongest and most advanced position; Fort Machault, the latest built, gave added protection to a long and difficult line of communication.

The greatest French triumph was the victory over General Braddock on July 9, 1755. Thereafter, working with limited resources but making effective use of Indian auxiliaries, the French commanders maintained their position and held the British provincial forces on the defensive. The probable consequences of a well-planned British campaign against Fort Duquesne became increasingly apparent, however, and were verified when in 1758 the French were forced to abandon this fort in the face of General Forbes' advance.

Even after this loss, however, they remained in possession of the other three forts for another year until the English capture of Niagara made these posts also untenable. The way then lay open for a British advance to the Great Lakes, but before this could be effected French loss of the upper Ohio was dwarfed by the loss of all Canada in 1760.

FORT DE LA PRESQU'ISLE

Fort de la Presqu'isle stood at the site of present Erie, where it occupied an elevation somewhat overlooking the lake. It owed its name to the nearby peninsula, *presqu'île* in modern French. According to surviving descriptions the fort consisted of a wall of squared timbers, laid horizontally and enclosing an area about 120 feet square. There were log buildings in the four sides, and two gates, one in the side facing the lake and one in the opposite side, facing the road toward

Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf. It had four bastions, and in 1759 it was said to have had a stone magazine built above ground.

Disregarding posts established near the Delaware River prior to the founding of Pennsylvania, Fort de la Presqu'isle was the first frontier fort within the present limits of Pennsylvania—though it may be noted that the "Erie Triangle," including the site of this fort, was the last territory acquired by the State and was purchased from the national government in 1792. It was also the first and the last of the French forts in Pennsylvania, begun in May, 1753, and occupied until August, 1759.

More important, the landing at Presqu'isle, about May 3, 1753,¹ marks the beginning of the French attempt to gain control of the Ohio country; and the fort established here became the usual place of entry and departure in the movement of men and supplies to and from the other French forts on the waters of the Ohio. In a very real sense, the story of Pennsylvania's frontier forts begins here.

The landing, made by an advance detachment of about 250 men commanded by Lieutenant Charles Deschamps de Boishébert, was not in accord with the original plan, under which Boishébert was sent to the Lake Erie end of the Chautauqua portage to prepare for the main French force, which was to have entered on the Ohio by that route. Learning, after the departure of this advance detachment, of the harbor at Presqu'isle, Governor Duquesne had changed the route of the expedition; so Boishébert, who had made the original landing on the Chautauqua route about the middle of April, moved on to make the new landing at Presqu'isle.²

In the interim the Governor, advised that the landing might present difficulties, had decided to entrust the operation to the commander of the expedition, Captain Pierre-Paul de la Malgue, sieur de Marin; but his orders to this effect had arrived too late. The nature of the possible trouble is not indicated. Presqu'isle was a common resort of the "Lake Indians," a name applied to the Ottawas, Chippewas, and related Indians, and the Ottawa chief Mikinak later "regretted the land of Presqu'isle which he had been obliged to leave by a wampum belt

¹ *French Invasion*, 24. The precise date is unknown, but Boishébert was to have left the Chautauqua landing on May 1. Duquesne to Contrecoeur, May 13, 1753, ASQ, V-V, 1:16.

² *French Invasion*, 19 ff.

given him by the commandant" at Detroit,³ but there is no indication of trouble at the time of the landing.

About May 15, the engineer of the expedition, Captain François Le Mercier, arrived with a detachment of seventy men and began construction of the fort. According to a French soldier, Jean Pidon, who later deserted, they "began to build a Fort on an Eminence, about one hundred yards from the Bank of the Lake, which they called Duquisne, the Name of their General, the Marquis Duquisne."⁴ Orders issued here during the following year are in fact dated at "fort Duquesne de la Presqu'île";⁵ however, the Governor's decision that the chief fort on the Ohio should bear his name required its being dropped here.⁶

Marin, with the main French force, arrived at Presqu'isle a month after Boishébert's landing; on June 8 he wrote Captain Contrecoeur, commanding at Niagara: "Upon my arrival at this fort, I found the works making very good progress and very much in order. You will not be surprised at this, I think, for you know the energy and care manifested by M. Le Mercier."⁷ Duquesne wrote to Marin on June 13 that Le Mercier had sent Contrecoeur "a brief sketch of his works, which," the Governor remarked, "are more than in proportion to the fewness of the men he has."⁸ By this time Marin was preparing to advance toward the Ohio; and the Governor, replying on July 10 to Marin's letters of June 20-27, expressed satisfaction that Marin no longer feared "lest the Fort de la Presquisle should be an obstacle to the speed of my project."⁹ On August 3 Marin reported to the Governor "that the fort at Prisqu'isle is entirely finished."¹⁰

The Governor took exception, however, to Le Mercier's style of construction; informed that the walls were of horizontal timbers, he wrote Marin on July 22 to recommend the more common palisade: "As forts built piece upon piece take more time than those which are made with piles driven four feet into the ground, and which have ten

³ Chaussegros de Léry Journal, *RAPQ*, 1927-1928, p. 11. The statement is made under date of January 25, 1755, at Detroit.

⁴ Jean Pidon deposition, PPC, March 19, 1754; printed in *PAI*, II, 124.

⁵ De Louvigny, certificate for De Céloron, March 19, 1754, "Notes sur Joseph-Louis Céloron de Blainville," *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, XXXIII (1927), 600. Cited hereafter as *BRH*.

⁶ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, May 6, 1753, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 38.

⁷ ASQ, V-V, 1:62; translated in *French Invasion*, 30.

⁸ ASQ, V-V, 5:62:5; summarized in *French Invasion*, 30-31.

⁹ ASQ, V-V, 5:62:6; translated in *French Invasion*, 32.

¹⁰ *Wilderness Chronicles*, 51.

or twelve feet above it, you will please conform to this usual way of building them in the Upper Country. . . ."¹¹

Several contemporary reports contain descriptions of this fort. At times the English received information as promptly and as directly as did the French authorities; so on August 7, 1753, only four days after Marin wrote to Duquesne, Scarroyady described the fort to William Trent at Logstown:

Scaruneate told me . . . that the Fort on the big Lake is very strong of hued Timber about six Foot apart filled in between with Dirt with four Bastions and a Ditch, it stands close upon the edge of the Lake, upon a rising piece of ground. The bank of the Lake is very high and soft mould.¹²

A second report in English records is that made by Thomas Forbes, apparently a soldier of fortune who served with the French force sent to the Ohio in the spring of 1754:

this Fort is situated on a little rising Ground at a very small Distance from the waters of Lake Erie, it is rather larger than that at Niagara, but has likewise no Bastions or Outworks of any Sort; Tis a Square Area inclosed with Logs about 12 Feet high, the Logs being squared, & laid on each other, & not mor than 16 or 18 inches thick.¹³

Yet a third English description is that by Stephen Coffen, who served with the French in 1753 and afterward deserted:

a square Fort of Chestnut Logs squared and lap over each other to the Height of Fifteen Feet, it is about one hundred and twenty square, a Log House in each Square, a Gate to the Southward and another to the Northward, not one Port Hole cut in any Part of it; when finished they called it Fort *La Briske Isle*.¹⁴

The fullest discussion of this fort and its potentialities probably is that contained in a "Memoir on the State of New France," drawn up in 1757 by a French officer, Louis-Antoine de Bougainville:

Fort de la Presqu'île.—Presqu'île, square fort of squared pieces, seven leagues from Fort de la Rivière-au-Boeuf and []¹⁵ from Niagara, situated on Lake Erie near the

¹¹ ASQ, V-V, 5:62:8; translated in *French Invasion*, 36.

¹² Trent Journal, *History of Bouquet*, 26-27.

¹³ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, IV (1909), 274.

¹⁴ PR, M, 304-307; printed in CR, VI, 9-13, and in *Wilderness Chronicles*, 43-49. Printed from another manuscript in NYCD, VI, 835-837, and reprinted in *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series (PA2), VI, 184-87 (1877 ed.).

¹⁵ Words omitted in the French text.

entrance to a large bay a league and a half long and a half-league wide; there is a commandant, who receives a thousand francs allowance, and a garrison of fifty or sixty men.

This post, as for trade, is like the two preceding [Rivière au Boeuf and Machault]; its usefulness is as an essential store-house, the first between Niagara and the Belle-Rivière. The portage from this fort to that of Rivière-au-Boeuf is seven leagues long. During the winters, which are mild, rainy, little subject to snow, transport there is almost impossible, spring and fall present the same situation, and summer is in fact the only season one can count on for sending provisions and other essential goods to the Belle Rivière. I speak in terms of wagons: Packhorses move in all seasons; the Indians have many of them, and their help is almost always needed, because of the haste in which the portage must be made in order to make use of the waters of Rivière-au-Boeuf.

To tell the truth, if the roads were improved we could get along without the Indians, but policy requires us to use them, especially in time of war. When they are entrusted with the portage, they prevent tribes who might have bad intentions from interfering with our shipments; moreover, what they earn by this, together with the presents we make them, enable them to clothe themselves and to obtain necessities. Without this resource they would apply to the English, who treat them much better than we, and it is essential that this be not called to their attention.

It would be easy to draw the Indians to this fort to settle there and form villages; the terrain is good, the hunting and fishing plentiful. The Mississaugas who roam about Lake Erie would settle here most willingly, since they would be assured of finding near the fort the resources which they lack when at a distance. The Iroquois who have a village at Kanouagon [Conewango] thirty leagues from Presqu'isle, would also come nearer; they have often been obliged to come to us for food. But to succeed in forming this settlement, it would be necessary:

1. To have a store at Presqu'isle well stocked with food and with goods for the Indian trade:
2. To allow them the portage. We pay six francs a portage to Indians, three francs to the French; but the difference is soon made up by the charges for goods and food and by the gains from a trade would soon become considerable.

The Mississauga chief is named Maccouainité, and that of the Iroquois, Cocité; both are very friendly towards the French and have given proof of it.¹⁶

¹⁶ *RAPQ*, 1923-1924, pp. 48-49. Compare the translation in *PMHB*, LVI (1932) 62.

The role of supply depot meant that this fort had many changes in size and composition of garrison and that it furnished temporary shelter for detachments bound not only for the Ohio but also for Detroit and other western posts. Captain Marin, first commander in chief of the French forces on the Ohio, had his headquarters here most of the time from June until September, 1753, and had his time well taken up with problems of Indian conferences, supplies, opening the portage road and clearing French Creek (*Rivière au Boeuf*), and other matters preliminary to the intended descent of the Ohio.

Sometime in June, apparently, the Delawares from Venango delivered the first warning message to the French.¹⁷ In reality the "warning" probably was little more than a formal inquiry whether the French came in peace or in war; and the French reply was sufficiently friendly to obtain these Indians' help on the portage.¹⁸ This Delaware willingness to co-operate undoubtedly was increased by John Fraser's departure from Venango, where he had for some twelve years operated a trading post.¹⁹ Delighted with the Delaware reaction, Governor Duquesne advised Marin that he should "make a great deal of the tribe of the Loups [Delawares], which has its share of good qualities"; but he recommended sternness toward the Shawnees, "who have surely embroiled heaven and earth."²⁰

About the beginning of July Scarroyady and other Indians from the Ohio went to Presqu'isle to deliver the second notice. These Indians, including the Half King's people, had closer ties with the English, but they began with the formal question about the French purpose; in reply, Marin asserted his intention to go down the Ohio despite the English and to build forts there in accordance with his orders.²¹ He evidently reassured the Indians about the French intentions towards them, however, and took other steps to win them over. Most of the delegation returned to Logstown three weeks later than expected.²² Their official explanation there was that "some of them being taken

¹⁷ Scarroyady said the embassy followed the delivery of Governor Hamilton's warning on May 12, but Indian diplomacy required time. According to Coffen, the Indians delivered their message to Marin at "the Fort La Riviere aux Boeuff." *CR*, V, 666; VI, 11.

¹⁸ *Trent Journal, History of Bouquet*, 19.

¹⁹ Freeman, *George Washington*, I, 276.

²⁰ Duquesne to Marin, July 10, 1753, ASQ, V-V, 5:62:6.

²¹ *Trent Journal, History of Bouquet*, 35-37; Scarroyady's statement to the Pennsylvania commissioners, *CR*, V, 666-67.

²² *Trent Journal, History of Bouquet*, 18-25. On July 12 Scarroyady was expected in four days; he came on August 7.

sick delayed them"; but Marin wrote jubilantly to Duquesne "that all the Delawares (*Loups*), Chaouanons, and Senecas on the Beautiful river had come to meet him, and that he had so well [received] them, that they are very zealously assisting, with their horses that they have brought along with them, in making the Portage."²³

The third notice, a defiant one delivered by the Half King Tanaghrisson himself, was presented at Presqu'isle on September 3. Speaking in the name of the warriors on the Ohio—not in behalf of the chiefs, those who "attended to good works"—this leader of the Ohio Iroquois demanded that the French abandon their plans. Marin, just as bluntly, refused. Knowing that he had appeased some of the Ohio Indians, he asked why the Half King did not have the "four-towns" speech belt which his people had accepted at the previous conference. Adroitly, he reminded the Half King and the Shawnee members of his delegation of the old hostility between the two peoples, and on the following day these Shawnees duly met Marin in separate council to dissociate themselves from the Half King's stand.²⁴ Although the Half King returned home rebuffed and unsuccessful, his show of hostility undoubtedly affected the later French reassessment of the probable success of a descent of the Ohio in this year.

Help or hindrance from the Indians aside, Marin was having trouble with supplies. As early as July 15 he complained to Captain Contrecoeur at Niagara about discrepancies in the weight of barrels of salt pork, and he had Le Mercier report the matter to Duquesne.²⁵ A few days later he complained to the Commissary General, Jean-Victor Varin de La Marre, about his orders making the storekeepers and clerks responsible to Le Mercier rather than to himself.²⁶ Possibly Marin was at times overly suspicious,²⁷ but the management of supplies entered into the scandal and recriminations which were to become a matter for official investigation a few years later.

The need to clear a way to the Ohio for supplies and troops soon took Marin away from Presqu'isle. Having sent two officers ahead to select a site for the second fort, Marin himself went sometime before

²³ Duquesne to Rouillé, August 20, 1753, citing Marin's letter of August 3, *NYCD*, X, 256; also in *Wilderness Chronicles*, 51-52.

²⁴ Minutes, September 2 [-3] and September [4], *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 53-58, 61-62. See also *Journal of Major George Washington*, 6-8.

²⁵ Marin to Contrecoeur, July 15, 1753, ASQ, V-V, 1:65; translated in *French Invasion*, 34.

²⁶ Marin to [Varin], July 18, 1753, ASQ, V-V, 5:60:13.

²⁷ See Varin to Contrecoeur, August 18, 1753, explaining variation in the weight of barrels, *ibid.*, 4:311.

the end of June to make the final decision;²⁸ and on July 11 he reported that he was going there next day to erect the stockade.²⁹ Despite Marin's strenuous efforts, however, or rather because of the strenuous efforts required, Governor Duquesne became concerned about the progress of the expedition. On July 10 he wrote Marin: "It is, however, not without worry that I see so much work done by so few men, and I am still afraid that they may be overworked, and that the best men may be lacking when they are needed."³⁰

On July 16 Duquesne ordered Captain Péan, Marin's second-in-command, to Presqu'isle to confer with Marin and Le Mercier and to appraise the situation. Péan, bringing up the last body of the troops, was then at Niagara, where he received these orders some two weeks later. Arriving at Presqu'isle about August 12, he spent two days in consultation with the other two captains; and on August 14 they recorded their conclusions in a document which Péan on his return to Niagara sent to Duquesne:

After reviewing and carefully considering all the articles in the General's letter and seeing the exact account of the provisions of all sorts both at the forts of the Rivière aux Boeufs, Presqu'isle, and Niagara, and the balance of what is necessary, M. Marin, with the advice of MM. Péan and Mercier, finds himself compelled by lack of provisions to enter the Belle Rivière with only 1,350 men, including Indians, and to leave only 30 men each in the forts of Presqu'isle and Anjou and 20 in the fort of the Rivière aux Boeufs. . . .

On entering the Belle Rivière, M. Marin will leave at Presqu'isle, in addition to the garrison, 60 men to work until autumn in ten boats in the voyaging on Lake Eyriés. . . .³¹

Although this report does not propose any suspension of the expedition, the revision of plan and acknowledgment of the circumstances underlying the decision indicate an apprehension probably increased by the Half King's speech of September 3 already referred to.

Soon afterward apparently, Marin went from Presqu'isle to Fort de la Rivière au Bocuf, where Péan was to join him with the final consignment of troops and supplies.³² Péan, who left Niagara on

²⁸ Duquesne to Marin, July 10, 1753, acknowledging letters of June 20-27, *ibid.*, 5:62:6.

²⁹ Marin to Contrecoeur, *ibid.*, 1:64.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 5:62:6; translated in *French Invasion*, 32.

³¹ *Mémoire pour Michel-Jean-Hugues Péan . . .*, 24v-25v. Cited hereafter as *Péan Memoir*.

³² Marin to Péan, n. d., ASQ, V-V, 4:379k, copy in *ibid.*, 5:61:12b; translated in *French Invasion*, 41.

September 8,³³ probably arrived at Presqu'isle a day or two later; but he found there a considerable quantity of supplies yet to be moved over the portage, and it was near the end of the month before Péan, having sent on these supplies, joined Marin.³⁴

With Marin's death, a month later, the year's campaign ended. Péan had by then returned to Quebec; and the bulk of the troops followed.

The troops had been accompanied, of course, by spiritual advisors. The surviving portions of the clerical register unfortunately contain only two entries for this post, identified as "camp de la presqu'île." At a burial on July 11, 1753, Friar Gabriel Anheuser, a Recollect priest, officiated as chaplain of the detachment; at another on the last day of this month, another Recollect priest, Friar Denys Baron, assisted as chaplain with the detachment. Friar Gabriel afterward officiated at the "camp de la Rivière aux beufs," on August 20 and September 6, but is not named thereafter; Friar Denys became chaplain at Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf and later at Fort Duquesne. Later, on July 30, 1755, a third Recollect priest, Friar Luc Collet, is identified as "chaplain at Presqu'île and Rivière aux Boeufs," indicating that the two posts were served by a single chaplain.³⁵ In March, 1759, an Indian informant, Captain Bull, reported a priest at each fort, but one of these may have been the chaplain from Fort Duquesne.³⁶

An enumeration of the commanders and garrison of Fort de la Presqu'isle during these months probably is of no great importance except as a further illustration of the constant movements of troops in the course of the campaign. Rather by chance than by plan, Lieutenant Boishébert, who arrived about May 3 with 250 men, was the first officer in command at the site. Captain Le Mercier, arriving about May 15 with seventy more men to construct the fort, of course outranked Boishébert but was in turn outranked by Captain Marin, the commander in chief, who came about June 3 with some five hundred men. Thereafter, as Marin extended his operations toward the Ohio, the number of men here declined and Marin himself prepared to move. In a letter dated July 11, 1753, he advised that subsequent communications addressed to himself or Le Mercier be

³³ Varin to Contrecoeur, October 9, 1753, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 72.

³⁴ Péan wrote Duquesne from Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf on September 29, 1753. *Péan Memoir*, 33.

³⁵ A. A. Lambing (ed.), *Baptismal Register of Fort Duquesne*.

³⁶ *CR*, VIII, 311, 313.

marked: "In our absence, to the officer commanding at the Fort de la Presqu'isle."³⁷

A later letter seems to identify this officer as Ensign Jean-Baptiste Levrault, sieur de Langy. On August 27 the Governor sent to Contrecoeur at Niagara orders for "Sieur Le Borgne, whom I intend to have serve at Fort de La Presqu'isle under the direction of Sieur de Courtemanche, whom I am recalling from Detroit. I never intended to entrust this important post to Sieur Langy except to equip the wagons."³⁸ Courtemanche did not arrive immediately, of course, and it is not clear how long Lieutenant Paul Le Borgne commanded. In September Péan was the ranking officer while he was at Presqu'isle. Then, it appears, Louis Le Gardeur de Repentigny came to command and angered Marin by writing directly to the Governor about the poor morale of the troops.³⁹ However, Marin's death on October 29, 1753, left Repentigny in temporary command on the Ohio until the arrival of Marin's successor, Saint-Pierre, in December. On December 12 Repentigny was called to Rivière au Boeuf to meet Major Washington, come to deliver Governor Dinwiddie's letter (he is referred to in Washington's journal as "Monsieur Riparti").⁴⁰ Although Duquesne wrote December 25 that he was recalling him, Thomas Forbes reported that "Capt Darpontine [*sic*] commanded in this Fort & his Garrison was Thirty private men" when the troops arrived for the new campaign in the spring of 1754.⁴¹

To some extent the events of 1754 repeated those of 1753, with the great difference, however, that the two forts and the portage road were this time ready in advance of the movement of troops. In consequence, this expedition was carried through successfully. Again Presqu'isle witnessed the arrival of successive detachments of troops from Niagara, and, as before, these detachments moved on to other destinations. Captain Claud-Pierre Pécaudy, sieur de Contrecoeur, the new commander in chief, arrived at Presqu'isle sometime about the beginning of March,⁴² and about the middle of the month went on to relieve

³⁷ Marin to Contrecoeur, ASQ, V-V, 1:64. Marin was about to leave for the Rivière au Boeuf.

³⁸ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 44.

³⁹ Duquesne to Marin, November 7, 1753, *ibid.*, 79; *id.* to the Minister of the Marine, November 29, 1753, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 61.

⁴⁰ *Journal of Major George Washington*, 16, 18.

⁴¹ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 91; Forbes Journal, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, IV (1909), 274.

⁴² Bigot to Contrecoeur, March 2, 1754: "I am counting on your having arrived at Presqu'isle." ASQ, V-V, 4:341.

Saint-Pierre at the Rivière au Boeuf. Whether Captain Le Mercier preceded or followed Contrecoeur from Niagara to Presqu'île is not clear, but he seems to have remained at the latter place long enough to complete the transport of supplies and then to have left, probably on March 20, to join Contrecoeur at the Rivière au Boeuf.⁴³

At this time Presqu'île was considered relatively safe from attack, and Duquesne had instructed Contrecoeur on January 27 to leave only eighteen officers and men in garrison at this place and only twelve at the Rivière au Boeuf.⁴⁴ Orders given at "*fort Duquesne de la Presqu'île*" on March 19 are signed by De Louvigny,⁴⁵ who identifies himself as *capitaine d'Infanterie* and who may be the François Mouet Louvigny who in 1791 gave a somewhat magnified account of his military services.⁴⁶ The long-awaited Lieutenant Jacques-François Le Gardeur de Courtemanche finally took command but, having asked to be relieved, was replaced about June 20, 1754, by Lieutenant Alexandre Dagneau Douville.⁴⁷

Captain Péan was then in camp at the Chautauqua portage, where detachments had assembled to reinforce the French posts on the Ohio and in the west as necessary; and it was from this camp that Douville went on June 16 to take up his new command.⁴⁸ Péan's instructions were to join Contrecoeur if needed; otherwise, after giving what help he could, he was to proceed to Detroit. On July 11 he wrote Contrecoeur:

I know that my presence is absolutely necessary at Presqu'île, as much for the construction of bateaux as for the hay; to have a new road built over the portage which is completely ruined; to arrange for the transportation of food and to have a clearing made around the fort, which, they say, has become so cluttered up that anyone could come set fire to it without running any risk. . . .⁴⁹

⁴³ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, April 15, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 113-14.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 93.

⁴⁵ *BRH*, XXXIII (1927), 600.

⁴⁶ "État des services de François Mouet Louvigny," *ibid.*, XL (1934), 28-34.

⁴⁷ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, May 22, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 129; De Léry Journal, *RAPQ*, 1927-1928, p. 366. It is unfortunate that the note in *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 190, attempting to distinguish between the brothers Philippe Dagneau Douville, sieur de La Saussaye, and Alexandre Dagneau Douville, gives an erroneous citation which confuses them further.

⁴⁸ De Léry Journal, at Chatakoïn, *RAPQ*, 1927-1928, p. 366. On June 20 this journal reports: "Mr de Courtemanche arriva de la Presqu'île où il était ci-devant commandant." *Ibid.*, 367.

⁴⁹ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 210.

Arriving at Presqu'isle three days later, Péan on July 15 wrote that he was going "to have the entire three leagues of bad road in this portage paved with wood"—that is, to have it corduroyed.⁵⁰

Péan remained at Presqu'isle until July 30. During this stay one of the officers of his party, Lieutenant Joseph-Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry, arrived from the Chautauqua camp on July 19 and on July 24-25 traveled to Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf and back to inspect and measure the portage road.⁵¹ Duquesne then assigned to Repentigny the actual improvement of the road, with orders to complete the work by September 2 if possible, leaving seventy-five men at each of the two forts.⁵² Although a later letter refers to Repentigny as having been "commandant a la presqu'isle" during this time, it seems that he actually commanded the workmen while Douville continued in command of the fort itself.⁵³

In the spring of 1754 men and supplies for the Ohio had moved both over the Chautauqua portage and by way of Presqu'isle; it was the Governor's hope, as he wrote to Contrecoeur on August 14, that "We can now bid farewell to the Chataken portage if we succeed, as I hope, in making the new road permanent."⁵⁴ Repentigny seems to have completed his road building on schedule but was criticized for not bringing to Presqu'isle the stores accumulated at Niagara.⁵⁵ By September 21 he had sent off most of his men and was on the point of leaving, when Contrecoeur wrote to detain him because of rumors of an English attack on Fort Duquesne. Delayed eighteen days longer, he must have left for Niagara about October 9.⁵⁶

A tabulation of garrisons for the winter of 1754-1755 reports one officer (presumably Lieutenant Douville), two cadets, and a hundred militia and soldiers at Presqu'isle.⁵⁷ Douville remained here into the spring of 1755, with its seasonal movement southward of troops and supplies into the Ohio country; and one of Contrecoeur's letters to him, dated April 11, refers to Douville's loss of horses in this work.⁵⁸

⁵⁰ Péan to Contrecoeur, *ibid.*, 215.

⁵¹ De Léry Journal, *RAPQ*, 1927-1928, pp. 381-87.

⁵² Duquesne to Contrecoeur, August 14, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 246-49.

⁵³ Laperrière to *id.*, Niagara, December 29, 1754, *ibid.*, 268.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 246.

⁵⁵ Laperrière to Contrecoeur, December 29, 1754, *ibid.*, 268; Contrecoeur to Varin, May 2, 1755, *ibid.*, 324-25.

⁵⁶ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, October 17, 1754, *ibid.*, 263; Contrecoeur to Varin, May 2, 1755, *ibid.*, 324-25.

⁵⁷ Garrisons on the Belle Rivière, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 65.

⁵⁸ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 310-11.

His command here terminated not long afterward, however, since it is known that he arrived at Montreal toward the end of May.⁵⁹

Douville's successor, probably, was Lieutenant Antoine-Gabriel-François Benoist, who, like most officers assigned to frontier posts, was less than happy in his new command. Writing to Contrecoeur on June 30, 1755, Benoist expressed his dissatisfaction with the command of Presqu'isle and reported that he was asking the General (Duquesne) to relieve him or to send a second-in-command.⁶⁰ On August 21 he referred to the matter again; the General had ignored two requests for relief, and Benoist appealed to Contrecoeur, then about to be relieved at Fort Duquesne and to return to Canada, to bring with him a replacement for Presqu'isle.⁶¹ Benoist continued in command here, however, during the time of Contrecoeur's successor and gained a reputation for integrity.

There was a particular anxiety over the movement of supplies and reinforcements in the spring of 1755 since the English were known to be preparing for an attack on Fort Duquesne. As General Braddock opened his road and advanced from Virginia with his army, the French also hurried men and supplies toward the Ohio. Beginning just before the end of May, one detachment after another arrived at Presqu'isle from Niagara, unloaded the boats, moved supplies over the portage, and re-embarked for Fort Duquesne. Lieutenant Boucher de Laperrière at Niagara listed the detachments as they set out from his fort over the portage: Ensign La Chauvignerie, May 21, with four bateaux; Ensign Verchères, May 24, with one conveying horses; Lieutenant Le Borgne, May 27, with eight; Captain Liénard de Beaujeu, June 1, with sixteen; Lieutenant Saint-Martin, June 11; Lieutenant Richerville de Carqueville, June 12; Captain Saint-Ours, June 14. The last detachment, that of Lieutenant Le Gardeur de Courtemanche, left Niagara sometime later.⁶² The last group to leave Presqu'isle was Saint-Ours' detachment of 173 men, which left on July 7, just two days before the battle on the Monongahela. There remained then at Presqu'isle 108 men, of whom only 22 were soldiers.⁶³

⁵⁹ Madame Contrecoeur to Contrecoeur, May 23, 1755, *ibid.*, 348; Duquesne to *id.*, June 1, 1755, *ibid.*, 351.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 369-70.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 424.

⁶² Beaujeu to [Contrecoeur], June 1, 1755, *ibid.*, 353; Laperrière to Contrecoeur, June [13], 1755, ASQ, V-V, 2:135.

⁶³ Benoist to *id.*, July 6, 1755, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 382-85.

Captain Beaujeu, in command of these detachments, had been named to relieve Contrecoeur as commander on the Belle Rivière about June 15-20. He arrived at Presqu'isle by June 8 and was busy there for several days before moving on toward his new post. He never assumed the command, however, for both he and Lieutenant Carqueville were killed in the battle on July 9.

A month later, with the English decisively defeated, the excess troops from Fort Duquesne began to appear at Presqu'isle on their way back to Canada. Benoist appealed to Contrecoeur for two hundred men to repair the bridges on the portage road. On August 21 he wrote that he had detained Ensign Montizambert and forty-four men for that work, but had sent all the other detachments to Niagara, where there were rumors of an English attack.⁶⁴

As Bougainville had suggested in the observations quoted earlier, Presqu'isle's position on the routes of communication between Niagara, Detroit, and Fort Duquesne made this place a convenient rendezvous for Indian allies and auxiliaries. Thus in 1756 Ensign Joseph Marin (son of the former commandant on the Ohio), returning from the western post where he had wintered, arrived at Presqu'isle in June with some five hundred Indians. Unfortunately for the French, the Indians heard that there was smallpox at the forts; Marin, arriving at Montreal on July 11, had to report that his Indians, justifiably alarmed, had insisted on returning home.⁶⁵

Bougainville, aide to General Montcalm, held Benoist in high regard, and in his journal refers more than once to his integrity, conspicuous in a day when many officials were busy lining their pockets. "At the very time," Bougainville notes in March, 1757, "when the Marquis de Vaudreuil was being assured that no provisions were lacking at Presqu'isle, Mr. Benoist, who commanded there, a very truthful man if there is one in Canada, assured me that without the provisions which were forwarded from Chouagen [Oswego] he would have been forced to evacuate the fort for lack of subsistence."⁶⁶ Again in May, 1758, and taking the precaution this time of writing in English, he recorded that "I am told by surest way, that there are only four officers to whom the king's affairs can be confided whitout [*sic*] any fear of rapine, Benoist, Repentigny l'aîné, Le Borgne."⁶⁷

⁶⁴ *Id.* to *id.*, August 7, 1755, *ibid.*, 414; *id.* to *id.*, August 21, 1755, *ibid.*, 423.

⁶⁵ Bougainville Journal, *RAPQ*, 1923-1924, pp. 206-207. For the younger Marin see Cyprien Tanguay (ed.), *Dictionnaire généalogique des familles canadiennes*, V, 514.

⁶⁶ *RAPQ*, 1923-1924, p. 254.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 320. It may be assumed that Bougainville himself was the fourth person.

As Bougainville's note implies, Benoist was no longer in command in March, 1757, but had been replaced by the final commander of Fort de la Presqu'isle, Lieutenant Etienne Robineau de Portneuf.⁶⁸ Bougainville's comments on this officer are less flattering. Under date of May 5, 1757, he reports that Portneuf, looking out for his own interests, had shipped brandy and trade goods rather than flour and bacon, and in consequence had had to send a sergeant and forty-three men of his garrison to Niagara in the early part of April. However, no provisions could be shipped until Lake Erie was clear of ice, and on April 11 the ice had not yet melted.⁶⁹

The first French post in the Ohio venture, Presqu'isle was also the last. In the fall of 1758, when General Forbes had begun with deliberate force to advance against Fort Duquesne, Governor Vaudreuil designated Presqu'isle "as the general rendezvous of the Canadians and farmers from the Illinois, [from] Detroit, [and] of all the French and different Southern Nations, in order to have them when required." Forced to evacuate Fort Duquesne in late November, the French withdrew their garrison intact and, still in possession of the three northern posts, watched for an opportunity to counterattack. In the spring of 1759 Governor Vaudreuil reported, "The scarcity of provisions prevailing in the Colony has determined me to send orders to the Illinois and Detroit to forward [to] the Presqu'île all the men these two posts can furnish."⁷⁰

An account of Presqu'isle about this time appears in the report of a Delaware Indian, Captain Bull (son of the well-known Teedyuscung), who, sent from Pittsburgh to spy on the French posts, arrived at Presqu'isle about March 7 and made his report ten days later:

. . . . At Prisque Isle the Garrison Consisted of Two Officers, two Merchants, a Clerk, Priest and One Hundred and Three Soldiers as near as he could reckon by Counting them in the Barracks for they were not Employed about any Work.

The Commanding Officer's Name is Burinol⁷¹ with whom Bull was formerly well Acquainted. . . .

⁶⁸ The date of Portneuf's arrival is indicated by entries in Montcalm's journal. Under date of October 30-November 13, 1756, this notes the assignment of Portneuf to relieve Benoist at Presqu'isle and of De Ligneris to succeed Dumas at Fort Duquesne; and on December 13 it reports the return of Dumas, Benoist, and others. H.-R. Casgrain (ed.), *Journal du marquis de Montcalm* . . . , 82, 134. Cited hereafter as *Montcalm Journal*.

⁶⁹ *RAPQ*, 1923-1924, p. 262.

⁷⁰ *NYCD*, X, 952.

⁷¹ This apparently represents the name Portneuf, repeated by a Delaware Indian and recorded by a Scotsman (Hugh Mercer).

The Fort is a Square with four Bastions Square Log Work, no Plat Forms raised Yet, so that they can't be used, Only a Small Platform in each Bastion for a Centinel, no Guns upon the Wall, but four Four Pounders in One of the Bastions not Mounted on Carriages. The Wall only Single Logs, no Bank within or Ditch without, Two gates of one Equal Size, about Ten Feet Wide, One fronts the Lake, about Three Hundred Yards Distance, the other the Road to La Beef. The Magazine is a Stone House covered with Shingles & not Sunk in the Ground, standing in the Right Bastion next the Lake going to Prisque Isle from La Beef; The other Houses square Logs; a Considerable Quantity of Indian Goods, but little Flour, Twelve Battoes are every Day expected to Arrive from Niagara with Provisions, the Lake being open to within Three Hundred Yards of the Store [shore] . . . There was four Battoes at Prisque Isle, and no Works carrying on but one small House in the Fort. . . .

Bull left that Place telling the French that he was going to Wioming to see his Father. . . .⁷²

The officer told Captain Bull that 1,500 western Indians were to come, by way of Kuskusky (present New Castle), in company with 500 French; undoubtedly this was the force expected from the Illinois and Detroit.

In accordance with plans, a considerable if somewhat miscellaneous force was assembled. By June 1, 1759, word came to Niagara from the Illinois "that three hundred men under the orders of M. Aubry and the Chevalier Villiers, had arrived, with two or three hundred thousand of flour which they had left at the Miami portage, and that they would ask of M. de Portneuf, commandant at Presque Isle, to take charge of the portage, and send it constantly in his bateau."⁷³ On this same date Lieutenant Jean-Baptiste-Philippe Testard, sieur de Montigny, was ordered from Niagara to Presqu'isle with a detachment to reinforce the French forces in that area.⁷⁴ About a month later on June 29, word came from Presqu'isle "that one hundred French and one hundred and fifty Indians would soon arrive from Detroit; six or seven hundred Indians with M. Lintot, a hundred

⁷² PR, Q, 441-42; printed in CR, VIII, 311-12. For another copy, see Sylvester K. Stevens and Donald H. Kent (eds.), *Papers of Col. Henry Bouquet*, Series 21644, Vol. I, 84-86; cited hereafter as *Col. Bouquet Papers*. Also in *Wilderness Chronicles*, 150-52.

⁷³ Franklin B. Hough (ed.), *Memoir upon the Late War . . . By M. Pouchot*, I, 152. Cited hereafter as *Pouchot Memoir*.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 153. For a note on DeMontigny see *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 60, n. 1.

Indians with M. Rayeul, and also the convoy of M. Aubry from Illinois, with a party of six or seven hundred from the Mississippi.”⁷⁵

These reinforcements arrived July 3, according to Indians who carried the news to George Croghan at Pittsburgh:

That Eight days ago a large Party of French and Indians not less than seven hundred from Fort D’Troit came there with a great Quantity of Provisions and Horses to carry it to Beef River that they expected a great many more Indians to join them there or at Venango. . . .⁷⁶

Up to this time the French had hopes of recovering the site of Fort Duquesne, lightly garrisoned by the English during the winter. In the early days of July, however, an English force laid siege to Niagara, whose commander, Captain Pouchot, on July 7 sent “orders to send hither all the detachments of French and Indians that were then at Presqu’Isle, and orders, to M. de Lignery at Fort Machault, to fall back to Niagara with all the French and Indians he might have.”⁷⁷

Pouchot’s courier arrived at Presqu’isle by July 17 and found the still loyal Indians of the Ohio assembled there. De Ligneris, joined at Fort Machault by Captain Charles Aubry’s detachment from the Illinois, marched at once from that place, and the combined force of some 600 French and 1,000 Indians departed from Presqu’isle by boat to raise the siege of Niagara. Left behind were small garrisons at Venango, Rivière au Boeuf, and Presqu’isle.⁷⁸

Unfortunately for French hopes, De Ligneris and Aubry were soundly defeated on July 24, 1759, a short distance above Pouchot’s fort; and the surrender of Niagara itself on the following day doomed the French posts in the Ohio country.

Survivors of the encounter of July 24 fled toward Detroit, Indians arriving at Presqu’isle brought news of the defeat and of De Ligneris’ capture, and it was reported that “the Commanding Officer of Niagara sent Letters by these Indians to the Commanding Officer at Presque Isle to acquaint him that he should be obliged to deliver up the Place in a few Days, and . . . desired him to forward an Express to Detroit.”⁷⁹ Portneuf, who had remained at Presqu’isle, wrote to the English

⁷⁵ *Pouchot Memoir*, I, 159. “Rayeul” probably is a misreading of Bayeul.

⁷⁶ Nicholas B. Wainwright (ed.), “George Croghan’s Journal, 1759-1763,” *PMHB*, LXXI (1947), 325. See also *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21655, p. 40; printed also in *Wilderness Chronicles*, 157.

⁷⁷ *Pouchot Memoir*, I, 163; see also *NYCD*, X, 978.

⁷⁸ *Pouchot Memoir*, I, 186; see also *NYCD*, X, 986.

⁷⁹ PR, Q, 502-503; printed in *CR*, VIII, 392-93.

commander, Colonel Sir William Johnson (as recorded in Johnson's journal), "desiring to know the number of officers I had in my hands, from the action of the 24th, and begging I would advance them anything they might want, they being men of fortune and credit."⁸⁰ Johnson, who received this message on August 1, replied next day, probably leaving Portneuf in no doubt about the hopelessness of his situation: Both De Ligneris and Aubry were prisoners, and of thirty officers with the force only three had escaped death or capture; furthermore, Niagara itself had fallen.⁸¹

The final French evacuation followed immediately the receipt of this news. Indians, including "Two Shawnese . . . from Presque Isle," carried the news to the English garrison at Pittsburgh, the former Fort Duquesne;⁸² and on August 12 the commander learned from some Delaware Indians

That the French at Presque Isle had sent away all their Stores to Detroit and was waiting when they came by for the French at Beuf River and Venango to join them, to set off for Detroit, that in an Indian Path leading to [*sic*] Presque Isle to a Delaware Town, they met a French Man, and some Indians who informed them that the French set off from Venango the Day before which is Six days ago.⁸³

Later this same day other Indians reported "that the French had burnt their Forts at Venengo, Beuf River and Presque Isle, and gone over the Lakes."⁸⁴

These reports place the evacuation of Venango on August 6; so it may be assumed that Presqu'isle—and, with it, French hopes for the Ohio—was abandoned two or three days later. As Governor Vaudreuil subsequently reported:

All the garrisons of our posts on the Belle Riviere have retreated to Detroit with as much provisions, artillery, ammunition, and goods as they could carry in their bateaux. The rest was given to the savages.

The domiciliated Mississagués of Presquile have followed the French to Detroit.

All the tribes of the Belle Riviere were sorry to see the French leave. The Chevalier de Portneuf sent them a speech,

⁸⁰ Johnson Journal, William L. Stone, *Life and Times of Sir William Johnson*, *Bart.*, II, 397.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, where in obvious error the date is given as August 22.

⁸² *CR*, VIII, 393.

⁸³ *PR*, Q, 504; printed in *CR*, VIII, 395.

⁸⁴ *PR*, Q, 505; printed in *CR*, VIII, 396.

especially to the Cha8oinons [Shawnees], to induce them to persevere in their good intentions.⁸⁵

Portneuf remained at Detroit,⁸⁶ which was surrendered to Major Robert Rogers on November 29, 1760; and by that date the French Fort de la Presqu'isle had been replaced by the British Fort Presque Isle.

FORT DE LA RIVIÈRE AU BOEUF

Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf, the second French fort in Pennsylvania, stood at the site of the present Waterford, Erie County. It took its name from that of the stream, now called Leboeuf Creek, on which it stood.⁸⁷ It was the first fort on the waters of the upper Ohio, and it and Fort de la Presqu'isle guarded the two ends of the Presqu'isle portage. Begun in July, 1753, it was garrisoned until August, 1759. Contemporary descriptions show it to have been a square fort with bastions at the corners, similar to the fort at Presqu'isle but smaller. Barracks and other buildings formed the four sides of the square, and a guardhouse, a chapel, an infirmary, and the commander's storehouse occupied the bastions. This fort had only one gate, however, and the outer wall was a palisade of upright posts, in contrast to the horizontal timbers of Fort de la Presqu'isle.

Once established at Presqu'isle, the French lost little time in opening the portage from that place to the waters of the Ohio and in establishing their second post at the southern end of this portage. Besides these two tasks, they had also to build boats and to clear the Rivière au Boeuf (French Creek) for navigation; then they would have to transport a great quantity of supplies over the portage before the troops could re-embark and descend the Rivière au Boeuf and the Belle Rivière (the Allegheny or the Ohio) to Chiningué (Logstown), where they planned to build Fort Duquesne.

When Captain Marin, commander in chief of the Ohio expedition, arrived at Presqu'isle about June 3, 1753, he found Captain Le Mercier

⁸⁵ Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, June 24, 1760, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 167; also translated in *NYCD*, X, 1093-94.

⁸⁶ Tanguay (ed.), *Dictionnaire généalogique*, VII, 10: "il était, le 13 oct. 1759, au Détroit."

⁸⁷ The French regarded Leboeuf Creek as the head of the stream now called French Creek, called by them Rivière au(x) Boeuf(s). The name French Creek appears under date of August 7, 1753, in William Trent's journal (*History of Bouquet*, 25) and in John Fraser's letter of August 27 (*CR*, V, 659). Washington, who used the name in his journal of 1753-1754, may have learned it from Fraser.

making good progress with the first fort. Shortly thereafter Marin sent two men, Ensign Maray de la Chauvignerie and François Dubreuil, to examine the ground for the second fort; finally, not content with this, Marin himself visited the place sometime before the end of June and selected a spot more advantageously situated, he thought, in terms of wood and of arable land. Reporting all this to Governor Duquesne, Marin also recommended the construction of a storehouse midway on the portage; and he told moreover of the favorable outcome of his first formal meetings with the nearby Indian groups.⁸⁸

The most significant of these Indian conferences was one with the Delawares from about Venango. Counted later as the occasion on which the first of three formal Indian notices was delivered to the French, this meeting appears to have taken place at the time of Marin's June visit to the Rivière au Boeuf. According to Stephen Coffen's deposition,

about one hundred Indians, called by the French the Loos, came to the Fort La Riviere aux Boeuf, to see what the French were doing, that Monsieur Morang treated them very kindly, and then asked them to carry down some stores &ca. to the Belle Riviere on Horseback for Payment. . . .⁸⁹

It is clear from the sequel that these Indians were in fact somewhat perfunctory in their inquiry concerning French motives and that they responded readily enough to Marin's show of friendship.

By July 11 Marin was ready to begin construction of the post at Rivière au Boeuf. "I am going tomorrow," he wrote Contrecoeur at Niagara, "to the end of the portage, to have ovens and a forge built there and to erect the stockade"; and, anticipating extended or repeated absence on this work, he asked that letters for himself and Le Mercier be addressed, "In our absence to the officer commanding at the Fort de la Presquisle."⁹⁰ Four days later these officers were back at Presqu'isle,⁹¹ but plans for the second fort were progressing, for Governor Duquesne, replying on July 22 to Marin's letter of June 27, cautioned him about the manner of construction:

"As forts built piece upon piece take more time than those which are made with piles driven four feet into the ground, and which

⁸⁸ Duquesne to Marin, July 10, 1753, replying to letters of June 20-27, ASQ, V-V, 5:62:6.

⁸⁹ PR, M, 306; printed in CR, VI, 11. The statement that the meeting took place at the fort is of course anachronistic, for the fort was not built there until later.

⁹⁰ Marin to Contrecoeur, Fort de la Presquisle, ASQ, V-V, 1:64.

⁹¹ *Id.* to *id.*, Fort de la Presquisle, July 15, *ibid.*, 1:65.

have ten or twelve feet above it, you will please conform to this usual way of building them in the Upper Country. . . ."⁹² As surviving descriptions show, the Governor's advice was followed.

Actual construction came somewhat later. According to a deposition made January 10, 1754, by Stephen Coffen, who served with the French in the 1753 campaign and afterward deserted,

As soon as the [first] Fort was finished, they marched Southward, cutting a Waggon Road through a fine level Country twenty one Miles to the River aux Boeufs . . . they fell to Work, cutting Timber Boards &c^a for another Fort, while Mr Morang ordered Monsieur Bite⁹³ with Fifty Men to a Place called by the Indians Ganagarahhare, on the Banks of Belle Riviere, where the River aux Boeufs empties into it; in the meantime, Morang had Ninety large Boats or Battoes made to carry down the Baggage and Provisions &c^a to the said Place.⁹⁴

That this account is generally correct is shown by one of Governor Duquesne's letters. Reporting on August 20, 1753, to the Minister de Rouille, he said:

Sieur Marin writes me on the 3rd instant, that the fort at Presqu'isle is entirely finished; that the Portage road, which is six leagues in length, is also ready for carriages; that the store which was necessary to be built half way across this Portage is in a condition to receive the supplies, and that the second fort, which is located at the entrance (*entrée*) of the River au Boeuf, will be soon completed.⁹⁵

The Ohio Iroquois leader Scarroyady, who shortly before this had met Marin in council, on his return to Logstown gave an account on August 7 to William Trent:

Scaruneate told us that the French had finished one fort [at Presqu'isle] . . . and that they had begun another Fort and Town on a little Lake about three or four hundred yards wide and about the same distance from the French Creek. The Fort stands between the Lake and the Creek, and that they were digging a Canal to let the Lake into the Creek, that by raising a Gate, they might come down with their canoes at

⁹² *Ibid.*, 5:62:8.

⁹³ Seemingly Pierre-Louis Boucher de Niverville, sieur de Montizambert, the Boucher being interpreted as *bouchée*, mouthful or bite. Coffen evidently had an imperfect knowledge of French, and his representation of names and events is imprecise.

⁹⁴ PR, M, 306; printed in CR, VI, 11.

⁹⁵ NYCD, X, 256; reprinted in PA2, VI, 162-63 (1877 ed.), and in *Wilderness Chronicles*, 51.

any time. . . . Scaruneate told me that the Fort on the big Lake is very strong. . . . The other Fort is only a Pal-lisadoed Fort and the Town is to be Pallisaded⁹⁶

According to Coffen, "the Fort La Riviere aux Boeufs . . . is built of Wood Stockadoed Triangularwise, and has Two Log Houses in the inside."⁹⁷ The name *Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf* seems to make its first appearance in a letter, undated but apparently written in September, 1753, from Marin to Péan.⁹⁸

The first officer assigned to command at this place seems to have been Lieutenant Le Gardeur de Montesson. This officer having expressed to Le Mercier his willingness to undertake the construction of pirogues, Marin wrote on August 7 accepting this offer and announcing his decision "to assign M. Dumas immediately to go and take your position and place."⁹⁹ Subsequent letters indicate that "Montesson's dockyard" lay on French Creek above the fort. The engineer, Ensign Drouillon, had the responsibility of erecting the fort and of clearing the creek; and to lighten this burden Ensign La Chauvignerie was assigned to clear the upper stream so that Montesson's boats could go down, and Lieutenant Charles Chaussegros de Léry was ordered by Dumas to clear the channel below the fort.¹⁰⁰

Captain Jean-Daniel Dumas commanded at the Rivière au Boeuf less than a month. In part at least, this was because of Marin's temper, none the better for a trying assignment and bad health. Coffen, who had served under Marin, described him as "a Man of a very peevish cholerick Disposition"; and Governor Duquesne wrote after Marin's death of "his impetuous nature which a mere trifle could set in motion."¹⁰¹ On August 26, it appears, Marin received from Dumas a letter which, among other matters, seems to have spoken of the demands on Ensign Drouillon and to have hinted at dissatisfaction on the part of some of the officers.

Marin replied the same day in a letter apparently delivered by

⁹⁶ Trent Journal, *History of Bouquet*, 25-27.

⁹⁷ Coffen deposition, PR, M, 306; printed in *CR*, VI, 12.

⁹⁸ ASQ, V-V, 4:379k; copy in 5:61:12b: "Upon your arrival I count on your coming to the Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf, so that we shall confer there." The date is indicated also by references to the reconciliation with Dumas.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 5:60:9.

¹⁰⁰ Marin to [Montesson], *ibid.*; *id.* to Dumas, August 26, 1753, and Dumas to Marin, August 27, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 42-43, 46-47. For Charles Chaussegros de Léry, see *BRH*, XL (1934), 585. The editor of *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 46, n. 3, credits the elder brother Joseph-Gaspard with this work.

¹⁰¹ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, December 24, 1753, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 86.

Lieutenant Boishébert. In general the reply was routine; but Marin observed somewhat sharply that "if there are any who are not pleased to continue the campaign, you can assure them, Sir, that upon any request they shall make of me I shall not hesitate to send them back immediately"; and he asserted he had received from Dumas' post Indian news of which Dumas himself seemed uninformed. Then having seen a letter from Drouillon to Le Mercier, Marin added a postscript scolding Dumas for lack of co-operation.¹⁰²

On the following day Dumas replied respectfully to these criticisms and then infuriated Marin by asking to be included among the officers to be sent home. On August 28 Marin ordered Dumas to turn the command over to Boishébert at once and informed him that canoes would leave next day for Niagara.¹⁰³ While this action seems hasty and ill considered, it is only fair to remember that Marin was working under strain and to add that he later showed a more conciliatory attitude, assuring Captain Péan, who had intervened to make up the quarrel, that "I am writing to M. Dumas, and he will find me disposed to show him friendship; I hope that his repentance will save others."¹⁰⁴

Change of command did not change the problems. Montesson's detachment continued work on the pirogues, and had to go farther afield for suitable trees; Lieutenant de Léry became sick and had to be replaced. By August 30 Marin expected to remove from Presqu'isle about ten or twelve days later.¹⁰⁵ The move probably was as planned; and it was from the Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf that Marin wrote to Péan, still at Niagara, to join him with the last consignment of men and supplies.¹⁰⁶

This took time; for these troops and goods in their turn had to be shipped to Presqu'isle and then taken over the portage. A letter written about this time again gives proof of Marin's waspish disposition. Replying to a letter of September 14, 1753, from Presqu'isle, Marin wrote:

As you find my instructions binding, Sir, and as that is what prevented you from executing what M. Péan indicated to you, I advise you, Sir, that up to the present time he is adjutant

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 42-43.

¹⁰³ Dumas to Marin, Camp de la Rivière au Boeuf, *ibid.*, 46-48; Marin to Dumas, ASQ, V-V, 4:379b (copy in 5:61:9b); *id.*, to Boishébert, *ibid.*, 4:379n (copy in 5:61:10b).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 4:379k; copy in 5:61:12b. Undated but evidently written in early September, 1753.

¹⁰⁵ Marin to [Boishébert], August 30, 1753, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 51 (where, however, the recipient is identified as Contrecoeur).

¹⁰⁶ ASQ, V-V, 4:379k.

general, and that he will indicate nothing to you except by virtue of the orders I have given him. That is why in the future I ask you to do everything he indicates to you without making any difficulty; my letter will serve you as orders.¹⁰⁷

By September 29 Péan's portaging was done, and he arrived at his destination to find Marin seriously sick—so sick that Péan wrote at once to Duquesne, who on October 14 sent orders to Captain Jacques Le Gardeur, sieur de Saint-Pierre, to replace Marin as commander if necessary.¹⁰⁸ To Marin, Duquesne wrote that Saint-Pierre was "To assist you in every way until your complete convalescence."¹⁰⁹

Péan reported that by September 29 "the troops of the detachment were in the most miserable situation. Sickness had caused a considerable part of them to perish; several days, the soldiers had been buried four at a time."¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, Péan planned to advance down the Ohio about October 10 or 12 with 180 pirogues and a force reduced to 900 men. With this force he was to establish Fort Duquesne at Chiningué and then, with 800 men, to descend the Ohio, leaving Marin—or his successor—to maintain the new forts.¹¹¹ In theory, at least, the burden of Péan's responsibilities was lightened somewhat by receipt of a letter of October 14 in which the Governor informed him that the proposed forts at Venango and Scioto were to be dropped from the plans.¹¹²

Then a worse blow fell: Ensign Drouillon, the engineer, reported the Rivière au Boeuf too low to float boats to the Ohio. Dismayed and half incredulous, Marin and Péan sent Lieutenants Carqueville and Portneuf-Bécancour to make further investigation; but their report confirmed that of Drouillon. Despairing of finishing the campaign this year, Marin decided to winter his fit troops at Rivière au Boeuf, Presqu'isle, and Niagara and to send Péan back with the disabled men. In a report to the Governor he presented the reasons for his decision. Suspicion that Marin had used "the lack of water in the Rivière au Boeuf as an excuse for resting his detachment"¹¹³ was allayed when the Governor reviewed the contingent sent back with Péan and saw

¹⁰⁷ Marin to [], n. d., *ibid.*, 4:379t; copy in 5:61:13b.

¹⁰⁸ Péan *Memoir*, 33.

¹⁰⁹ October 14, 1753, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 74.

¹¹⁰ Péan *Memoir*, 33.

¹¹¹ Duquesne to the Minister of the Marine, November 2, 1753, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 58-60.

¹¹² Péan *Memoir*, 34.

¹¹³ Duquesne to Saint-Pierre, December 25, 1753, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 88.

"the pitiable state to which it has been reduced by the excessive labour of the portages and sleeping in the open for almost three months."¹¹⁴

When Péan left the Rivière au Boeuf, Marin's health had improved somewhat, but he suffered a relapse thereafter and died on October 25, 1753. He was buried in the cemetery at the fort. Saint-Pierre, designated to succeed to the command on the Ohio, had not arrived from "the Western Sea" (Lake Superior); so Captain Repentigny took temporary command of the army. "Present at his interment," reported in the official register, were "Monsieur Repentigny, commander of the above-mentioned army and captain of infantry; Messieurs du Muy, Lieutenant of infantry; Benois, lieutenant of infantry; de Simblin, major at the above-mentioned fort; Laforce, keeper of stores."¹¹⁵

Since Repentigny seems to have been at Presqu'isle, it is uncertain what officer was in charge at the Rivière au Boeuf during November, and few incidents pertaining to the fort can be assigned to this time. George Washington's journal reveals that a party of seven "French Indians," who on October 26 attacked the home of Thomas Cooper on the South Branch of Potomac and carried off his eleven-year-old son, returned this way while "Capt. *Riparti*" was in command.¹¹⁶ One of Governor Duquesne's later letters asserts that "as early as the month of November, 1753, Sieur de la Chauvignerie with thirty men was detached from the fort of the Riviere au Boeuf to go and establish himself at Chinengué, a village of the Cha8anons."¹¹⁷ Neither of these matters is of high importance, however, since it is known that La Chauvignerie did not actually go to Chiningué until January, 1754.

Saint-Pierre, the new commander on the Ohio, arrived at Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf on December 3, 1753—and at once requested Governor Duquesne to replace him on the plea that "a trip which was as long as it was difficult" had so affected his health that he could not continue his services.¹¹⁸ Accordingly, Duquesne on December 5 ordered Captain Claude-Pierre Pécaudy, sieur de Contrecoeur, the

¹¹⁴ *Id.* to the Minister of the Marine, November 29, 1753, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 60.

¹¹⁵ Lambing (ed.), *Baptismal Register of Fort Duquesne*, 40-43. English translation also appears in Frank H. Severance, *An Old Frontier of France*, II, 23-24.

¹¹⁶ *Journal of Major George Washington*, 9, 18. For reports of the Indian attack see *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 27, 1753; February 26, 1754.

¹¹⁷ Duquesne to the Minister of the Marine, October 12, 1754, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 82-83; the French text is quoted in *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 79, n. 4. Duquesne attempting to represent the French "fort" at Chiningué as antedating the English post begun by Trent in March, 1754.

¹¹⁸ Duquesne to Saint-Pierre, December 25, 1753, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 87-88.

at Niagara, to "leave for the Rivière au Boeuf, immediately on receiving this order, where he will take over the command not only of that fort but also the one at Presqu'isle and of the garrisons dependent on it."¹¹⁹

Only a few days after Saint-Pierre's arrival at Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf, Major George Washington appeared there on December 11 to deliver Governor Dinwiddie's message demanding by what authority the French had established themselves on Virginia territory. Accompanying Washington and his white companions was another embassy, composed of four Ohio Iroquois (three chiefs and a younger hunter), and an officer and three soldiers who had escorted them from Venango.

In the council held next day, Saint-Pierre was assisted by his second-in-command and by Captain Repentigny, who had been summoned from Presqu'isle and who, Washington says, "understood a little English." Saint-Pierre treated Washington courteously and made a very favorable impression on him:

This Commander is a Knight of the military Order of St. Lewis, and named *Legardeur de St. Piere*. He is an elderly Gentleman, and has much the Air of a Soldier; he was sent over to take the Command, immediately upon the Death of the late General, and arrived here about seven Days before me.¹²⁰

Saint-Pierre's reply to Dinwiddie, dated December 15, was simple and direct. Any dispute over land must be settled by those who had authority to do so; as commander, Saint-Pierre would obey the orders of his general—that is, of Governor Duquesne—to whom he would forward Dinwiddie's letter.

Saint-Pierre received the Indian embassy on December 14. The three chiefs—the Half King Tanaghrisson, Jeskakake, and Kaghswaghtaniunt—had come to break off relations with the French by returning the wampum "speech belt" which Marin had given Scarroyady in July. Saint-Pierre declined to accept this belt and, in contrast with Marin's brusque treatment of Tanaghrisson in September, attempted to win the Indians with liquor and gifts.

Unofficially, Washington and his companions looked about the French post; and his journal supplies under date of December 13, 1753, the most detailed description of this fort:

¹¹⁹ Duquesne, orders to Contrecoeur, ASQ, V-V, 3:179. Duquesne's orders of the same date to Saint-Pierre are in *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 89.

¹²⁰ *Journal of Major George Washington*, 16.

The chief Officers retired, to hold a Council of War, which gave me an Opportunity of taking the Dimensions of the Fort, making what Observations I could.

It is situated on the South, or West Fork of *French Creek*, near the Water, and is almost surrounded by the Creek, and a small Branch of it which forms a Kind of an Island; four Houses compose the Sides; the Bastions are made of Piles driven into the Ground, and about 12 Feet above and sharp at Top, with Port-Holes cut for Cannon and Loop-Holes for the small Arms to fire through; there are eight 6 lb. Pieces mounted, two in each Bastion, and one Piece of four Pound before the Gate; in the Bastions are a Guard-House, Chapel, Doctor's Lodging, and the Commander's private Store, round which are laid Plat-Forms for the Cannon and Men to stand on: There are several Barracks without the Fort, for the Soldiers Dwelling, covered, some with Bark, and some with Boards, and made chiefly of Logs: There are also several other Houses, such as Stables, Smiths Shop, &c.

I could get no certain Account of the Number of Men here; but according to the best Judgment I could form, there are an Hundred exclusive of Officers, of which there are many. I also gave Orders to the People that were with me, to take an exact Account of the Canoes that were haled up to convey their Forces down in the Spring, which they did, and told 50 of Birch Bark, and 170 of Pine, besides many others that were block'd out, in Readiness to make.¹²¹

On December 16 both delegations, Washington's and the Half King's, left by boat for Venango on their return home. Six days later, on December 22, Saint-Pierre forwarded Dinwiddie's letter to Governor Duquesne, who received it in the last days of January, 1754.¹²²

Writing on January 27 to Contrecoeur, who, though named commander on the Ohio, was still at Niagara, Duquesne gave him formal orders to "enter the Belle Riviere area with the detachment he commands, to march toward Chinengué where he will have a fort built of which he shall have command as well as of all the Belle riviere, its portage, and the forts which are dependent on it." The letter contained more detailed instructions: Contrecoeur was to enter the Ohio with a force of six hundred men, and was authorized to erect Fort Duquesne at "a river [the Monongahela] six leagues this side of Chinengué" if he saw fit. In a postscript dated January 30, Duquesne commented on Dinwiddie's letter, which he had just received.¹²³

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 16-17.

¹²² Duquesne to Saint-Pierre, January 30, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 98.

¹²³ *Id.* to Contrecoeur, *ibid.*, 92-96; orders, *ibid.*, 96-97.

Contrecoeur had to wait the opening of travel before moving from Niagara to Presqu'isle (by the beginning of March) and across the portage.¹²⁴ About the middle of March he arrived at Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf and relieved Saint-Pierre.¹²⁵ Le Mercier, who had led the vanguard of the troops from Montreal, joined Contrecoeur on March 20;¹²⁶ by March 29 Contrecoeur had gone down the Rivière au Boeuf, and Le Mercier was about to follow with the rear guard.¹²⁷ Shortly thereafter, beginning about Easter (April 14), additional detachments under Captain Péan and others set out from Montreal to rendezvous at Chautauqua.

According to the Governor's instructions of January 27, Contrecoeur was to leave "at Fort de la Presqu'isle only eighteen men, and twelve at that of Rivière au Boeuf, officers included."¹²⁸ The officer left in command at Rivière au Boeuf was Lieutenant Paul Le Borgne, who, however, like Lieutenant Courtmanche at Presqu'isle, asked to be relieved. Writing to Contrecoeur on May 22, Duquesne told him:

I inform you that it is Sieur de St. Blin du Verger who is going to command this fort [Rivière au Boeuf] and Sieur Douville the one of Presqu'isle, both under your orders, since those two commanders urgently requested me to relieve them; and I did not hesitate to grant their request because of their lack of fitness, with which they acquainted me, for the detachments which are necessary in that place.¹²⁹

However, Ensign Duverger de Saint-Blin, who received the Governor's orders on June 16, 1754, was then with the detachments at Chautauqua;¹³⁰ and orders given by Duquesne on June 29 were addressed to Le Borgne at Rivière au Boeuf, who was directed to maintain the fort and the portage, to keep in touch with Courtemanche at Presqu'isle, and, if he discovered any English, to seize them.¹³¹ Filling Saint-Blin's place temporarily, Ensign Rigauville des Bergères left Chautauqua July 5 and appears to have taken command two days

¹²⁴ Bigot to Contrecoeur, March 2, 1754, ASQ, V-V, 4:341.

¹²⁵ *Id.* to *id.*, April 15, 1754, acknowledging letter of March 15, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 113; Contrecoeur to Madame Contrecoeur, fort de la riviere au beuf, March 19, *ibid.*, 110-11.

¹²⁶ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, April 15, 1754, *ibid.*, 114.

¹²⁷ *Id.* to *id.*, May 9, 1754, *ibid.*, 123.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 93.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 129.

¹³⁰ De Léry Journal, *RAPQ*, 1927-1928, p. 366.

¹³¹ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 205-207.

later.¹³² Saint-Blin himself finally left for his new post on July 22, probably arriving two or three days later.¹³³

A description of Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf about this time is provided by Thomas Forbes, who served with a French detachment that set out from Montreal at Easter;

We were 8 days employed in unloading our Canoes here [at Presqu'isle] & carrying the Provisions to Fort Boeuff, which is about 6 Leagues from Fort Prisqueille at the head of Buf-faloe River.

This Fort was composed of four Houses built by way of Bastions & the intermediate Space stockaded; Lt St Blain was posted here with 20 Men; here we found three large Bat-teaus, & between 200 or 300 Canoes which we freighted with Provisions & proceeded down the Buffalo river, which flows into the Ohio at about 20 Leagues (as I conceive) distance from Fort au Boeuff, this River was small & at some places very shallow; so that we towed the Canoes sometimes wading, & sometimes taking ropes to the Shore a great part of the way.¹³⁴

The great concern at this fort was of course the portage. On July 1 the Governor wrote Contrecoeur that "I am dispatching Sieur Repentigny, who is a distinguished officer, to the aid of your nephew [Péan] at Chatakoin, and from there he will go to the Fort de la Riviere au Boeuf, where he will remain until he has sent your supplies. Upon his arrival, that officer will tell you about the orders I am giving him."¹³⁵ The assignment was in fact to build a permanent road over the portage. Péan, who had been sick at Chautauqua, wrote from that place on July 11 that he must go to Presqu'isle "to have a new road built over the portage, which is completely ruined";¹³⁶ and on July 15, the day after his arrival at that place, he reported: "I am going to have the entire three leagues of bad road in this portage paved with wood. I do not believe it possible to do it otherwise without always having to do it over again. That will be a lengthy piece of work but it will be durable."¹³⁷

¹³² De Léry Journal, *RAPQ*, 1927-1928, p. 372. Saint-Blin's copy of Le Borgne's orders was made July 7, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 207. On July 10 Le Borgne was at Chatakoin.

¹³³ De Léry Journal, *RAPQ*, 1927-1928, pp. 383, 385.

¹³⁴ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, IV (1909), 274.

¹³⁵ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 208.

¹³⁶ Péan to Contrecoeur, *ibid.*, 210.

¹³⁷ *Id.* to *id.*, *ibid.*, 215.

In preparation for this work, Péan had Lieutenant Joseph-Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry come from Chautauqua on July 19, 1754, and sent him five days later to make a survey of the route. De Léry found the Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf "very small," and concluded that it could have been placed "4½ arpents less distant" (45 perches, of 18 feet each). He computed the whole distance at 5¾ leagues (of 84 arpents each), 1 arpent, 1 perch, 8 feet. Returning next day, it took De Léry sixteen hours to return to Presqu'isle, "so bad was the road, though I was on horseback and urged my horse. I recognized that the ground had no solid base, but by means of the bridges being built it will be passable for a time." On July 30 De Léry left with Péan's party for Detroit.¹³⁸

Repentigny continued with the road building itself, which he seems to have completed on schedule in September. In high hopes, Duquesne wrote Contrecoeur on August 14 that "We can now bid farewell to the Chataken portage, if we succeed, as I hope, in making the new road permanent, as Sieurs Péan and Repentigny assured me"; and he spoke of "the road of the Riviere au Boeuf, which one can now travel along as easily as one goes from Montreal to La Prairie!"¹³⁹

In July the Governor had advised Contrecoeur to maintain garrisons of one hundred men each at the Rivière au Boeuf and Presqu'isle;¹⁴⁰ but in his letter of August 14 he noted a change of plan:

I am ordering Sieur de Repentigny to leave 75 men at each fort and to bring the rest back to Montreal when he has finished the road. My first plan actually was to leave 200 men for their garrison, but since it is not possible that we have to fear an attack from the English during the winter, and as in case they planned one in the spring, it would be easy for me to move first, I prefer saving the food of 50 men. . . .¹⁴¹

A tabulation of the garrisons that wintered on the Belle Rivière in 1754-1755 lists for Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf one officer (no doubt Ensign Saint-Blin), two cadets, and eighty-five militia and soldiers; so the actual strength lay between the two figures proposed by the Governor.¹⁴²

As has been noted in the account of Fort de la Presqu'isle, the year 1755 was marked by the effort to reinforce Fort Duquesne to withstand

¹³⁸ De Léry Journal, *RAPQ*, 1927-1928, pp. 381-87.

¹³⁹ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 246.

¹⁴⁰ Letters of July 18 and 25, *ibid.*, 219, 223.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 246.

¹⁴² *Wilderness Chronicles*, 65.

the expected attack by English forces under General Braddock; and it became the chief responsibility of Lieutenant Benoist at Presqu'isle and Ensign Saint-Blin at Rivière au Boeuf to dispatch the men and supplies forwarded from Niagara by Lieutenant Boucher de Laperrière and commanded by Captain Liénard de Beaujeu, who had been designated to succeed Contrecoeur in the command of Fort Duquesne.

Following the Battle of the Monongahela on July 9, a French victory in which Braddock was mortally wounded and Beaujeu was killed, the excess French troupes returned toward Canada. Appended to a letter of August 14, Saint-Blin listed the detachments which then had returned to Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf:

July 27 M. de Ligneris arrived here
 August 2 MM. de Courtemanche, Montigny, Longueuil arrived
 6 M. de Léry arrived
 7 M. Raimbault arrived
 9 M. Normanville arrived
 12 M. Landrière arrived
 and the 14 M. de Saint-Ours with his gentlemen¹⁴³

With the construction of Fort Machault at Venango in 1756, Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf declined somewhat in relative importance. This may help account for the fact of Saint-Blin's release from the post for part of this year. This officer himself says merely that "I left there in the course of 1756 to go to war. At the end of the year, M. de Vaudreuil recalled me to my fort, where I continued my services, under the orders of M. de Ligneris, commander at Fort Duquesne. I remained until 1759. . . ."¹⁴⁴ Who commanded in his absence is not known. Quite possibly Saint-Blin served at Fort Duquesne in 1756 with the scouting and raiding parties that were so active at that period. The nature of these operations is adequately indicated by a report made by Governor Vaudreuil on July 12, 1757:

M. Du Verger St. Blin took two scalps, and himself captured a prisoner near Fort Cumberland. A party of savages from Kanaouagen [Conewango], who were to join M. de St. Blin, took another trail to go and attack another fort; and on their return, encountered a party of English and savages. They killed one, wounded another, and took a third prisoner. These savages had taken many English and Cataba scalps,

¹⁴³ Saint-Blin to Contrecoeur, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 417.

¹⁴⁴ *Mémoire pour le sieur Duverger de Saint-Blin . . .*, 4.

but were obliged to abandon them, as they were unable to withstand the superior force of the enemy.¹⁴⁵

Several documents of about this time contain descriptions of this post. General Montcalm's aide, De Bougainville, included one in his 1757 *Mémoire sur l'état de la Nouvelle-France*:

Fort de la Rivière-au-Boeuf.—The Fort de la Rivière-au-Boeuf, a square fort, palisaded, situated thirty leagues from Fort Machault, on the river whose name it bears. This river is very navigable in spring, fall, and often even in winter; in summer the water there is very low, it is necessary to tow in many places.

This post is an essential supply post for Fort Duquesne, but it should be rebuilt and protected against attack. The commander there has a thousand francs, the garrison is more or less strong; this post is not a place of trade, especially since the establishment is new.¹⁴⁶

In another passage De Bougainville refers to this post as "Fort de la Rivière-au-Boeuf or Fort Royal";¹⁴⁷ but this latter name does not appear in other documents.

A reference of a very different kind appears in the interrogation of John Hocktattler [Hochstetler] who, taken prisoner in Berks County about the end of September, 1757, was brought by his Indian captors to Venango. Escaping later, he was questioned, apparently by another German, on May 29, 1758, about his route from Venango:

Q: How do you proceed further[?]

A: Up the French Creek 3 Days traveling on Battoes at the end of it we came to a fort built in the same Manner as the other [Fort Machault], and Garrisons, with 25 Menn, from there the French Creek a Road to Presque Isle; wich is a Days Journey from it Distant.¹⁴⁸

At almost the same time this captive was at French Creek, the son of Lieutenant La Chauvignerie, commandant at Fort Machault, became separated from his Indian companions on a raid east of the Susquehanna, and on October 12 he surrendered at Fort Henry in Berks County. Questioned at Philadelphia on October 26, the younger La Chauvignerie gave this description of Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf:

¹⁴⁵ Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 99; there is another translation in *NYCD*, X, 580-84. *Montcalm Journal*, 201, seems to refer to the same incident as reported in a letter of April 15, 1757. Here, however, the officer's name appears, perhaps in consequence of a misreading, as Saint-Clair Duverger.

¹⁴⁶ *RAPQ*, 1923-1924, p. 48; compare the translation in *PMHB*, LVI (1932), 62.

¹⁴⁷ *RAPQ*, 1923-1924, p. 54.

¹⁴⁸ *Wilderness Chronicles*, 120.

That the next Fort to Machault is the Fort on the River O Boeufs, which is said to be forty Leagues above Machault, but having travelld it often believes it is not so much, being only two Days and an half Journey by Land and five or Six Days by Water; that the River is very shallow there, and the Country flat and pleasant; that the Fort there is very strong, pallisadoed round, has a Glacis with a dry Ditch three Foot deep; that he knows not the Number of Cannon, says they are Swivels and under a Dozen, is commanded by his Uncle Mons^r Du Virge [Duverger de Saint-Blin] who is an Ensign of Foot; that there is no Captain or other Officer above an Ensign there, and the Reason of no higher Officer being there is that the Commandant of those Forts purchases a Commission for it and undertakes and has the Benefit of transporting the Provisions and other Necessaries. . . .¹⁴⁹

During the summer of 1758 when the English were marching on Fort Duquesne, Saint-Blin continued his activities in the field. Details are lacking, but Governor Vaudreuil's report of July 28 notes in general terms: "Several parties sent out by M. Duverger St. Blin, commander at the Riviere au Boeuf, were successful enough. Some took scalps, and others prisoners."¹⁵⁰

With the French retreat from Fort Duquesne to Fort Machault toward the end of November of this year and the establishment of an English garrison at Pittsburgh, the area about Rivière au Boeuf became more liable to annoyance by scouting parties and spies. In February, 1759, a wagoner at Fort Machault was carried off by a Pennsylvania officer and a party of Delaware Indians from Fort Augusta.¹⁵¹ In March a Delaware Indian came here, spying for Colonel Hugh Mercer, who commanded at Pittsburgh. Both men gave information, which may serve as examples of the data sought and given in these exchanges.

According to the wagoner (identified as "Martin Whoolly a Canadian"), "From thence [Presqu'isle] to Fort Beauf at the head of the River Beauf is about Six Leagues a good Waggon Road and well Bridged where Swampy, no Cannon mounted at this Fort—From thence to the Mouth of the River is about forty Leagues. . . ."¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 305, and in *Wilderness Chronicles*, 116.

¹⁵⁰ Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, *ibid.*, 113.

¹⁵¹ *Id.* to *id.*, March 5, 1759, *ibid.*, 138; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 5, 1759.

¹⁵² Amherst Papers, PRO 273, WO 34/33, f. 16 (Library of Congress copies). "Martin Woolley" and young La Chauvignerie were later exchanged under a flag of truce of April 28, 1759. Register of Flags of Truce &c, in Papers of the Provincial Secretary, Public Records Division.

On March 17, three days before the wagoner gave his information, the Indian spy Captain Bull had made a longer report at Pittsburgh. Having visited Presqu'isle about March 7,

Bull left that Place telling the French that he was going to Wioming to see his Father; and got to La Beef that Night, the fort is of the same Shape but very Small, The Bastions, Stockaids, and [*sic*] joined by Houses for the Curtains, the Logs mostly rotten; Platforms are erected in the Bastions, and Loop holes properly Cut. One Gun is Mounted on One of the Bastions and Points down the River. Only One Gate, and that fronting this Way or the Side Opposite the Creek. The Magazine is on the Right of the Gate going in, part of it Sunk in the Ground, and above is some Casks of Powder to Serve the Indians.—here are two Officers a Store Keeper a Clerk a Priest and One Hundred and Fifty Soldiers the Men not Employed, at La Beef are Twenty four Battoes, One of them Made Lately and One of them repaired lately; One Le Sambrow is the Commanding Officer; They have a Larger Stock of Provisions here than at Prisque Isle.¹⁵³

Reference in this report to a priest (Captain Bull also reported a priest at Presqu'isle, but not at Fort Machault) recalls the clerical history of this post. Two Recollect priests, Friar Gabriel Anheuser and Friar Denys Baron, had accompanied Marin's expedition in 1753; and the earliest entries in the surviving portions of the register are signed by one or both as chaplains of the party. Entries dated August 20 at "camp de la Riviere aux beufs" and of September 6 are by Friar Gabriel; but entries dated September 16 and afterward are signed by Friar Denys as chaplain of the fort. In the record of Captain Marin's burial on October 29 appears the first reference to the fort chapel, *sous le titre de St. Pierre* (dedicated to Saint Peter). In the following year Friar Denys became chaplain at Fort Duquesne and was probably succeeded by Friar Luc Collet, also a Recollect, who on July 30, 1755, signed the register as "chaplain at Presqu'isle and Riviere aux Boeufs." Whether Friar Luc was still officiating here in 1759 is unknown.¹⁵⁴

In effect, the story of this fort's last days has been told in the account of Fort de la Presqu'isle. In the spring of 1759, however, Saint-Blin (Captain Bull's "Sambrow") scored one of the last French successes against the English in this region. Of this incident Saint-Blin himself later wrote:

¹⁵³ PR, Q, 442; printed in CR, VIII, 312-13. For another copy, see *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Ser. 21644, Vol. I, 86; printed also in *Wilderness Chronicles*, 152.

¹⁵⁴ Lambing (ed.), *Baptismal Register of Fort Duquesne*.

The year of the capture of Niagara, I attacked, at the head of forty Indians, a convoy escorted by two hundred English: I defeated them, forced them to abandon their wagons and provisions; and, the distance from any French fort not permitting me to make use of my booty, I burned it; this frustrated the English plan to take the three dependent French forts of the Belle Rivière; I was wounded in this action. . . .¹⁵⁵

Details and corrections can be supplied from other sources. Captain Pouchot at Niagara reported that

On the 17th [June], some Onondagas arrived with scalps taken by a party of the Five Nations in the direction of Loyal-Anon, from a convoy of sixteen wagons laden with provisions for the enemy, and escorted by one hundred men, of whom twenty-seven were killed, three taken prisoners, and the remainder dispersed in the woods. The wagons were burned and eighty-four horses were captured. This party was under the orders of M. St. Blin. . . .¹⁵⁶

From English sources, finally, it is learned that the attack took place on May 23 about three miles east of Fort Ligonier and was made on a party of one hundred Virginians commanded by Captain Thomas Bullitt. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Lloyd, in command at the fort, sent out two hundred men who arrived after Saint-Blin had left, but in time to extinguish the wagons and save a large part of the supplies.¹⁵⁷

Saint-Blin's claim, in the account previously quoted, that his blow "frustrated the English plan to take the three dependent French forts of the Belle Rivière" is unwarranted. Colonel Mercer at Pittsburgh had made an unsuccessful attempt to attack these forts in March,¹⁵⁸ but they were doomed by the surrender of Niagara on July 25. As Saint-Blin wrote, "I was obliged to evacuate my fort, in consequence of the capture of that of Niagara; a loss which occasioned the fall in a short time of all the posts of the Belle Rivière."¹⁵⁹

At Pittsburgh on August 16 a Delaware Indian who had been at Venango reported "that as soon as letters were bro^t to that Post of the fall of Niagara, the Garrison sett fire to the fort, and upon their

¹⁵⁵ *Mémoire pour le sieur Duverger de Saint-Blin . . .*, 4-5.

¹⁵⁶ *Pouchot Memoir*, I, 156.

¹⁵⁷ Thomas Lloyd to John Stanwix, May 25, 1759, *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Ser. 21644, Vol. I, 149.

¹⁵⁸ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 3, 1759. See also, Roll of the Men Killed in the Battoe 28th March, 1759, *PA5*, I, 275.

¹⁵⁹ *Mémoire pour le sieur Duverger de Saint-Blin . . .*, 4.

arrival at Le Beuff & Priscile, both these were demolished in the same Manner";¹⁶⁰ and the approximate date of this destruction is set by another report that the French had left Venango on or about August 6.¹⁶¹ Saint-Blin himself served afterward in the defense of Montreal, whose surrender on September 8, 1760, brought to an end the war in Canada.

Two British officers from Pittsburgh, Captain William Patterson and Lieutenant Thomas Hutchins, who in October, 1759, explored the route to Presqu'isle, reported that on October 17 "we went thro' a Pine Swamp two Miles to Le Beauf Fort, where we found it in Ruins, and the Remains of 27 Battoes that had Been Set on fire. The Fort is Situate on a Rising Peice of Ground, the Land Poor & Gravelley."¹⁶² Despite the destruction at Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf, Hutchins was able from the ruins to draw up a map which, surviving in manuscript, is one of the best guides to the appearance of this post.¹⁶³

FORT DUQUESNE

Fort Duquesne, originally planned at Chiningué or Logstown (the present Ambridge), was built in the spring of 1754 at the Forks of Ohio, within present Point State Park in Pittsburgh. Named in honor of Ange de Menneville, Marquis Duquesne, governor general of Canada, 1752-1755, it served until its destruction in November, 1758, as headquarters of the commander on the Ohio and was by far the largest of the four French forts in this region.¹⁶⁴ A formal military structure, though built mostly of timber, it was in the form of a square about eighty feet on a side, but with the projecting corner bastions covered an area about 155 feet square. There were some additional works, and in 1758 some of these facing the Allegheny were developed into a so-called "second fort." Huts for Indian allies stood somewhat east of the fort but were of course not part of the defenses.

¹⁶⁰ Hugh Mercer to Henry Bouquet, August 16, 1759, *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Ser. 21655, p. 80.

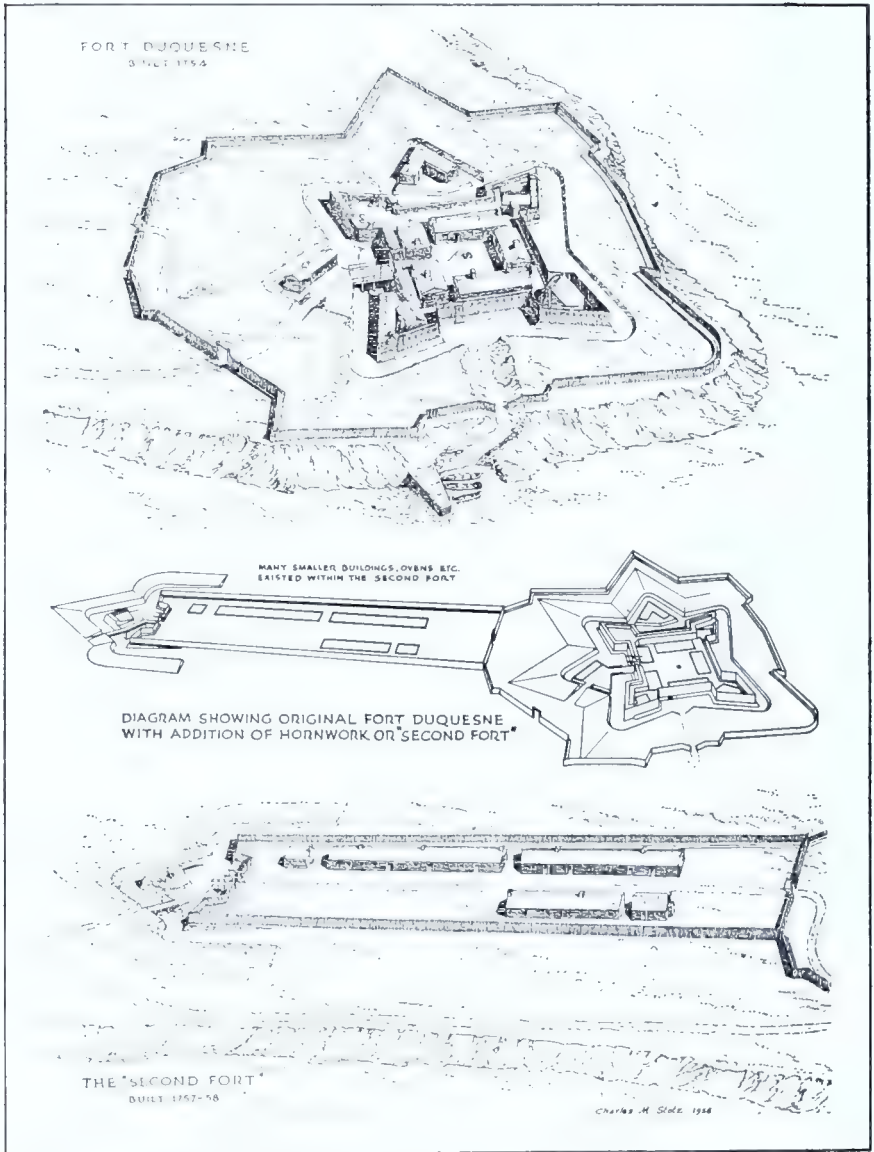
¹⁶¹ Intelligence enclosed with Hugh Mercer to Governor Denny, August 13, 1759, *CR*, VIII, 395.

¹⁶² *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Ser. 21644, Pt. II, 168.

¹⁶³ General Thomas Hutchins Papers, 1759-88, II, 52, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁶⁴ In addition to the contemporary descriptions subsequently quoted, see the fine account and illustrations by Charles Morse Stotz, recently published in Alfred Procter James and Charles Morse Stotz, *Drums in the Forest*, 128-40.

Taking account of the bitter struggle between English and French for the Forks of Ohio it may seem strange that neither party intended originally to build a fort at this place. On the English side, the Virginia Company had first selected the site of present McKees Rocks,



James and Stotz, Drums in the Forest

RECONSTRUCTED DRAWINGS OF FORT DUQUESNE

These imaginative views of the original Fort Duquesne and the so-called "Second Fort" and the diagram of the combined fort were drawn by Charles M. Stotz, who gave permission for their use. The present version is slightly altered from the original printed form.

then occupied by "King" Shingas' Delawares; on the French side, the choice was present Ambridge, then the site of the Indian settlement known to the English as Logstown and to the French as Chiningué.

Probably settled about 1744 by Kakowatcheky's Shawnees, who removed here from near present Wilkes-Barre, Logstown quickly became important as a trading center and was the usual place for councils between Pennsylvania or Virginia and the Indians on the Ohio. Its mixed population included not only Shawnees but also a group of generally pro-English Iroquois and a miscellaneous assortment of Indians of varied origin and affiliation.

Active French interest in this place seems to date from 1749, when Céloron de Blainville, on his expedition to assert claim to the Ohio country, stopped for four days to council with the Indians and to warn off the English traders. Joncaire, who accompanied Céloron, returned to Chiningué two years later to reiterate the earlier messages and to further French trade.¹⁶⁵

The French traders at this place deserve mention not only because of their furtherance of French interests and influence here but also because their names appear frequently in the story of the later military occupation. The first French trader specifically associated with Chiningué was Pierre-Louis Boucher de Niverville, sieur de Montizambert, whose interest dates from the summer of 1751.¹⁶⁶ In the fall of 1752 a second trader entered this field, Philippe Dagneau Douville, sieur de La Saussaye, whose son Governor Duquesne described in 1754 as "known by the Shawnees from father to son."¹⁶⁷ Also to be mentioned are the Baby brothers (Jacques Duperont and François), active among the Shawnees not only at Chiningué but elsewhere on the Ohio.¹⁶⁸

On February 10, 1753, on the eve of French military occupation, Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia noted uneasily that:

I observe that 15 or 16 French are come to Loggs Town and are building Houses, &c., and that it is to be fear'd they will take Possession of the River Ohio, oppress our Trade and take our Traders Prisoners, &c. We would fain hope these People

¹⁶⁵ *CR*, V, 530, 540-41.

¹⁶⁶ "Repertoire des engagements pour l'ouest . . .," *RAPQ*, 1930-1931, pp. 423, 450-51.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 451; Duquesne to Contrecoeur, May 9, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 123. For references to La Saussaye's earlier trade with the Shawnees, see *Wilderness Chronicles*, 18-19, 21-22; *NYCD*, IX, 1097.

¹⁶⁸ See *Papiers Contrecoeur* for a few of their letters and for a brief notice, page 63.

are only French Traders, and they have no other View but Trade. I hope there is no great Army of French among the Lakes. . . .¹⁶⁹

The Governor's apprehensions were of course all too well founded; and since the original French plan was to build Fort Duquesne at Chiningué (Logstown), any French establishment there was in effect an advance party.

That the French trader here in the winter of 1752-1753 was Montizambert is shown by later references. The Iroquois Council's notice of the impending French march, delivered to the Ohio Indians on May 8, 1753, occasioned some resentment, according to English traders:

When our Indians received this Intelligence one of the Mingoës went to a French Trader at the Log's Town and told him of it, and said that he had amused them with fine stories this last Winter, as sweet as if his Tongue was sweetned with Sugar; that if the French made any Attempt to attack them or the English, he might depend he should be the first Man killed.¹⁷⁰

Not unreasonably, Montizambert thought it advisable to leave the place, but the Indians seem to have delayed his departure. Tanaghri-son, the Half King, later denied that this had been done by force, and referred to the speeches they had sent with him.¹⁷¹ Montizambert joined Marin sometime before June 26, however; and it was "one Nevirville a French officer, that lived all last Winter in the Logs Town," who on August 15 seized the English trader John Trotter at Venango.¹⁷² Duperont Baby, who remained at Chiningué (and dated his letters "from the Shawnees"), continued to keep the French commander informed.¹⁷³

The French, meanwhile, found it expedient to curtail their original plans somewhat, but did not abandon the scheme to fortify Chiningué. Unaware as yet of Marin's death on October 29 Governor Duquesne wrote him on November 7, 1753, about the revised plans: "The court is suppressing the forts of Anjou [at Venango], Sonioto [Scioto] and

¹⁶⁹ Dinwiddie to Cresap and Trent, *Dinwiddie Papers*, I, 22.

¹⁷⁰ Intelligence of Robert Callender *et al.*, *CR*, V, 614.

¹⁷¹ Conseil tenu par des Tsonnontouans . . . , *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 54.

¹⁷² Duquesne to Marin, July 10, 1753, acknowledging letter of June 26, ASQ, V-V, 5:62:6; Trent Journal, *History of Bouquet*, 38.

¹⁷³ Baby to Marin, September 5, 1753, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 63; Joncaire to *id.*, September 12, 1753, *ibid.*, 65-66.

Sandosqués [Sandusky], and in the Belle Riviere there will exist only Fort de chinengué, since the King and I wish it, all the more because the job will be done sooner.”¹⁷⁴ And on December 25, writing to Captain Contrecoeur, designated to succeed to the command on the Ohio, Duquesne said: “You must be expecting, Sir, that I destine you to take possession of the Belle Riviere, where you will have Fort de Chinengué built, after which you will return to Niagara.”¹⁷⁵

Captain Saint-Pierre, Marin’s successor, had arranged to strengthen the French position at Chiningué. In November, 1753, apparently, “Sieur de la Chauvignerie with thirty men was detailed from the Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf to go and establish himself at Chinenqué, a village of the Cha8anons”;¹⁷⁶ but the plan was not effected until the following January 16, when Ensign La Chauvignerie and sixteen soldiers established themselves at this place.¹⁷⁷ Despite the fact that some Iroquois Indians (including the Half King) had accompanied them, they found the situation difficult; so the French set up their cabin at “a small Town of the Six Nations” some two miles below Logstown proper.¹⁷⁸

La Chauvignerie did not enjoy an easy assignment. His detachment had instructions to cut timber for the proposed fort; but he found the locality, despite its name, almost devoid of usable trees. He was also short of provisions. He tried to reassure the Indians, but had no gifts for them; the Indians heard alarming stories from other sources and received flattering presents from the English. La Force, who joined La Chauvignerie about February 10 and returned to Venango on February 14, delivered a message in which, it was reported, he warned the pro-English Indians “that neither they nor the English there, would see the Sun above 20 Days longer”;¹⁷⁹ and he went to the “Rivière de Théya8ouindeoguin” (the Monongahela) to learn what he could of the English, who had begun work on a storehouse at Redstone Creek.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 91.

¹⁷⁶ Duquesne to Machault, October 12, 1754, *ibid.*, 79, n. 4; translated in *Wilderness Chronicles*, 82.

¹⁷⁷ Croghan Journal, *CR*, V, 732; La Chauvignerie to Saint-Pierre, February 10, 1754, *ASQ*, V-V, 1:77, copy published in *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 99-100.

¹⁷⁸ For the location and a sketch plan, see De Léry Journal, *RAPQ*, 1927-1928, p. 429.

¹⁷⁹ Speech enclosed with Croghan’s letter to Governor Hamilton, March 23, 1754, *CR*, VI, 21-22; see also *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 4, 1754.

La Chauvignerie's chief gain, apparently, was Iroquois permission to entrench his shelter. "These days," he wrote Saint-Pierre on February 26, "we are finishing sawing the boards necessary for the houses and trying to shelter ourselves from attack."¹⁸⁰ A few days before, one of the local Iroquois, "old Dejiquéque" (Jeskakake), had warned that another Iroquois, the Belt of Wampum, had sold La Chauvignerie and his men to the English.¹⁸¹

On March 4 La Force returned to Chiningué, this time accompanied by Ensign Saint-Blin. Two days later the two men went out scouting, discovered that the Delawares had abandoned their town, saw at a distance the fort that the English had begun at the Forks of Ohio, and at Le Rocher (McKees Rocks) actually talked with English traders. While Saint-Blin remained with La Chauvignerie at Chiningué, La Force left on the night of March 11 to carry their news back to Saint-Pierre.¹⁸²

Captain Claude-Pierre Pécaudy, sieur de Contrecoeur, had in the meantime prepared to complete the French occupation of the Ohio country and came from Niagara to Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf to relieve Saint-Pierre. His official orders, dated January 27, were still "to enter the Belle Riviere with the detachment which he commands, in order to march toward Chinengué where he will have a fort built of which he will take command";¹⁸³ but it now appeared that the English, descending the Monongahela, threatened the French water route to Chiningué. (Duquesne did not know that the English were in fact at the Forks.) So, with the formal order, the Governor gave further instructions: "If it is true that there is a river six leagues this side of Chinengué which they say is the usual route of the English who come from Philadelphia, you will place the fort at the spot to bar their passage and to stand in the way of their trade. . . ."¹⁸⁴

The decision not to fortify Chiningué entailed one regarding La Chauvignerie's continuance there. Writing to Contrecoeur in early April, the Governor assented to La Chauvignerie's remaining at

¹⁸⁰ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 105.

¹⁸¹ La Chauvignerie to Saint-Pierre, February 23, 1754, *ibid.*, 103.

¹⁸² *Id.* to [Saint-Pierre], March 11, 1754, *ibid.*, 106-107, 109-10; Saint-Blin to [Saint-Pierre], March 11, 1754, *ibid.*, 107-109.

¹⁸³ Duquesne, orders to Contrecoeur, *ibid.*, 97.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 94.

Chingué for the time, but advised against having a garrison there;¹⁸⁵ and he reiterated this view on May 22: "I am not for having a detachment among the Cha8anons because something might happen to it and because a troop must be as close together as possible."¹⁸⁶ The place was abandoned not long after this; on July 6 it was reported in the French camp at Chatakoin "that M. de la Chauvignerie, officer among the Cha8annons, had been obliged to abandon that village with two French traders named Babis, the Cha8annons having several times threatened to kill them."¹⁸⁷

By March 29 Contrecoeur had descended the Rivière au Boeuf, and Le Mercier was about to follow with the rear guard.¹⁸⁸ Presumably the entire force of six hundred men descended the Ohio (Allegheny) together; and on April 16 the French encamped a short distance above the Forks where, that same day, Ensign Edward Ward had completed the stockade hurriedly set up about the storehouse which Captain William Trent's men had built a month earlier. In preparation for the next day's show of strength, Contrecoeur drew up two documents. The first of these, to be delivered by Le Mercier, called upon the English to withdraw; the other, to be delivered by an interpreter, was addressed to the Indians, assuring them that the French intended them no harm and advising them to disperse.¹⁸⁹

Officially, England and France were at peace; so Contrecoeur's summons took the position that the Ohio was French territory and that the English establishment was therefore a violation of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. In fact, of course, the French relied upon might rather than upon right alone; and Contrecoeur made this quite clear in his message to the Indians: "I warn you, my children, that

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 227. The text published in *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 221-27, as a letter of July 25, 1754, is made up of two incomplete letters which, written by the same clerk on identical sheets of paper, have been joined through error. The first sixteen pages of the manuscript, as it now stands, represent the letter of July 25 and break off in a reference to Iroquois duplicity. Pages 17-29 of the manuscript, however, beginning with an allusion to the Shawnees' indebtedness to the French, pertain to a different and earlier letter, evidently antedating that of April 15, 1754, printed in *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 113-16. It will be noted that this second fragment refers (*ibid.*, 226) to Carqueville's anticipated departure "when navigation opens," which should have happened long before July 25, and Carqueville did in fact set out on or just after April 15 (*ibid.*, 115).

¹⁸⁶ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, *ibid.*, 128.

¹⁸⁷ La Chauvignerie was with De Villiers on July 5, *ibid.*, 202; De Léry Journal, *RAPQ*, 1927-1928, p. 373.

¹⁸⁸ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, May 9, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 123.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 116-19.

I am calling upon the English to withdraw, and that if they do not I am quite able to force them to go.”¹⁹⁰ Since Ward had only 41 men to face Contrecoeur’s 600, the outcome of the encounter was never in doubt. On the following day, April 17, Contrecoeur landed his troops near the English defense, drew them up in regular order, and at two o’clock sent Le Mercier to deliver the ultimatum, calling for compliance within an hour. Contrecoeur was taking no chances on dealing with possible reinforcements.

Ward surrendered, and his detachment, accompanied by the angry and frustrated Half King and his Indian followers, yielded the fort into French hands. By the terms of surrender, the English were to leave by noon of the next day; Contrecoeur had them and their Indian allies camp near the fort for the night, and, moved by courtesy and the hope of obtaining information, invited Ward to supper. On the morning of April 18 the English and their Indians departed, leaving the French in undisturbed possession of the Forks of the Ohio.

“Your line of conduct, until the arrival of *Sieur Péan*,” Duquesne wrote on April 15, “should be confined to the prompt and solid construction of your fort and organizing a few small detachments to stop the English, who will be asked why they come to trade on our soil when we do not go on theirs.”¹⁹¹ The Governor wrote on the eve of Contrecoeur’s arrival at the Forks and of the encounter whose successful outcome Duquesne would not know until the better part of a month had passed.¹⁹² *Péan*, whose first detachments were leaving Montreal when the Governor wrote, was on his way to Detroit, but had orders to reinforce Contrecoeur, to join him if necessary, and to aid in construction of a fort, if so ordered by Contrecoeur, before continuing on his way.¹⁹³ In any event, the fort must be constructed as soon as possible.

Any idea that Contrecoeur took over and completed Trent’s fort must be dismissed as fanciful. To be sure, he used the timber which Trent’s men had prepared: Writing on May 11 to acknowledge the news of Contrecoeur’s victory, the Governor said, “I am glad that you have found a good supply of posts and squared timber; for the English are good judges of wood and excel in workmanship.”¹⁹⁴ Undoubtedly the French used the storehouse, perhaps retaining it intact.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 116.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 114.

¹⁹² Duquesne to Contrecoeur, May 11, 1754, *ibid.*, 125.

¹⁹³ Duquesne, instructions to *Péan*, May 9, 1754, *ibid.*, 120-22.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 125.

Buildings and a hasty stockade adequate to shelter some fifty men were quite inadequate for French purposes, however. Duquesne had written to Péan of a fort "to accommodate as many as two hundred men in garrison for the entire year";¹⁹⁵ and it is clear that Le Mercier, the engineer, did not plan on a modest scale. Writing on May 22, in reply to a letter of May 1, the Governor reassured Contrecoeur:

Very far from disapproving of the strength of the fort which you are having built, I highly commend the wisdom of your decision in view of the importance of this establishment and the unfortunate circumstances which would result if we could not hold out there. . . .¹⁹⁶

Washington, whose Virginians had set out too late to reinforce Captain Trent's men, tried to keep informed of French progress. On May 4 he heard that "they were busy building two strong houses, one upon the Oyo [Allegheny], and the other upon the River Mal en-gueulée, both of them about three hundred rods from their junction; and that they are setting up a battery on an islet between them."¹⁹⁷ A confused report had the French building at McKees Rocks, the place first selected by the Ohio Company. On May 17 Washington heard that "they were using all their forces to build their fort which, six days ago, was breast-high, two fathoms thick, with the intermediate space filled with earth, stone, etc." Having cut down the trees about the place, the French had sowed the open space with grain. A week later he learned that

The French continue to erect their fort. What is on the land side is very well enclosed, but the side toward the water is much neglected, at least it is undefended. They have only nine pieces of cannon, and some of them very small, and none of them are mounted. There are two on the point, and the others some distance from the fort on the land side.¹⁹⁸

On June 6 an Indian reported that the French "have set up their palisade, and enclosed their fort with very big trees"; and on June 12 French deserters reported "that the fort was completed; that the gates and the front were covered by artillery; that on the water side there

¹⁹⁵ Instructions, May 9, 1754, *ibid.*, 121.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁹⁷ Washington Journal, *ibid.*, 145; translated in *Pennsylvania History*, XIX (1952), 15. The river names are here spelled as in the French translation.

¹⁹⁸ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 145, 149, 153.

was a double palisade; that they have only eight pieces of small cannon."¹⁹⁹

French notices, less detailed, are in general agreement. Captain Péan at Niagara heard from Contrecoeur and Le Mercier "that Fort Duquesne was completely finished on June 15";²⁰⁰ and Governor Duquesne, acknowledging letters of June 18-30, reassured Contrecoeur:

I again approve of the strength of the fort which is entrusted to you, as well as of the arrangements by which it is capable of lodging a big garrison, which is indispensable and which will have a marvelous effect until that establishment is consolidated. Consequently I leave you at liberty to keep as many as three hundred men, if you have food for them.²⁰¹

It must be understood that these passages refer to the essential portions of the fort and that additional works were carried on in successive years. A verbal description of the 1754 works is supplied by Thomas Forbes, who served with the reinforcements sent from Montreal with Péan:

At our Arrival at Fort Du Quisne we found the Garrison busily employed in compleating that Fort, & stockadoeing it round at some Distance for the Security of the Soldiers Barracks (against any Surprize) which was built between the Stockadoes & the Glacis of the Fort. Fort Du Quisne is built Square, Logs transversely placed as is frequent in Mill Dams, & the interstices filled up with Earth; The Length of the Logs is about 16 Feet which is the thickness of the Rampart, There is a Parapet raised on the Rampart of Logs, & the Length of the Curtains is about 30 Feet²⁰² & the Demigorge of the Bastions about 80, The Fort is surrounded on the two Sides that do not front the water, with a Ditch, about 12 feet wide & very deep, because there being no Covert way the Musquetters fire from thence having a glacis before them.²⁰³

The clearest picture of the fort, however, is provided by the well-known plan by Robert Stobo, an English hostage, who had it smuggled out in a letter dated July 28, 1754. This plan, turned over to General

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 163, 165.

²⁰⁰ *Péan Memoir*, 40.

²⁰¹ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 218-19.

²⁰² Perhaps a misreading for 50 Feet.

²⁰³ Forbes Journal, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, IV (1909), 274-75.

Braddock, fell into the hands of the French, who, concerned to find their enemy so informed, tried Stobo for treason.²⁰⁴

Basically, the fort was square. An open area, the parade ground, was enclosed by a rectangular arrangement of barracks, stores, etc. In the northeast face of this rectangle, the commandant's and the guard's quarters stood to the left and to the right of the way to the drawbridge at the main gate. These buildings were in turn surrounded by an outer wall of squared timbers on the two landward sides and round upright posts on the sides facing the Allegheny (or Ohio) and the Monongahela. A secondary gate in the northwest side faced toward the Allegheny. Four corner bastions projecting north, east, south, and west enclosed respectively a kitchen or bakery, a powder magazine, a smith's shop or forge, and a prison and cadets' quarters. Outside the wall were a ditch and breastworks (a covered way). The two landward faces of the fort (the northeast, with the main gate, and the southeast) were further protected by ravelins. Including the bastions, the main structure occupied a square of 145 French feet (*pieds*, slightly longer than the English measure),²⁰⁵ and the square within the wall was estimated by Thomas Forbes to be 80 feet on a side. Fort Duquesne was therefore considerably smaller than Pennsylvania's Fort Augusta, which was of similar design but with an inside square of 130 feet and a "great square" of 204 feet.

Not all these structures were completed by June 15, 1754; as late as July 29 Stobo wrote that "the Guard consists of Forty Men only and Officers. None lodge in the Fort but the Guard except Contre Coeur; the Rest in Bark Cabins around the Fort."²⁰⁶ Over a three-month period from August 13 to November 27 of this year (after Le Mercier's

²⁰⁴ The plan has been copied and printed many times. The original, turned over to Braddock, fell into French hands and is at the Chateau de Ramezay, Montreal. It is printed in facsimile in *RAPQ*, 1922-1923, following p. 344, and a portion of it in Freeman, *George Washington*, I, following p. 437. A copy made by Croghan at Aughwick was sent to Philadelphia (*CR*, VI, 160-63); and in Virginia and at Philadelphia clerks made further copies. The Croghan copy, together with a clerk's copy of it, have found their way to the Darlington Library, University of Pittsburgh. Another clerk's copy remains in the Public Records Division, Harrisburg, which also has the copy entered into the manuscript Provincial Record; the latter, omitted from *CR*, VI, 163, was reproduced in *PAI*, II, facing p. 146.

²⁰⁵ De Léry map and description, *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, XV (1932), 238-39. John McKinney, a prisoner, estimated it at 120 by 150 feet; see Hazard (ed.), *Register*, XIII (1831), 318-19.

²⁰⁶ *CR*, VI, 142. Duquesne, writing on July 18, 1754, in reply to Contrecoeur's letters of June 18-30, refers to Contrecoeur's moving into the fort. *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 220.

return to Canada) the men were employed not only in grading the glacis before the fort and in clearing the trees about it but also in work on the bakery, the vault and the passageway of the powder magazine, a small barracks, a large shed, and, outside the glacis, a hospital and, at a little distance, cabins for resident and trusted Indian chiefs.²⁰⁷ Writing on February 15, 1755, Governor Duquesne expressed approval of the new powder magazine, but spoke with more restraint regarding further improvements. He had had to approve a larger fort than had been first proposed; and Contrecoeur earlier had agreed with Le Mercier that on the river sides a double stockade was enough without the glacis Contrecoeur was now undertaking.

It is to be noted, on the other hand, that the Governor defends the location of the fort, which apparently had been criticized. He belittles the fact that a distant hill overlooks it and that there is a small river island near the fort; he has been shown the location on a map, he asserts, and "it could not be more advantageously placed."²⁰⁸

On February 12 Contrecoeur wrote asking to have Lieutenant Chaussegros de Léry sent from Detroit since, as he explained to De Léry, "you are an officer able to direct and lay out some works which we have to have made, especially on the outside of the fort, for the security of this place."²⁰⁹ On March 20, before De Léry's arrival, he began construction of the new glacis on the river sides of the fort.²¹⁰ De Léry, having set out from Detroit on March 15, arrived on April 5 at Fort Duquesne.²¹¹ In a letter of April 27, Governor Duquesne had given a second somewhat grudging approval. He would have preferred De Léry to remain at Detroit, he wrote, and he saw no need for exterior works beyond the ditch and glacis of which Contrecoeur had written on February 13.²¹² By May 2 Contrecoeur wrote that De Léry was ready to install the six cannon when they arrived;²¹³ and on May 24 he reported to Duquesne that the works were (once more) "completed." The fort now mounted six six-pound guns and nine of two- or three-pound size.²¹⁴

²⁰⁷ Dépenses pour la construction du Fort Duquesne . . . , *ibid.*, 229-45.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 275-78.

²⁰⁹ *RAPQ*, 1921-1922, reproduced in facsimile between pp. 380 and 381.

²¹⁰ Contrecoeur to Varin, March 25, 1755, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 307.

²¹¹ De Léry Journal, *RAPQ*, 1927-1928, pp. 420-29.

²¹² *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 322-24.

²¹³ Contrecoeur to Varin, *ibid.*, 327.

²¹⁴ Duquesne to Vaudreuil, July 6, 1755, *NYCD*, X, 300; also in *Wilderness Chronicles*, 90.

A map and description prepared by De Léry on April 15 provide a second over-all picture of the post. This map is valuable because of its inclusion of the fort environs. For the works themselves, De Léry confirms the accuracy of Stobo's earlier drawing but adds some further facts:

The outside of the fort has 145 feet [*pieds*] of front on each of the four sides, which can furnish but very little protection and mediocre quarters. The fort could, however, during a siege, with much inconvenience to them, hold two hundred men. . . . Men cannot be quartered in tents in the court of the fort as it is only forty-four feet square. . . .²¹⁵

De Léry notes also the "Houses of oak in place of the demilunes [or ravelins], which cannot be used for defense purposes since the moats have been dug." The ravelin on the southeast side of the fort contained the hospital (completed in the fall of 1754) and a storehouse; that on the northeast enclosed a barracks.

De Léry, despite his criticism of the fort, undertook no engineering projects: "I have very little knowledge of this profession," he objected, "which knowledge I shall, however, put to the best use I can for the good of the service."²¹⁶ Governor Vaudreuil (Governor Duquesne's successor), transmitting De Léry's map to Minister de Machault, wrote on July 24:

I must also observe that Fort Duquesne has never been completed; on the contrary, 'tis open to many capital defects, as is proved by the annexed plan.

'Tis true that the Commandant, urged by the officers of the garrison, who perceived all these defects, took upon himself early in the spring, to demand sub-engineer de Léry of the Commandant at Detroit, which officer had put the fort in the best condition he was able, without, however, daring to make any alteration in it.²¹⁷

De Léry left Fort Duquesne on July 30. Ordered by Contrecoeur to supervise the delayed construction of Fort Machault, De Léry once more pled shortcomings as an engineer and in fact made only a brief stop at Venango on his way home to Canada.²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Charles W. Dahlinger, "The Marquis Duquesne, Sieur de Menneville, Founder of the City of Pittsburgh," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, XV (1932), 238-39, n. 43.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

²¹⁷ NYCD, X, 307.

²¹⁸ Contrecoeur to De Léry and De Léry to Contrecoeur, July 29, 1755, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 404-405; Contrecoeur to Vaudreuil, July 31, 1755, *ibid.*, 405.

The amazing victory over General Braddock on July 9 presented Contrecoeur with a need for still further accommodations at the fort to store the great quantity of English booty. Writing to the Governor on August 14, Contrecoeur said he was "occupied in having built a building eighty feet long at the Forks solely to store all that can be brought, especially the wheels and carriages of guns that are in very good shape and all sorts of equipment that would rot on the ground";²¹⁹ and on August 29-30 he reported that "The building, of which I had the honor of speaking to you and which I was having built to house all that we were salvaging from the debris of the English, is almost finished."²²⁰ This apparently is the building described later by John McKinney as standing "About thirty yards from the Fort without the entrenchments and picketing";²²¹ and it seems probable that this building was incorporated with others into the "second fort" subsequently referred to.

Despite its length, the description given by McKinney deserves to be quoted in full. Captured by Indians in February, 1756, and taken to Fort Duquesne, this man made his escape from Canada. His statement is dated at Philadelphia, November 17. Together with the French plan of the fort (which corrects McKinney in some details), it gives an unusually detailed picture:

Fort Du Quesne, is situated on the East side of the Monongahela, in the fork between that and the Ohio. It is four square, has bastions at each corner; it is about fifty yards long and about forty yards wide—has a well in the middle of the Fort, but the water bad—about half the Fort is made of square logs, and the other half next the water of stockadoes; there are entrenchments cast up all around the Fort about 7 feet high, which consists of stockadoes drove into the ground near to each other and wattled with poles like basket work, against which is earth thrown up, in a gradual ascent, the steep part is next the Fort, and has three steps all along the entrenchment for the men to go up and down, to fire at an enemy—these entrenchments are about four rods from the Fort and go all around, as well on the side next the water as the land, the outside of the entrenchment next the water, joins to the water. The Fort has two gates, one of which opens to the land side, and the other to the water side, where the magazine is built, that to the land side, is in fact, a draw-bridge, which in day-

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 418.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 428.

²²¹ Hazard (ed.), *Register*, VIII (1831), 318.

time serves as a bridge for the people, and in the night is drawn up by iron chains and levers.²²²

Under the draw-bridge is a pit or well the width of the gate, dug down deep to water, the pit is about eight or ten feet broad, the gate is made of square logs, the back gate is made of logs also, and goes upon hinges and has a wicket in it for the people to pass through in common—there is no ditch or pit at this gate. It is through this gate²²³ they go to the magazine and bake house, which are built a little below the gate within the entrenchments—the magazine is made almost under ground and of large logs and covered four feet thick with clay over it. It is about 10 feet wide and about thirty five feet long; the bake house is opposite the magazine, the waters at some time rise so high as that the whole Fort is surrounded with it so that canoes may go around it, he imagines he saw it rise at one time near thirty feet. The stockadoes are round logs better than a foot over, and about eleven or twelve feet high, the joints are secured by split logs; in the stockadoes are loop holes made so as to fire slanting towards the ground. The bastions are filled with earth solid about eight feet high, each bastion has four carriage guns about four pound, no swivels, nor any mortars that he knows of, they have no cannon but at the bastions.²²⁴ The back of the barracks and buildings in the Fort are of logs placed about three feet distance from the logs of the Fort; between the buildings and the logs of the Fort, it is filled in with earth about eight feet high and the logs of the Fort extend about four feet higher, so that the whole height of the Fort is about 12, feet. There is no picketts nor pallisadoes on the top of the Fort to defend it against scaleing; the eaves of the houses in the Fort are about even with the top of the logs or wall of the Fort, the houses are all covered with boards, as well the roof as the side that look inside the Fort, which they saw there by hand—there is no bogs nor morasses near the fort but good dry ground, which is cleared for some distance from the Fort, and the stumps cut close to the ground; a little without musket shot of the Fort in the fork is a thick wood of some bigness full of large timber.

About thirty yards from the Fort without the entrenchments and picketing is a house which contains a great quantity of tools such as broad and narrow axes, planes, chisels, hoes,

²²² La Chauvignerie to Contrecoeur, June 13, 1755, reports De Blainville at Venango with 1,000 pounds of iron for Fort Duquesne. *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 362.

²²³ This should refer to the main gate, not to the "back gate" just mentioned. Possibly a clerk misunderstood McKinney at this point.

²²⁴ This gives a total of sixteen guns, all four-pounders. According to Duquesne's letter of July 6, 1755, referred to above, the fort in fact mounted fifteen guns, of which six were six-pounders and the others two- or three-pounders.

mattocks, pick-axes, spades, shovels, &c. and a great quantity of wagon wheels and tire—opposite the Fort on the west side of the Monongahela is a long and high mountain, about a quarter of a mile from the Fort, from which the Fort might very easily be bombarded and the bombardier be quite safe—from them²²⁵ the distance would not exceed a quarter of a mile—the mountain is said to extend six miles up the Monongahela, from the Fort—Monongahela opposite the Fort, is not quite musket shot wide—neither the Ohio, nor Monongahela can be forded opposite the Fort—the Fort has no defence against bombs. There was about 250 Frenchmen in this Fort besides Indians, which at one time amounted to 500, but the Indians were very uncertain, sometimes hardly any there; that there were about 20 or 30 ordinary Indian cabins about the Fort.

While he was at Fort Du Quesne there came up the Ohio from the Mississippi about 30 batteaux, and about 150 men, laden with pork, flour, brandy, tobacco, peas and Indian corn—they were 3 months in coming to Fort Du Quesne, and came all the way up the falls without unloading.²²⁶

Despite Governor Duquesne's defense of the location, the situation of the fort had its shortcomings. On August 21, 1755 (after Braddock's defeat), Lieutenant Benoist wrote Contrecoeur from Presqu'isle: "Your fort is not tenable, from all I have heard about it."²²⁷ Benoist doubted the fort's capacity to withstand a siege; but McKinney's reference to flooding points up a second threat—one which Fort Pitt was also to experience. In February, 1755, it had been reported at Detroit "that the water had risen considerably in Fort Duquesne by the overflowing of the Belle Rivière, something that happens commonly enough on this river when several rains follow one another."²²⁸ A year later Captain Dumas, in a letter of May 9, found fault with Le Mercier's work at Fort Duquesne and complained that a flood had almost carried the fort away;²²⁹ Montcalm in turn reported on June 12, somewhat too harshly, that "Fort Duquesne is not worth a straw. A freshet nearly carried it off a short time ago."²³⁰

²²⁵ *Them* is perhaps an error for *there* or *thence*.

²²⁶ Hazard (ed.), *Register*, VIII (1831), 318-19. Reprinted in Neville B. Craig (ed.), *The Olden Time*, I (1846), 39-40, and thence with minor variations in *Papiers Contrecoeur*, facing p. 231.

²²⁷ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 423.

²²⁸ De Léry Journal, *RAPQ*, 1927-1928, p. 418.

²²⁹ *Montcalm Journal*, 70.

²³⁰ Montcalm to Count d'Argenson, *NYCD*, X, 416.

Bougainville, in his 1757 "Memoir on the State of New France," stresses both the importance and the inadequacy of this post:

Fort Duquesne.—Fort Duquesne situated on the left bank of the *Belle-Rivière* at the juncture of the Malanguelé. This fort is of wood, small, badly designed, and dominated by two points within gunshot, untenable, in a word, if it were attacked in its present state; it can hold at most a 500-man garrison which is very difficult to provision; the Illinois has supplied it this year.

The commandant has an allowance of three thousand francs. This establishment is essential to prevent the English seizing this region; but a more respectable fort is needed, able in time of war to contain a five- or six-hundred-man garrison; the country there is good, the soil fertile, the air healthful, settlers would do well there.

The post is run by permits which are given free to encourage traders to ship there; one cannot give too much care that goods be low priced, so that the Indians, finding the trade favorable there, may not go among the English, an objective important for trade and even more for policy.

The Indians who come to Fort Duquesne are Loups, Chaouanons, and Iroquois, renegades from every nation of the Five Nations.

There go from there, in an ordinary year, from two hundred to two hundred and fifty packs [of skins].²³¹

In this same year, on July 12, Governor Vaudreuil reported that:

Fort Duquesne, in its present condition, could not resist the enemy. It is too small to lodge the garrison necessary for such a purpose. A single cannon shot would be sufficient to set it on fire, which could not be extinguished because the houses are too close together. The garrison would then find itself in the sad necessity of abandoning that fort. It is, moreover, so near the junction of the Belle Riviere and the Malangaillée that it is always exposed to being inundated by the floodwaters. M. de Ligneris is having repairs made on this fort as well as possible, considering its wretched site; but that cannot diminish the necessity of erecting a new fort. I have incontrovertibly established the necessity for this, in my letters of 1755 and 1756.²³²

To remedy the most immediate disadvantage of the fort, Captain de Ligneris expanded and partially fortified a group of buildings

²³¹ *RAPQ*, 1923-1924, pp. 47-48; compare the version translated in *PMHB*, LVI (1932), 63.

²³² Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 103; also translated in *NYCD*, X, 583.

extending along the Allegheny above the fort proper. Imprecisely identified in English accounts as a second fort, this assemblage of buildings may have begun with Contrecoeur's storehouse to contain the spoils of Braddock's defeat and probably was expanded to include additional barracks and other accommodations. It is worth noting that in June, 1757, a French prisoner who reported a garrison of three hundred men said "That only 100 of the Garrison at Fort Duquesne are quartered within the Fort the rest lodging in barracks without"; and on December 20 of the same year a French deserter said of these outworks that "An engineer named Dubuisson has traced a new fort on favorable terrain about a hundred rods above Fort du Quesne, which was to be built of stone, he said they had collected the materials and would work on it continuously."²³³ In their final but unfinished state, these works are adequately described in English accounts and plans of the ruins abandoned by the French in November 1758. According to a letter published without signature in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*:

There are two Forts, about 200 Yards distant: the one built with immense Labour, small but a great deal of very strong Works collected into little Room, and stands on the Point of a narrow Neck of Land, at the Confluence of the two Rivers. It is square, and has two Ravelins, Gabions at each Corner, &c. The other Fort stands on the Bank of the Allegheny, in the Form of a Paralelogram, but nothing so strong as the other. Several of the outworks were lately begun, and still unfinished.²³⁴

Although something has been said of the commanders and the garrison of this fort, a fuller statement is in order. It had been intended from the beginning that the commander in chief of the French force on the Ohio should be in immediate command of Fort Duquesne. The first of these general commanders was Captain Pierre-Paul de La Malgue, sieur de Marin (Captain Joncaire, previously assigned to the Ohio, commanded no troops), who, however, died on October 29, 1753, at Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf. Neither Captain Louis Le Gardeur de Repentigny, the interim commander, nor Captain Jacques Le Gardeur de Saint-Pierre, who, appointed in October to replace

²³³ Examination of Monsr Belestre, June 20, 1757, *NYCD*, VII, 282; information of François Le Fevre, Loudoun Papers, Box 112, No. 5949, Huntington Library and Art Gallery. A briefer and later statement by "François Fevre" is printed in *PA*, III, 363.

²³⁴ December 14, 1758. Reprinted in *Bouquet Papers*, II, 612.

Marin, took up his command in December, was in position to complete the undertaking; and it remained for Captain Claude-Pierre Pécaudy, sieur de Contrecoeur, to establish Fort Duquesne and to serve as its first commander, from April, 1754, until November, 1755.

As has been noted, the force with which Contrecoeur took possession of the Forks of Ohio numbered 600 troops, but their number was soon reinforced by 200 men under Lieutenant de Carqueville, 130 Indians and 20 Frenchmen under Captain de Villiers, and 150 men under Lieutenant Dubuisson.²³⁵ It was Governor Duquesne's intention that Contrecoeur should have an initial garrison of a thousand men, of whom all but three hundred were to be sent back to Canada not later than August 20.²³⁶ In all, five hundred men were to winter at the forts, including one hundred each at Presqu'isle and Rivière au Boeuf. Subsequently the Governor concluded that two hundred would be sufficient for Fort Duquesne and seventy-five each for the two smaller forts.²³⁷ Captain de Ligneris had been named Contrecoeur's second-in-command, and Captain Dumas was also assigned to Fort Duquesne, but these two officers did not arrive at their post until sometime in the fall.²³⁸ According to a report by Governor Duquesne, the garrison that wintered at Fort Duquesne in 1754-1755 comprised 6 officers, 15 cadets, and 237 militiamen and soldiers; and about a hundred Indians also were there.²³⁹

This fluctuation of strength was repeated seasonally and reflects the one necessity of defending the post and the other of minimizing the consumption of supplies. Since military campaigns, in this country at least, were necessarily suspended by winter, the garrison was built up in the spring and reduced in the fall. The problem was further complicated by the long and hazardous route and by the seasonal restrictions upon travel by water. Ideally, supplies were moved up from Canada in the fall, in advance of the next spring's troop movements.

Contrecoeur having requested release from his command, Duquesne wrote on October 30, 1754, that his successor would be Captain Daniel-Hyacinthe-Marie Liénard de Beaujeu, to arrive at Fort Duquesne

²³⁵ Péan to Contrecoeur, June 15, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 184; *id.* to *id.*, July 11, 1754, *ibid.*, 210.

²³⁶ Duquesne to *id.*, June 24, 1754, *ibid.*, 194; Péan to *id.*, July 15, 1754, *ibid.*, 214.

²³⁷ Duquesne to *id.*, July 25, 1754, *ibid.*, 223; *id.* to *id.*, August 14, 1754, *ibid.*, 246.

²³⁸ *Id.* to *id.*, letters of July 1, July 18, August 14, and October 21, 1754, *ibid.*, 209, 221, 247, 265.

²³⁹ *Wilderness Chronicles*, 64-65.

about June 15-20, 1755.²⁴⁰ However, this officer never assumed command since he was killed in the battle against General Braddock on July 9.²⁴¹

The seasonal increase in garrison in the spring of 1755 had been urged on in the face of impending English attack, and Péan, advancing to Chatakoin on the Chautauqua portage, had rushed detachments to the relief of Fort Duquesne. The overwhelming French victory rendered the British incapable of further serious attack, however, and the French garrison was speedily reduced. De Ligneris left on July 22; De Léry left eight days later with 113 men;²⁴² Ensign Niverville (Montizambert) went with 126; and Lieutenant Saint-Ours and Ensign Céloron left on August 3 with 79. These reductions left Contrecoeur a garrison of 260 men, including 10 officers and 15 cadets.²⁴³

These statistics are sufficient to illustrate the strength and fluctuation of the garrison. It would be expected that prisoners and spies would vary widely in their estimates, but in fact most informants agree on a permanent garrison of about two to three hundred men, augmented temporarily by contingents from Canada and the western posts and supported by a varying and uncertain number of Indians.²⁴⁴ French statements support these estimates. When the younger La Chauvignerie, questioned on October 26, 1757, asserted that in June there had been "about Fifteen Hundred Men at Fort Du Quesne, of which Five Hundred are Regulars, and the rest are employed in the carrying Provisions and going to and fro," he probably was trying to impress his captors.²⁴⁵ Another French officer, questioned on June 20, 1757, said "That when he left Fort Duquesne [on May 17] there was a Garrison of 300 men one half of which were Regulars and the other half Militia";

²⁴⁰ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 266; see also Duquesne to Contrecoeur, February 15, 1755, *ibid.*, 277.

²⁴¹ Acte de sépulture de M. de Beaujeu, *ibid.*, 389-90.

²⁴² De Ligneris to Contrecoeur, Niagara, July 30, 1755, ASQ, V-V, 1:89. Vaudreuil had written Beaujeu to keep De Ligneris at the fort, but his letter arrived too late; see Contrecoeur to Vaudreuil, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 403; *id.* to *id.*, July 31, 1755, *ibid.*, 405.

²⁴³ *Id.* to *id.*, August 3, 1755, *ibid.*, 407-409. The index to *Papiers Contrecoeur* incorrectly identifies the Céloron of this letter as Pierre-Joseph Céloron de Blainville, a captain since 1738. De Léry, however, *RAPQ*, 1927-1928, p. 376, clearly identifies this Céloron as an ensign. See "Notes sur Joseph-Louis Céloron de Blainville," *BRH*, XXXIII (1927), 600-601.

²⁴⁴ See, for example, *CR*, VII, 289-90, 342, 561; Stanislaus Murray Hamilton (ed.), *Letters to Washington*, II, 136-37; *Wilderness Chronicles*, 120.

²⁴⁵ *PAI*, III, 306.

but he added that they expected 300 more from Montreal, and 1,500 western Indians.²⁴⁶ Francois Fevre (Lefebvre), questioned on March 20, 1758, "says that the Garrison at Fort Duquesne was two hundred and thirty."²⁴⁷ In the fall of 1758 when General Forbes' army was advancing on Fort Duquesne, Captain Aubry brought 400 troops and 100 Indians from the Illinois and attacked the English at Loyalhanna on October 12;²⁴⁸ but Montcalm, summarizing the news of October 23, reported that only 200 troops remained at Fort Duquesne and that the Indians and the detachments from Detroit, the Illinois, and Canada had dispersed!²⁴⁹

The second arrangement for relieving Captain Contrecoeur was successful. On August 8, 1755, Governor Vaudreuil issued orders for him to turn over the command to Captain Jean-Daniel Dumas.²⁵⁰ This officer, who had served in the encounter with Braddock on July 9, had on Beaujeu's death completed the victorious action. He was therefore already at the post, and the change of command was delayed only until receipt of the order. Contrecoeur continued in command through the remainder of the month, but probably left for Canada not long afterward.²⁵¹

Dumas, in turn, held the command about a year and was replaced by Captain François-Marie Le Marchand, sieur de Ligneris. The approximate date of this last change of command is fixed by Pouchot, who says De Ligneris left September 21, 1756, for his new post, and by Montcalm, who reports Dumas' arrival at Montreal on December 13. Pouchot reports, somewhat spitefully, that Contrecoeur had been thought "not sufficiently intelligent for a difficult post. The company, on the contrary, found M. Dumas too sharp for them."²⁵²

As has been noted, De Ligneris had been named second-in-command to Contrecoeur and had served at Fort Duquesne from the fall of 1754 until just after the victory over Braddock in July, 1755. The third and last commander at this fort, he remained here until November 24, 1758, when the advance of General Forbes' army made the post untenable.

²⁴⁶ Belestre Examination, NYCD, VII, 282.

²⁴⁷ PAI, III, 363.

²⁴⁸ Montcalm Journal, 482; Pouchot Memoir, I, 129-30; NYCD, X, 901. For the date, see Bouquet Papers, II, 552, 558.

²⁴⁹ Montcalm Journal, 483-84; Montcalm to Cremille, November 21, 1758, NYCD, X, 902.

²⁵⁰ Papiers Contrecoeur, 416.

²⁵¹ Contrecoeur to Vaudreuil, August 29-30, 1755, *ibid.*, 427-28.

²⁵² Pouchot Memoir, I, 73; Montcalm Journal, 134.

It has been noted that the Recollect friar Denys Baron, who had served as chaplain at Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf, became the first chaplain at Fort Duquesne. In the baptismal register of Fort Duquesne he is identified on June 20, 1754, simply as "chaplain of the said fort" but an entry of August 6 refers to the chapel, "under the title of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin."²⁵³ He remained at this post through 1756. The chapel comprised one of the rooms in the northwest side of the fort, facing the Allegheny River.

In 1757 a French mission was established for the Delaware Indians of this region. Reporting news of March 8, Montcalm says:

M. de Ligneris requests a missionary for the Loups, and some domiciliated Abénaquis to escort him. It is well to note in this connection that the Loups regard the Abénaquis as their brothers; the language is the same; they fear the Iroquois (whom they call their uncles) more than they love them.²⁵⁴

Accordingly, twenty Abenakis left St. Francis on July 12 "to accompany Father Virot, . . . to try to found a new Mission among the Loups or Oyo, or the beautiful river."²⁵⁵ Montcalm's subsequent comments are very unsympathetic:

The premature zeal of the reverend Jesuit fathers, or their desire to establish themselves everywhere, and the goodness of the Marquis de Vaudreuil have sent prematurely to the Belle-Rivière a missionary with twelve praying Abénaquis, who were like twelve apostles. The Loups and the Chaoué-nons complained, "They send us neither troops nor merchandise, but they send us a black robe and some apostles."²⁵⁶

On February 13, 1758, Governor Vaudreuil himself reported on the mission:

I had the honor, Monseigneur, to report the departure of the Jesuit to establish a mission among the tribes of the Belle Riviere. He has reached there, but at the beginning he did not have the success that his zeal made him desire. He has, nevertheless, baptised a few children and begun to instill the sentiments of Christianity in several savages. This is a work that requires time and patience. I am also exhorting this missionary not to be discouraged and to have as much perseverance as is necessary for an object of such importance.²⁵⁷

²⁵³ Lambing (ed.), *Baptismal Register of Fort Duquesne*, 44-47.

²⁵⁴ *Montcalm Journal*, 192.

²⁵⁵ Reuben Gold Thwaites (ed.), *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, LXX 90-91.

²⁵⁶ *Montcalm Journal*, 335.

²⁵⁷ Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 110.

However, the brevity of the mission further limited its chance of success, for it must have closed toward the end of this same year when Fort Duquesne was evacuated. Some years later a Delaware chief at Kuskusky, known to the Moravians as Packanke, boasted that it was he who had driven the French priest from Saukunk, the Delaware town at the mouth of Beaver River.²⁵⁸ Father Louis Virot went with the French force which in July, 1759, attempted to raise the siege of Niagara, and he was killed there on July 24 when the relief party was defeated.²⁵⁹

Only the major actions in the lively and extensive military operations of which Fort Duquesne was the center can be noted here. Some of these have been sketched in the introductory narrative and in the accounts of the Virginia forts and need to be mentioned again only to pull the story together.

Seizure of the Forks of Ohio on April 17, 1754, marked the successful completion of the Ohio undertaking, but marked also the beginning of a bitter struggle to hold the country against British counterattack; and the technicality of Britain and France being officially at peace made the contest no less military.

The first threat to the French position came from Virginia, some of whose troops (Captain Trent's company) had been driven from the Forks by the more powerful French. Other Virginia troops were in the field or were being assembled, however; so the French had first to entrench themselves in time to withstand a counterattack. In this contest the French suffered the first loss when, on the morning of May 28, a scouting party of thirty men headed by Ensign Joseph Coulon de Villiers, sieur de Jumonville, was surprised by Lieutenant Colonel Washington's Virginians and a dozen of the Half King's Indians. Ensign Jumonville and nine of his men were killed in this first armed clash; Ensign Pierre-Jacques Drouillon, sieur de Macé, two cadets, and seventeen others were taken prisoner.²⁶⁰

The contemporary French assertion that Jumonville's role was purely diplomatic (to warn off the British) and that he was in effect assassinated was rather an "official interpretation" than a statement of fact; but the Virginia threat had to be dealt with. Contrecoeur assigned the task to Captain Le Mercier and a force of five hundred

²⁵⁸ *Diarium der Brr. an der Ohio 1770*, under date of April 23, Archives of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; quoted in translation in Joseph H. Bausman, *History of Beaver County, Pennsylvania*, I, 418, note 3.

²⁵⁹ Thwaites (ed.), *Jesuit Relations*, LXX, 251.

²⁶⁰ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 157, n. 2.

Frenchmen and eleven Ohio Indians. However, the plan was altered when on June 26 Captain Louis Coulon de Villiers, arriving at Fort Duquesne with a party of Indians, asked the opportunity to avenge his brother's death. Aided by Le Mercier and Ensign Longueuil, De Villiers attacked the English at Fort Necessity on July 3; and the surrender of that place on the following day removed any immediate danger from Virginia.²⁶¹

Pennsylvania, whose assembly had refused officially to acknowledge the existence of any French threat, presented no apparent problem, but it could be a matter of time only before the British government made a greater effort to regain the Forks. This second and greater challenge to French control came a year later from General Edward Braddock, whose army, comprising two regular regiments from England and three independent companies stationed in America, an artillery company and a company of seamen, and eleven provincial companies (nine from Virginia, one each from Maryland and North Carolina), totaled well over 2,000 and was numerically superior to any force the French could hope to assemble on the Ohio.²⁶² Pennsylvania yielded Braddock only a few volunteers, but undertook officially to open a road to the route of march and to transport supplies. The General's private orders, disregarding the increasingly artificial peace, envisioned the reduction of Fort Duquesne, the elimination of the lesser French posts, a march to Niagara, and a descent upon Canada itself.²⁶³

The crushing defeat inflicted upon the British army on July 9 was not effected by ambush, though the French were well informed of the enemy's progress. For greater speed, Braddock had divided his force, pushing ahead with some 1,300 men while Colonel Dunbar followed with the slower wagon train. Having learned that the English were only eight leagues away, Captain Beaujeu assembled the Indian allies on July 8 to march against them, but had to postpone his departure because of the reluctance of the Potawatomies from Detroit; and even on the morning of July 9 the Indians lagged until after the French set out. Thanks to this delay, the British were able to cross the Monongahela without interference and to reform on the farther bank before the French, having missed the best moment for attack, hurried up.

²⁶¹ De Villiers Journal, *ibid.*, 196-202.

²⁶² Nichols, "The Organization of Braddock's Army," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, IV (1947), 125-47.

²⁶³ Sketch for the Operations in North America. Novr 16:1754, Stanley Pargellis (ed.), *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765*, 45-48; "Avis donné au général Bradorck [sic] par le duc de Cumberland," *RAPQ*, 1932-1933, pp. 314-16.

According to the French account, their force comprised 3 captains (Beaujeu, Dumas, De Ligneris) and 10 subalterns, 23 cadets, 72 regulars, and 146 militia (a total of 254), and 637 Indians.²⁶⁴ The official figures for both forces thus give the British nearly a two-to-one superiority.

At the beginning of the battle the British, drawn up in impressive if inappropriate order, delivered an effective fire; Beaujeu was killed by the third volley, and the French wavered. An Indian who took flight arrived at Fort Duquesne about four o'clock with the news that "all the French and Indians were defeated"; though in fact they had by that hour won an astounding victory. Dumas had taken command, and under cover of the woods his followers had flanked the British and subjected them to an irregular but devastating cross fire. Braddock, a competent, conventional commander, had no answer for such tactics, but held his ground until shot down. His army disintegrated, was driven back across the river in rout, and, joined by Dunbar's men and under his forceless command, fell back to Fort Cumberland.

Official British figures list 63 officers and 914 men killed or wounded out of a total force of 1,459.²⁶⁵ The French, on the other hand, had three officers killed (Beaujeu, Lieutenant Carqueville, Ensign Lapérade) and two wounded, two cadets wounded, two soldiers and three militiamen killed, and two soldiers and two militiamen wounded: a total of sixteen French casualties. Of the Indian allies, fifteen were reported killed and twelve wounded.²⁶⁶

The consequences of the victory went far beyond the immediate one of holding Fort Duquesne against Braddock. It was to be three years before the English would launch another attack on this place. Furthermore, Braddock's captured supplies and equipment provided the French a windfall of valuable stores left almost at their doorstep. In addition, heightened French prestige and—perhaps more persuasive—the wealth of booty won for the French the Indian support which gave the subsequent period of hostility its distinctive character and popular designation. Finally, the British setback led inevitably to a formal

²⁶⁴ "Relation de l'affaire de la Belle-Rivière," *RAPQ*, 1932-1933, pp. 307-10. It should be noted that in the tabulation, page 308, the ranks of Captain De Lignery and Lieutenant Carqueville are interchanged; compare *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 390, and Douglas Brymner, *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1886, clxxxii-clxxxv.

²⁶⁵ Lawrence Henry Gipson, *The British Empire Before the American Revolution*, VI, 96.

²⁶⁶ État des morts et blessé à la bataille de la Monongahéla, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 390-91.

declaration of war, issued in London on May 17, 1756, and published in America between two and three months later.²⁶⁷

The ensuing period, from 1755 to 1758, was one of frontier forays, unbroken in Pennsylvania by major military action. It was in direct consequence of French and Indian raids that Pennsylvania first raised troops for its own defense and erected its first and most remarkable series of frontier forts. The significance of these actions in the light of Pennsylvania's previous unwarlike history should not be allowed to distort the over-all picture, however. The French and Indian raids planned and encouraged at Fort Duquesne were directed not only against Pennsylvania but against Maryland and Virginia as well. It must be remembered that during the three years in question the English post nearest Fort Duquesne was Fort Cumberland, garrisoned at different times by Virginia and Maryland troops. On the other hand, Pennsylvania settlers were not attacked from Fort Duquesne alone: Senecas and refugee Delawares and Shawnees from about Niagara penetrated to eastern and even southern Pennsylvania, as well as to northern New Jersey and adjacent New York; and in the later part of this period parties from Fort Machault also troubled the Quaker Province. Pennsylvania, on the other hand, despite its military undertakings, held stubbornly to a defensive policy, to the puzzlement of the French, who found it hard to believe that Fort Augusta, larger than Fort Duquesne and garrisoned by four hundred men, was not a base for attacks on their upper posts. In fact, Pennsylvania executed only one effective offensive action, a raid on Kittanning (Attigüé) in September, 1756. Because of this inaction, in September, 1757, the French commander at Niagara heard and half believed stories "that if the French appeared in Pennsylvania, that province would become an independent republic under the protection of France," and that the governor of Pennsylvania had offered to let the Indians pass freely into Virginia in order to save his own province.²⁶⁸

A full account of the raids directed from Fort Duquesne and of encounters between parties from this fort and those from English posts being impractical, mention of a few of the more noteworthy may serve to illustrate the nature of this bitter and indecisive warfare.

In an encounter on April 7, 1756, the French suffered the first loss of an officer since their victory over Braddock. On March 23 Captain Dumas, commanding at Fort Duquesne, ordered Ensign Dagneau

²⁶⁷ *PAI*, III, 735-37.

²⁶⁸ Bougainville Journal, *RAPQ*, 1923-1924, p. 313.

Douville, with a party of fifty Indians, to scout beyond Fort Cumberland and if possible to destroy English magazines on Conococheague. On April 7, while Douville was attacking a settlers' fort on Cacapon River, some twenty-five miles east of Fort Cumberland, he was surprised and killed by a Virginia detachment.²⁶⁹ The French were of course not well informed of the circumstances; and an "Abstract of Despatches from Canada" contains two contrasting references to the affair. One of these reports simply that "Ensign Douville is the only officer killed; he fell in an attack on a little fort which he was on the point of carrying";²⁷⁰ but the other account displays a livelier imagination:

Three forts have been burnt, among the rest one containing a garrison of forty-seven men, which was besieged by a party of 40 Indians under the command of M. Douville, a Colonial cadet. The garrison was summoned to surrender, but having refused, the fort was set on fire in the night; the garrison then attempted to escape, and the Indians gave no quarter. M. Douville lost his life on that occasion.²⁷¹

This, as it stands, is quite fanciful, and may represent a confusion of several French and Indian attacks made about this time. On April 18, near Edwards' Fort (also on Cacapon River), a French party attacked a Virginia party commanded by Captain John Mercer and killed him, another officer, and fifteen of his men.²⁷² On the French side, nine Indians were killed and Shingas, the noted Delaware war leader, was wounded.²⁷³ Victory, as well as defeat, was confusedly reported. Dumas reported on May 9 that from this and other raids "Thirty scalps have been sent us, and the commissions of three officers of the English regiments raised in the country, who have been killed."²⁷⁴ But the commissions may be accounted for by the Virginia report that "Captain Mercer had the Commissions of seven or eight of the Officers of the Detachment in his Poket-book when he was killed."²⁷⁵

²⁶⁹ Washington to Governor Morris, April [], 1756, enclosing Douville's orders; copy in PPC, printed in *PAI*, II, 600, 620-21. See also Brymner, *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1886, clxxxiv-clxxxv, where "Dagnaux Douville," *enseigne en second*, is reported killed "Sur les Terres proche Ohio" in 1757.

²⁷⁰ *NYCD*, X, 424. See also Montcalm to Count d'Argenson, June 12, 1756, *ibid.*, 416, and *Montcalm Journal*, 68.

²⁷¹ *NYCD*, X, 423.

²⁷² Governor Morris to R. Peters, April 28, 1756, *PAI*, II, 647. See also Freeman, *George Washington*, II, 181.

²⁷³ Letter from Fort Cumberland, October 1, 1756, quoted in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 21, 1756.

²⁷⁴ Montcalm to Count d'Argenson, June 12, 1756, *NYCD*, X, 416.

²⁷⁵ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 21, 1756.

In June Ensign Niverville de Montizambert was sent out with a party of seven Frenchmen and twenty Indians to annoy "George Croghan's fort" (Fort Shirley); unable to accomplish much there, he attacked Bigham's Fort, a "private fort" in Tuscarora Valley, on June 11, killed five of its occupants, and carried the other eighteen off as prisoners.²⁷⁶

About July another French officer, Ensign Louis-Jean-Baptiste Céloron de Blainville, was killed in an encounter.²⁷⁷ As Governor Vaudreuil reported in a letter of August 8:

The party commanded by Sieur de Celoron de Blainville attacked enemy scouts six leagues beyond Fort Cumberland. These two parties met unexpectedly. They fired pointblank; the enemy yielded at once. We killed 3 of them, and the savages brought back the scalps, but we lost the said Sieur de Blainville, a Huron, a Loup, and a Nontagué.²⁷⁸

Jean-Baptiste Céloron de Blainville was a younger brother of the more famous Pierre-Joseph. In this same report Vaudreuil wrote that at some earlier date

A party commanded by M. de Celoron had a fight near Cressep's fort, in the rear of Cumberland. They killed eight Englishmen, whose scalps the Indians were unable to take, as they found themselves, in the dusk of the evening, within musketfire of the fort. We had two savages killed and one wounded.²⁷⁹

The greatest single success achieved by these French-and-Indian parties was won about the end of July, when a party commanded by Captain Coulon de Villiers, the officer who had defeated Washington at Fort Necessity, took Fort Granville (near present Lewistown, Pennsylvania). According to the French account De Villiers left Fort Duquesne about July 22 with a detachment of twenty-three Frenchmen and thirty-two Shawnee, Delaware, and Illinois Indians; and he began his attack late in the morning of August 2 (July 30, according to English accounts). Part of the garrison had left earlier that morning with Captain Ward (Eward in the French report), leaving only twenty-

²⁷⁶ Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, August 8, 1756, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 94; another translation in *NYCD*, X, 435. *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 17, 24, 1756. Note the close agreement on the number of casualties, the *Gazette* listing twenty-two victims, Vaudreuil reporting eighteen prisoners and five scalps.

²⁷⁷ For identification, see Pierre-Georges Roy, *La Famille Céloron de Blainville*, 15.

²⁷⁸ Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, August 8, 1756, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 93.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 94.

four men under command of Lieutenant Armstrong (translated as *bras fort* or Bradford). On the following morning the French succeeded in setting the fort afire, the Lieutenant was killed, and a sergeant surrendered the post. Captain Jacobs, a noted Delaware war leader, then completed the burning of the place, and the party set off homeward. De Villiers returned to Fort Duquesne on August 21 with twenty-seven prisoners and four scalps.²⁸⁰

Largely in retaliation for this stroke, Pennsylvania troops executed their only effective offensive action when, on September 8, a force of about three hundred men, assembled from the troops stationed west of the Susquehanna and commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong, a brother of the lieutenant killed at Fort Granville, made a surprise attack on the Indian settlement at Kittanning. This place served as headquarters for Delaware Indians who had made devastating raids on the English settlements, and it was then the home of both Shingas and Captain Jacobs.

The attackers withdrew after destroying a large part of the settlement. De Normanville and a few other Frenchmen, who had come to Kittanning to raise a war party, gave the Indians some assistance. The Delawares' losses, probably not great numerically, included Captain Jacobs, and their confidence was badly shaken; soon after the attack they withdrew to Kuskusky and other towns on Beaver River, and the blow probably weakened their confidence in the French.²⁸¹

The only other French officers killed on the Ohio lost their lives on June 5, 1757. Ensign Douville de la Saussaye (whose father had long traded among the Shawnees), Ensign de Saint-Ours (son of Captain de Saint-Ours), and Ensign Picote de Belestre (also a captain's son) set out on May 17, with nine other Frenchmen and forty Shawnee Indians, to scout about Fort Cumberland. Having had no great success, the party broke up on June 4; and ten Frenchmen, returning toward Fort Duquesne, fell into an ambush set by a party of five soldiers and fifteen Cherokee Indians under Lieutenant James Baker, who had happened onto the French party's outward tracks and followed them. Three of the French were killed and the three officers

²⁸⁰ Dispatch from Fort Duquesne, August 23, 1756, entered in memoir of the Chevalier de la Pause, *RAPQ*, 1931-1932, p. 43. The statement placing Fort Granville "60,000 milles" from Philadelphia probably resulted from a repetition and misreading of *milles* (either "thousands" or "miles"). See also Bougainville Journal, *RAPQ*, 1923-1924, pp. 229-30; *Montcalm Journal*, 111; *NYCD*, X, 469, 489, 490. See also, in the present volume, the account of Fort Granville.

²⁸¹ William A. Hunter, "Victory at Kittanning," *Pennsylvania History*, XXIII (1956), 376-407.

taken; but the Cherokees killed La Saussaye and Saint-Ours in retaliation for the death of one of their warriors, the Swallow, killed in this engagement. Lieutenant Baker's party returned to Fort Cumberland on June 9 with five scalps and one prisoner, and carrying the Swallow's son, who had been wounded.²⁸²

This incident had a further consequence. When the French survivors arrived at Fort Duquesne, a large party of French and Indians set out about June 10 to seek revenge; and their departure was observed by another Cherokee party, who reported the news at Fort Cumberland on June 11. In the absence of a competent interpreter, it was misapprehended that a large French force with cannon had proceeded toward Pennsylvania, where troops were hurriedly assembled to oppose the expected attack. However, as the English subsequently learned, the avenging party dropped its undertaking on news that two Indians had been killed near Fort Duquesne.²⁸³

In the midst of this minor but savage warfare the story of the Dunker hermits appears both sane and bizarre. In May, 1751, when George Croghan was holding an Indian conference at Logstown, "A Dunkar from the Colony of Virginia . . . requested Liberty of the Six Nation Chiefs to make a Settlement on the River Yogh, yo, gaine, a Branch of Ohio." The settlement was made by three brothers, Samuel, Israel, and Gabriel Eckerling, who despite the outbreak of hostilities kept their own peace and gave food to English and French alike, "and to the Shawnees, who loved them much." The hermits were suspected of spying, of course, and when Samuel was apprehended in the settlements he was imprisoned at Williamsburg.²⁸⁴

In August, 1757, when Samuel asked leave to visit his brothers,

²⁸² Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, July 12, 1757, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 101; Washington to Governor Dinwiddie, June 10 and 12, 1757, and *id.* to Stanwix, June 15, 1757, Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings*, II, 51, 57-58, 60-61; J. Baker to Washington, June 10, 1757, Hamilton (ed.), *Letters to Washington*, II, 89-90; Dagworthy to Gov. Sharpe, June 10, 1757, *Maryland Archives*, XXXI, 227; *Montcalm Journal*, 245; H.-R. Casgrain (ed.), *Relations et journaux de différentes expéditions . . .*, 99. Pouchot says, in the work last cited, that Captain Belestre was at Niagara when news was received on June 30 of the loss of *Bellestre fils*. See also, Examination of Monsr Belestre a French Ensign, June 20, 1757, in *NYCD*, VII, 282.

²⁸³ Dagworthy to [], June 14-16, 1757, *Maryland Archives*, XXXI, 227, and, without the postscript, Hamilton (ed.), *Letters to Washington*, II, 91; Livingston to [], June 14, 1757, *Maryland Archives*, XXXI, 227-28, and, incomplete, Hamilton (ed.), *Letters to Washington*, II, 91-93; Dagworthy to Washington, June 17, 1757, *ibid.*, 97; Washington to Stanwix, June 21, 1757, Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings*, II, 70-71.

²⁸⁴ Croghan Journal, PR. M, 126-27, printed in *CR*, V, 531-32; *Montcalm Journal*, 301.

Governor Dinwiddie sent him to Colonel Washington, and it was decided to send him out with a party to bring in the other brothers and their possessions. When Captain Robert McKenzie arrived at the site of their settlement, however, "he found nothing on the Spot they inhabited but some Spears, broken Tomahawks, and the Ashes of their Hutts. The Spears were of French Make."²⁸⁵

The hermits' fate was no mystery to the French, and did not remain one long to the English. About August, 1757, an Ottawa war party, unaware or unappreciative of the arrangements of local Indians, had taken the Dunkers to Fort Duquesne, and from there they were sent to Canada.²⁸⁶ By January 26, 1758, Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette* could report that the two brothers, "with their Man Robert," had been seen in prison and in need at Quebec. "By which Account it plainly appears, that the Suspicion which had prevailed against them, as tho' they were Spies in the French Interest, on Account of their having remained so long unmolested, was quite groundless."

The activity of these raiding and scouting parties, which characterized the warfare of the years 1755-1758, emphasizes the importance to the French of their relations with the Indians. Anxiety over these relations appears so frequently in French correspondence and reports as to be almost constant. They had seen Indian sufferance as a factor important if not essential to the success of the initial military establishment in 1753-1754; and, once established, they saw themselves as reliant upon Indian support against the English.

Despite a twenty-year background of intermittent trade and negotiation in the upper Ohio country, in which they had given special attention to the Shawnees, the French had made relatively little inroad in comparison with their English rivals. More immediately, their post maintained at Chiningué in 1754-1755 had not proved very successful; and although diplomatic overtures toward the Indians about the Forks had roused some dissension among them,²⁸⁷ their most obvious product was the patently hostile stand taken by Tanaghrisson, the Half King. Governor Duquesne was fully aware in April, 1754, of the difficulties

²⁸⁵ Governor Dinwiddie to Washington, August 8 and October 24, 1757, Hamilton (ed.), *Letters to Washington*, II, 169, 218; Stewart to Dinwiddie, November 9, 1757, *ibid.*, 232; McKenzie to Stewart, [November 20, 1757], *ibid.*, III, 118-19; Stewart to Washington, November 24, 1757, *ibid.*, II, 244; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 5, 1758, quoting letter of December 27, 1757.

²⁸⁶ *Montcalm Journal*, 301; Bougainville Journal, *RAPQ*, 1923-1924, p. 308; *Pouchot Memoir*, I, 93-94.

²⁸⁷ Note especially the Cayuga chief Déjiquéqué, by February, 1754, known as pro-French; see *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 104, 105, 114, 189.

attendant upon Contrecoeur's advance into an area "where before they were all English."²⁸⁸

In dealing with the Indians, the greatest French asset was military success: first, because it gave the French greater prestige; second, because it enabled them to expel the English traders and so make the Indians economically dependent upon the French. As a second asset the French had Indian allies from other areas. On the one hand these consisted of Iroquois who had come under French influence, most notably the Caughnawagas or "French Mohawks," settled at a mission near Montreal, and some of the Senecas; on the other hand they included Ottawas and other "Lake Indians" and the tribes westward to the Illinois country. The more acculturated Indians on the Ohio considered the Ottawas brutal warriors and stood in some fear of them.

The official French attitude toward the Ohio Indians was summed up by Contrecoeur in his message of April 16, 1754, addressed to the Indians who were at Trent's fort: The French were not pleased with their behavior, but intended them no harm and were willing to receive them into friendship; meanwhile they should leave the English for their own safety.²⁸⁹ Sometime within the next month Contrecoeur held conferences with the Shawnees and Delawares and invited them to Montreal to meet the Governor.²⁹⁰

Contrecoeur had little immediate success. The Half King and his followers joined Washington openly, and the Iroquois leaders who remained with the French declined to join De Villiers' march against him. In typical fashion, the chiefs, protesting an interest in "good works" only, remained at the French fort while their warriors accepted the French hatchet.²⁹¹ The Delaware chiefs conferred with Washington and, both before and after his defeat, carried messages to and from the Virginians.²⁹² French victory at Fort Necessity removed the troublesome Half King, however, and improved the French bargaining position. On July 17 Contrecoeur met with Shawnees from Scioto and invited them to settle near him.²⁹³ On July 25 Governor Duquesne wrote that the time had come to be more insistent with the Shawnees and Delawares.²⁹⁴

²⁸⁸ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, [April 1-15, 1754], *ibid.*, 226. See n. 185 above.

²⁸⁹ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 116-17.

²⁹⁰ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, July 1, 1754, *ibid.*, 207-208.

²⁹¹ De Villiers Journal, *ibid.*, 197.

²⁹² Washington Journal, *ibid.*, 177-78; Duquesne to Contrecoeur, September 8, 1754, *ibid.*, 251.

²⁹³ Conseil des Chaouanons de Sonioto, *ibid.*, 216-18.

²⁹⁴ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, *ibid.*, 222-23.

Concerned to expel and exclude the English traders, the Governor took pains to encourage French trade in the area. La Saussaye, whose previous trading connection with the Ohio had led him to seek service under Marin, was given permission in 1754 to engage in trade;²⁹⁵ and Duquesne was much annoyed in June when Péan requisitioned a boat-load of La Saussaye's goods for military use.²⁹⁶ Other traders followed, and the Baby brothers were assisted in plying their trade among the more western Shawnees.²⁹⁷

The Indians remained for the most part uncommitted. In the spring of 1755 the Governor advised having the relatively receptive Shawnees offer the hatchet to the Indians at Detroit, and assured Contrecoeur of assistance from the Indians—Ottawas and others—from Michilimakinac.²⁹⁸ But when General Braddock marched on Fort Duquesne the resident Indians sent a delegation to confer with him (not very successfully, from the English point of view),²⁹⁹ and the Half King's followers joined him, though Tanaghrisson himself was then dead. Writing on July 21 Contrecoeur complained of the great difficulty of persuading the Shawnees and Delawares to attack the advancing English. From about June 7 to 19 he had sent out five parties of French and Indians; but the 267 Indians had included only 12 Shawnees and 2 Delawares who had gone out with the Baby brothers. The first party, indeed, composed of 11 cadets and 87 Indians under the elder De Normanville, had had the good fortune on June 19 to capture Scarroyady, the Half King's successor, scouting in advance of Braddock's army; but after they had bound him the captive addressed a speech to the Iroquois with De Normanville, who thereupon, to that officer's chagrin and frustration, set him free. The last and largest of Contrecoeur's five parties consisted of 150 Potawatomes and Ottawas

²⁹⁵ *Id.* to Marin, July 10, 1753, ASQ, V-V, 5:62:6; *id.* to Contrecoeur, May 9 and May 22, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 123, 129.

²⁹⁶ Péan to Contrecoeur, June 15, 1754, *ibid.*, 187; Duquesne to *id.*, August 14 and September 8, 1754, *ibid.*, 248, 249-50.

²⁹⁷ See, for example, Duquesne to Contrecoeur, letters dated June 12, August 2, August 14, and September 8, 1754, *ibid.*, 182, 228, 248-50; Contrecoeur to Varin, March 25 and May 2, 1755, *ibid.*, 307, 326; *id.* to Vaudreuil, August 3, 1755, *ibid.*, 407.

²⁹⁸ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, March 5 and April 27, 1755, *ibid.*, 282, 324.

²⁹⁹ See Shingas' account in Beverley W. Bond, Jr. (ed.), "The Captivity of Charles Stuart, 1755-57," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIII (1926), 62-64. Indians sought to give the sense rather than the precise words of speeches; even assuming that Stuart repeated Shingas' precise words, these could not be regarded as a verbatim report of Braddock's speech. The account is better evidence for the impression Braddock made on the Indians.

from Detroit; and on June 21 the Captain was about to send out 150 Hurons and Chippewas from the same place.

A few years later the Delawares asserted "that at Braddock's Defeat there was not One of y^e Delawares & only four Mingoes & three Shawanas, all y^e Rest Northⁿ Indians."³⁰⁰ Whether or not this assertion is taken literally, it is at least consistent with Contrecoeur's complaints.

The Indians reacted sharply to the French victory. The northern Indians, triumphant and booty-laden, set off almost at once for their homes;³⁰¹ the resident Indians, persuaded by overwhelming French success and the even more overwhelming booty, aligned themselves with the new regime. "The great pillage at the time of General Braddok's defeat," the French later noted, "has attracted some Indian tribes from very remote countries to Fort du Quesne."³⁰² The Governor renewed his urging and, on the grounds of retaliation for English seizure of Fort Beauséjour in Acadia, ordered Contrecoeur to send French and Indian parties against Fort Cumberland.³⁰³

Even then the Delawares temporized. Ten of them went as scouts for a party of 130 French who left Fort Duquesne about August 3; but when these scouts met a party of 35 Englishmen they warned them of the approaching French, and then warned the French of the nearby English!³⁰⁴

The French proposed to employ a total force of some twelve or fifteen hundred French and Indians in raids upon the English borders, and to this end sent embassies and messengers to the various tribes and settlements. Against Pennsylvania their success was little short of appalling. About October 20 Indian messengers announced the French design to the Delaware settlement at the Big Island (near present Lock Haven, Pennsylvania). When a confused report of this came to the settlements on the heels of word of the Penns Creek massacre, the reaction was little short of panic. Indians from the Ohio incited those living on the North Branch of the Susquehanna; during the winter of 1755-1756 the latter withdrew northward, some of them raiding the settlements as they went; the more hostile then joined the French and the others sought homes less exposed to attack. Many of

³⁰⁰ John W. Jordan (ed.), "Journal of James Kenny, 1761-1763," *PMHB*, XXXVII (1913), 183.

³⁰¹ "Relation de l'affaire de la Belle-Rivière," *RAPQ*, 1932-1933, pp. 309-10; Contrecoeur to Vaudreuil, July 26, 1755, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 399-400.

³⁰² *NYCD*, X, 402.

³⁰³ Contrecoeur to Vaudreuil, July 29, 1755, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 402-403.

³⁰⁴ *Id.* to *id.*, August 17, 1755, *ibid.*, 419-20.

the Delawares on the Ohio, meanwhile, congregated at Kittanning. From the beginning of October, 1755, to the end of July, 1756, war parties led by Shingas and Captain Jacobs used this place as a base for vigorous attacks ranging from Fort Cumberland to the Cumberland and Juniata valleys. Although Frenchmen accompanied some of these parties, it is more than possible that Shingas pursued a policy not identical with that of the French.³⁰⁵

By February, 1756, Governor Vaudreuil could boast that "All the Nations on the Beautiful river have taken up the hatchet against the English"; and in the following June it was known that "the village of Delawares, domiciliated among the English, who, according to M. de Vaudreuil's despatches of February, were to remove over to us, has executed that project, and made a vigorous attack on the English when leaving them."³⁰⁶

The consequences of this Indian support have been sufficiently indicated, and the effectiveness of the Indian attacks becomes fully apparent in any account of the Pennsylvania efforts at defense.

By 1757, however, the French began to lose the support of the Ohio Indians. No further French triumphs had equaled—or could equal—that over Braddock; pressed to supply their own needs, the French could not supply the resident Indians so abundantly or so favorably as the English had; the attack on Kittanning shook the Indians' confidence in the French and, perhaps, in themselves; the French did not fully trust the Delawares, who in turn distrusted the Indians brought in by the French; the war had lasted long enough. George Croghan heard that though a party of French and Delawares had killed two sentries at Fort Augusta in February, 1757, no other Delawares or Shawnees had been out that spring; the other attacks had been made by "Indians from over the Lakes; that the Delawares made great Game of the Lake Indians."³⁰⁷ Though the Delawares did not fully desist from attacks until much later, their changing mood was apparent. By March, 1758, Montcalm wrote:

The Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania are making every effort to detach the Indians and to obtain at least their neutrality; they neglect neither prayers nor caresses nor offers of goods and brandy; and if this comes about we run the risk of losing the Belle-Rivière. . . .³⁰⁸

³⁰⁵ See the more detailed account in Chapter V of the present volume.

³⁰⁶ *NYCD*, X, 408, 425.

³⁰⁷ Croghan Journal, *CR*, VII, 515.

³⁰⁸ *Montcalm Journal*, 335.

It was in this same month of March, 1758, that Governor Denny of Pennsylvania sent a friendly message to the Ohio by a Delaware Indian named Willemaghiking or James.³⁰⁹ This apparently is the message of which Governor Vaudreuil wrote on July 28:

two Loups . . . came to the Loups of the Belle Riviere, carrying a belt in the name of the English, which invited them to take refuge with them and bring back all the prisoners from their people which they had in their power. M. de Ligneris, who knew of this proceeding, sent an officer to our Loups to induce them to reply to this speech in the way we wished. This officer returned with the Loup chiefs who gave M. de Ligneris the English belt with two English medals, which the two Loups . . . had presented to ours. Their reply was that they would not listen to the English speeches, as they had renewed their alliance with the French.³¹⁰

On August 13, nevertheless, a white messenger, Christian Frederick Post, arrived at Kuskusky with a message from Pennsylvania. Again De Ligneris sent out a French officer who, arriving at Kuskusky on August 15 with fifteen men, escorted Post and a number of Indians to the Forks, where, across the river from the fort, Post addressed the Indians in council, reminding them of Willemaghiking's earlier visit and inviting them to return to their old friendship. Despite French efforts to seize Post, the Indians took him safely away on August 28.³¹¹

The consequence of this second appeal was that the Delawares sent a representative to Easton, where Governor Denny concluded a peace in which it was hoped the Ohio Indians would join. The fact that an English army was then advancing on Fort Duquesne made the English peace offer more persuasive. On November 16 Post arrived again at Kuskusky, accompanied this time by two white soldiers and two Iroquois deputies and bearing General Forbes' endorsement of the peace proposal. A small French party was then at Kuskusky, and one of their officers, Niverville de Montizambert, was present at Post's conferences. On November 25 news arrived at Kuskusky of the French

³⁰⁹ See *Pennsylvania History*, XVIII (1951), 218-19. Pisquitomen and Keekyuscung did not return with James as there suggested. In the version of Post's journal printed in *PAI*, III, 521-44, this Indian's name appears as Willm McKaking.

³¹⁰ Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, July 28, 1758, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 114.

³¹¹ For Post's journal, July 15-September 20, 1758, see Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels*, I, 185-233. The version in *PAI*, III, 521 ff., represents a generally inferior copy, since lost. An account given Israel Pemberton by Post's Indian companion Daniel is in the Etting Collection, Pemberton Papers, II, 29, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

retreat from Fort Duquesne; four days later Montizambert sent his men to a safer place, and Post and a number of the Indians set out to meet the English at the Forks.³¹²

As General Forbes' considerable forces carried out their carefully planned, well-executed advance through the summer and fall of 1758, it became increasingly apparent to the French that Fort Duquesne probably could not be held. To some people the realization came slowly, of course. A few days before the actual evacuation of the fort, Montcalm wrote at Montreal that "There is fear lest the Belle-Rivière be abandoned. It would seem to me that if the enemy marches there the matter is decided."³¹³ Montcalm himself regarded the Ohio establishment as an unprofitable drain on Canadian strength and had advised abandoning it.³¹⁴ As planned, Forbes' army was to have numbered nearly seven thousand men, and although it fell rather below that figure in practice, it still far outnumbered any force the French had sent to the Ohio.

On August 26 Forbes' second-in-command, Colonel Bouquet, ordered an advance force of 1,500 men to proceed to Loyalhanna (later Fort Ligonier), where they arrived on September 3.³¹⁵ To oppose the growing threat, the French moved detachments to Fort Duquesne. In June a contingent said to number 600 men arrived from the Illinois, and in July Governor Vaudreuil reported that he had sent De Ligneris about 350 Canadians.³¹⁶ Not all the reinforcements sent to the Ohio were stationed at Fort Duquesne, however. On September 16 an officer wrote from there that the garrison then numbered a thousand Frenchmen.³¹⁷

Few hostile encounters marked the advance of the English forces. The first one took place on September 14, almost at the gates of Fort Duquesne. At daybreak the French found a shed burning at the nearby Indian camping place; a reconnoitering party of two hundred

³¹² For Post's journal, October 25, 1758-January 10, 1759, see Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels*, I, 234-91; for the French report, probably by Montizambert, see Casgrain (ed.), *Relations et journaux*, 175-79. See also "Casteogain's Report," *Wilderness Chronicles*, 134; and, for a report of Post's white companion Captain John Bull, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 21, 1758.

³¹³ *Montcalm Journal*, 484.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 462-63.

³¹⁵ Bouquet to Colonel Burd, August 26, 1758, *Bouquet Papers*, II, 418-20; *id.* to General Forbes, same date, *ibid.*, 420-25.

³¹⁶ NYCD, X, 843; *Montcalm Journal*, 357; Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, July 28, 1758, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 114-15.

³¹⁷ Extrait d'une lettre de M. Du Vernys . . . , *Montcalm Journal*, 475.

men moved out and, guided by the sound of pipes and drums, found a body of Highlanders in the woods. The garrison made an immediate attack, put the enemy to rout, and captured most of the officers, including the commander, Major James Grant. The French Indians, rallying after an initial retreat, massacred many of the captives. The English lost about a third of a force of about eight hundred men; the French "lost in this action ten men, some wounded." However, as after the victory over Braddock, the Indians then dispersed homeward.³¹⁸

A second clash took place about a month later. Captain Charles Aubry, who had brought the detachment from the Illinois, set out on September 22 with a force of 450 Canadians and 100 Indians to reconnoiter the English camp at Loyalhanna. On the morning of October 12 he attacked a party at a little distance from the main camp and routed it. Colonel James Burd sent out successive parties of 60 and 500 men, both of whom the French repulsed. The English force of 1,500 men, with entrenchments and artillery, held a secure position, but the attackers drove off the horses and withdrew the next day unmolested. The English losses amounted to twelve killed, eighteen wounded, and thirty-one missing; the French acknowledged the loss of two men killed and seven wounded.³¹⁹

The French had scored a success, but it was not enough. The season was against them; the remaining Indians dispersed to hunt, the detachments from the Illinois and Detroit returned to their posts, and the Canadians sent out in the spring returned home, leaving a garrison of two hundred men and some domiciliated Indians. Montcalm was mistaken in believing the fort safe for that year. The season was late for the English as well, but had not the same disadvantages for them; they were not dependent upon Indian allies, they had greater resources, and their supply lines were shorter and better.

On November 12 the French delivered their last attack from Fort Duquesne. Lieutenant de Corbière, who set out on November 9 with

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 473-75; Major Grant to General Forbes, n. d., *Bouquet Papers*, II, 499-504; Bougainville to De Creville, November 8, 1758, *NYCD*, X, 888; Howard H. Peckham (ed.), "Thomas Gist's Indian Captivity, 1758-1759," *PMHB*, LXXX (1956), 285-311.

³¹⁹ *Montcalm Journal*, 482-83; *Pouchot Memoir*, I, 129-30; Burd to Bouquet, October 12 and October 13, 1758, *Bouquet Papers*, II, 552-53, 556; General Forbes to General Abercromby, October 16, 1758, Alfred Procter James (ed.), *Writings of General John Forbes*, 231-34. Forbes' letter and an account in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 26, 1758 (also in *Bouquet Papers*, II, 558), identify the French officer as "Capt Vitry" or "M. de Vitri."

30 Canadians and about 140 half-hearted Delaware, Shawnee, and Iroquois Indians, attacked a party near Loyalhanna. The report which reached Governor Vaudreuil, that De Corbière and fifty men with him repulsed eight hundred Englishmen, and Pouchot's story that the French took a hundred scalps, are fanciful; but the Indians, acting separately, took and killed some horses. The English lost two officers and thirty-eight men, however, when two of their pursuit parties fired on one another by mistake.³²⁰

Fort Duquesne was clearly doomed. The garrison numbered "less than 300 men, a third of whom at the most were capable of taking the field." At a council of war on November 19, the officers agreed that the fort must be evacuated. The defenders began the task of demolition, cutting down the stockades around the "new fort" in the parts where there were no buildings by which a fire might spread. On November 23, learning that the English were only five or six leagues away, De Ligneris made his final arrangements:

M. de Ligneris saw that there was no longer reason to flatter himself. He immediately ordered 8 days' provisions to be taken for the regulars and militia, who were intended to retreat with him to the Machault post. He had the small amount of goods remaining in the King's storehouses packed up, and sent them to Conchaké for the savages of that village. He appointed a person worthy of trust to distribute the goods, and to induce them always to take our side and attack the English.

He prepared to evacuate the place, as he did not have enough men to resist the enemy's army, which was of six or seven thousand men, according to the report of all the prisoners and deserters.

He had the cannon and munitions of war put in bateaux which he sent to the Illinois. There was no other course to be taken in saving them. He also sent to the Illinois the prisoners who were in his possession. This operation was accomplished in less than three hours.

When everyone had embarked, when the scouts had returned, and when all the bateaux had left, except one which he had kept, he had the fort set on fire. After this, he embarked to join his force of 192 men, who had orders to wait for him about a league above the fort.

To blow up the fort, 50 or 60 barrels of spoiled powder

³²⁰ For the Indians' account to Christian Frederick Post, see Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels*, I, 251. Vaudreuil to the Minister, January 20, 1759, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 126-27; Pouchot *Memoir*, I, 131; Forbes to General Abercromby, November 17, 1758, James (ed.), *Writings of General John Forbes*, 255.

were left in the powder magazine. As soon as M. de Ligneris heard the roar of this mine, he sent three men by land to see what damage it had done. They reported that the fort was entirely reduced to ashes and that the enemy would fall heir to nothing but the ironwork of the community buildings.

M. de Ligneris arrived at Fort Machault on the 28th. He decided to keep only 100 men, either because this fort could not provide quarters for a larger number, or because he did not have enough provisions.³²¹

The French venture in the Ohio was not yet at an end. From new headquarters at Fort Machault, Captain de Ligneris continued for a few months to command the French forces and to threaten the English position, but the value of the remaining French posts was limited. Fort Duquesne had been the essential position; this lost, the Ohio country again lay open to English penetration, not only by the trader as before, but now by the soldier and the settler as well.

FORT MACHAULT

Fort Machault stood at the present site of Franklin and was named for Jean-Baptiste Machault d'Arnouville, French Minister of the Marine, 1754-1757. In the original French plans, Fort d'Anjou was to have been built here, but the project was dropped, and when the plan was revived in 1755 it was under the new name. A "small redoubt" erected in July of this year developed into a small fort during the following year and was finished, it seems, in 1757. Following the destruction of Fort Duquesne, Fort Machault was for a few months the last French headquarters on the Ohio, from November, 1758, to August, 1759. In general plan it resembled Fort de la Presqu'isle, being square with bastions at the four corners. Buildings formed two sides of the square and part of another, and the rest of the circumference was stockaded. The single gate was on the east side, facing the Allegheny.

Contrary to common supposition, Fort Machault was the latest built of the French posts on the Ohio. The common impression is easily accounted for, however, by this post's geographical position, by the fact that the early French plans included a fort at this place, and by the maintenance of a detachment here for some time before the construction of a fort. Prior to the French military occupation, moreover,

³²¹ Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, January 20, 1759, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 127-29. Note that the account of provisions, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 429-31, ends November 23, 1758.

Venango and the country above it was one of the scenes of rivalry between French and English traders; and this trade penetration is so closely linked to the story of military occupation that the one cannot be related without some note of the other.

Before the French occupation, as Richard Peters wrote in a passage quoted earlier, Pennsylvania traders had posts "upon the Ohio from Buckaloons an Indian Town near its head to below y^e Mouth of y^e Miami River."³²² Buckaloons occupied approximately the site of present Irvine at the mouth of Brokenstraw Creek; while about six miles up the Allegheny at the mouth of Conewango Creek was the Seneca town known to the French as Kanaouangon at present Warren.

The very names by which Buckaloons was known are a commentary on the early history of the region. Its Iroquois name, which appears as *gachinantiagon* on the 1740 Mandeville map and as *Kachinodiagon* in Céloron's journal of 1749, was translated by the French as *La Paille Coupée* and by English speakers as Brokenstraw; and Delaware Indians, making their own translation, provided the name used by Pennsylvania traders, Buckaloons (from *poquihilleu*, broken).³²³

This region about Conewango and Buckaloons was well known to the French, and from an early day; quite possibly it was here that the French were reported in 1732 to be "building a Fort with Loggs, at or near the said River Ohio."³²⁴ Certainly it lay on the route they commonly took to the upper Ohio when coming over the Chautauqua portage from Lake Erie. This was the route followed by the Baron de Longueuil in 1739 and by Céloron de Blainville in 1749; it was the route originally chosen for the expedition of 1753, and it continued in use, along with the Presqu'isle route, after that time. However, just as the English were troubled by the sight of Frenchmen descending the Ohio, the French felt concern over the movement of English traders up the same stream; in 1749 Céloron rebuked the Senecas of Conewango for building in their village "a cabin destined to receive English traders."³²⁵

At Venango by that date English trade was firmly established. Céloron had heard "that there was at this place a blacksmith and an English merchant," but he did not see them. John Fraser had been

³²² Detail of Indian Affairs, [December, 1754], PPC, printed in *PA1*, II, 238.

³²³ George P. Donehoo, *History of the Indian Villages and Place Names in Pennsylvania*, 14-16.

³²⁴ *PA1*, I, 304, 309-10.

³²⁵ Céloron Journal, Galbreath (ed.), *Expedition of Celoron to the Ohio Country in 1749*, 22.

there, it appears, since 1741.³²⁶ Most of the local Indians were Delawares. Céloron saw their settlement as a small one, "only of nine or ten cabins," but it is possible that then as later more of the Indians lived a few miles up French Creek. Presumably these Delawares had moved up the river from their earlier settlements at Kittanning, but some of them may have come by a more northern route from the upper Susquehanna. Historically, as geographically, these Delawares were associated with the Senecas who had moved westward and southward from their home country. Here, figuratively, burned one of the council fires at which the Indians held their formal meetings; it and the "fire" at Logstown seem to have replaced the older one at Kittanning, and the Delawares were to be met with at both places of council. Here at Venango their speaker was Custaloga, at Logstown it was "King" Shingas.

In preparation for their expedition into the Ohio country in 1753 and to insure a friendly reception from the Indians, the French stationed Captain Philippe-Thomas de Joncaire at Paille Coupée on the route the expedition was to follow.³²⁷ The Senecas had held this man's father in high regard and considered his sons as their brothers. In 1751, on the heels of Céloron's expedition, Joncaire (then a lieutenant) had been sent to Chiningué (Logstown) to counter English influence there; and on June 6, 1751, he had written from that place to inform Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania of his orders to remove the English traders.³²⁸

Inevitably, and almost hopelessly, Captain Joncaire has been confused with his younger brother, Daniel Joncaire, sieur de Chabert et de Clausonne (usually called Joncaire de Chabert).³²⁹ The latter, then an ensign, was in command after 1751 at "little fort Niagara" at the upper end of the Niagara portage; and he conducted negotiations with various Indians, Iroquois and others, to preserve their friendship. In May, 1758, for example, when the English were making a special effort to weaken Indian-French ties, Joncaire de Chabert furnished a

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, 25; Freeman, *George Washington*, I, 276.

³²⁷ Account of Receipts and Expenses, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 69.

³²⁸ For references to his mission here, see *CR*, V, 462, 476, 497, 508-509, 530-31, 540-41; *NYCD*, X, 247-49.

³²⁹ Even their associates erred. De Léry, having noted in his journal on June 19, 1754, that "M. de Jonquières, captain commanding at the mouth of the Rivière au Bocuf, reported to M. Chabert, his brother," proceeded on July 9 to list "M. Chabert de Jonquières, commanding at the village of the Rivière au Boeuf." *RAPQ*, 1927-1928, pp. 366, 375.

gunsmith and a supply of iron to the mixed population of Senecas, Delawares, and others at Canisteo.³³⁰

In the spring of 1753, therefore, Ensign Joncaire de Chabert was at the Niagara portage and his brother Captain Joncaire at Paille Coupée, both on the intended route of march. John Fraser, the English trader, still maintained his post at Venango; in a letter received by Governor Duquesne in January 12 Joncaire wrote that "the English . . . had sent smiths to Chinengué and the River au Boeuf, where they were even settled."³³¹

It was Fraser, apparently, who in May, 1753, first warned the traders at the Forks of Ohio of the French march. Informed by some Mingoes (Iroquois) "that there were then and had been since March last one hundred and fifty French and Indians at a Carrying Place which leads from Niagara to the Heads of the Ohio," Fraser sent off a letter which arrived at the Forks on May 7, five days before John Harris delivered Governor Hamilton's warning. Shortly afterward, Fraser was visited by some Frenchmen, who "had come down the Ohio to Weningo with a Parcel of Deer skins, which they said they brought with them to swap for Furs."³³²

These visitors must have come from Joncaire's post. There is reason to believe that Joncaire and Fraser were personally acquainted and that their relations were not unfriendly. Some two years later, writing to Fraser on official matters, Joncaire expressed the wish "that the difficulties between us will not destroy in any way the friendship which has existed between us."³³³ Perhaps the French visit was intended as a warning; undoubtedly it served as such, and Fraser removed from Venango to the Forks not long afterward.

The English trader's departure left the local Indians dependent upon the French for supplies and so furthered French control of the area. In June apparently, the Delawares about Venango protested the French advance beyond Niagara; but such protest was of course futile, and a conciliatory French reply and the Indians' own needs insured a peaceful solution. By July 13 Indians from this place reported at Logstown "that the Delawares had chiefly left Vinango, one part of

³³⁰ *Mémoire pour Daniel de Joncaire-Chabert, ci-devant Commandant au petit Fort de Niagara . . .*, 27, 128-35.

³³¹ Duquesne to the Minister of the Marine, August 20, 1753, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 50.

³³² Report of Robert Callender *et al.*, May 30, 1753, *CR*, V, 614-16.

³³³ Joncaire to Fraser, March 6, 1755, Shippen Family Papers, I, 171, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

them was gone to help the French over the carrying Place and most of the others were gone over to Sasquehanna"; and later reports gave further details. On July 21 a Caughnawaga ("French Mohawk") reported

that Custaloga, the Delaware Chief . . . went away to help the French bring their Baggage over the Carrying Place: he told us the French had begun another Fort and Town [at Rivière au Boeuf]; about a day's journey higher to us than the first; and that the French Interpreter had employed the Delawares to fitt up Mr. Fraizer's Houses at Venango for him, where he was going to live; he also says the French intend to build a Fort at Venango. . . .³³⁴

French plans did include a fort at Venango; it was to have been called Fort d'Anjou, and the name appears on some French maps. Even after Marin had to curtail his plans for the 1753 campaign, he reported on August 14 his intention to descend the Ohio "and to leave only 30 men each in the forts of Presqu'isle and Anjou, and 20 in the fort of the Rivière aux Boeufs." Two months later, however (still to expedite the intended descent of the Ohio), Governor Duquesne terminated the history of this paper fort by eliminating it from the plans.³³⁵

The French prepared meanwhile to place a detachment here. John Fraser and his partner James Young had sent an employee, William Willson, back to the store at Venango. William could not compete with the French, however (he sold only "eight Buck's worth of Goods"), and when two Frenchmen visited him on the afternoon of August 14 he decided to leave. Early next morning a detachment of seventy-five Frenchmen arrived, headed by an ensign with the imposing name of Pierre-Louis Boucher de Niverville, sieur de Montizambert. From an overlooking hill Willson watched them seize two traders just arrived from Kittanning; then he took to his heels and, outrunning the Frenchmen who pursued him, made his way to the Forks of Ohio.³³⁶

³³⁴ Trent Journal, *History of Bouquet*, 18-19, 22.

³³⁵ Péan *Memoir*, 25, 34; see also Duquesne to Marin, November 7, 1753, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 79.

³³⁶ Trent Journal, *History of Bouquet*, 38-39; Fraser to Young, Forks, August 27, 1753, *CR*, V, 659-60. Trent refers to the employee, somewhat ambiguously, as "Mr. Fraizer and another Trader's man"; Fraser calls him William; his full name, "Wm. Willson," appears in an account of losses suffered by James Young and John Fraser in the Etting Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; printed in Kenneth P. Bailey (ed.), *Ohio Company Papers, 1753-1817*, pp. 122-27. For the captured traders, Trotter and McLaughlen, see *PA1*, II, 131-32; *Journal of Major George Washington*, 18.

By the night of August 16 it was known at Logstown that the French "have taken Possession of Venango, and that they are fitting up Mr Frazier's houses, which he was obliged to leave for fear of them." On the same day Niverville returned to Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf with his two prisoners, John Trotter and James McLaughlen, whom Marin sent on to Canada along with three unruly French soldiers. "There is every hope," Governor Duquesne wrote, "that these two examples will do marvels for the remainder of the campaign and I am beginning to hope that this seizure of the Englishmen will not be the only one since they have the audacity to approach so close to the army."³³⁷

Niverville himself was known to the English traders since he had spent the previous winter at Logstown. The Delaware chief Custaloga (who, Fraser reported, was "made a Captain by the French") reportedly had aided him in his exploit. According to Fraser, Custaloga appropriated William Willson's "eight Bucks and all the Corn" at the trading post and also delivered the two traders to the French.

Meanwhile Captain Joncaire had been ordered to move down from Paille Coupée to the mouth of the Rivière au Boeuf, and on August 16 replied to Marin: "I sent off a pirogue to the Rivierre au Boeuf on the 15th of this month; as soon as those who took it return, I shall set off to go there. . . . The 21st or the 22d, I shall be at the Rivierre au Boeuf." He in fact arrived there August 28, "after having been five days making a road with pickaxes." Fraser's buildings needed some repair. "There are two still occupied by the Loups [Delawares]. They say they were given to them by the former proprietor."³³⁸

Writing on September 1 to tell Marin of his arrival, Joncaire enclosed another letter, which he said had been "interrupted," supplying information about "Thaninhison" (the Half King), who was then on his way to demand that Marin withdraw. "He is more English than the English," said Joncaire, who added that "the chief of the Loups here"—that is, Custaloga—seemed troubled because "his people," presumably the Delawares about the Forks of Ohio, had not notified him of the impending meeting.³³⁹

On September 12 Joncaire reported to Marin the appearance of more English traders:

³³⁷ Trent Journal, *History of Bouquet*, 38; Marin to Contrecoeur, August 17, 1753, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 41; Duquesne to Marin, September 3, 1753, *ibid.*, 60.

³³⁸ Joncaire to *id.*, August 16, 1753, ASQ, V-V, 5:60:1; *id.* to *id.*, September 1, 1753, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 52.

³³⁹ *Id.* to *id.*, n. d., ASQ, V-V, 5:60:2.

There have appeared here two Englishmen who have come to seek their profits which were in the hands of the Indians. They were here about an hour. Though without orders, if I had had any man to guard them, I would have detained them till I had informed you about it.

Two others have got away. They had been sent on behalf of the former proprietor [Fraser] of the houses which are here, to drive out the Loups and set them on fire if they were unwilling to leave. He had been told that I was not there, and the Loups said that he had not given me all the buildings. Thus they saw that they do belong to me, and so there will be a place to store a large quantity of goods. . . . All the buildings here are very good. I am waiting for some iron to have them all fastened tightly.³⁴⁰

In subsequent letters Joncaire relayed Indian news and messages from down the river, and he also kept in touch with his former post upstream. On October 7 he reported that "Thus far everything is quiet here, on the Cananouangon side. I am told that the Indians were going to retire, but I doubt it"; and on October 19 he promised to leave next day to invite the Indians of Cananouangon (Conewango) to visit Marin and receive gifts from him.³⁴¹

Marin's death ten days later and suspension of the campaign down the Ohio left the two forts and Venango in the hands of caretaker detachments during the winter: Captain Repentigny at Presqu'isle, Saint-Pierre (Marin's successor) at Rivière au Boeuf, and Joncaire at Venango. Consequently, it was Captain Joncaire whom Washington met when he arrived on December 4, 1753, from Logstown on his way to deliver Governor Dinwiddie's letter:

We found the *French Colours* hoisted at a House which they drove Mr. *John Frazier*, an *English Subject*, from; I immediately repaired to it, to know where the Commander resided: There were three Officers, one of whom, Capt. *Joncaire*, inform'd me, that he had the Command of the *Ohio*, But that there was a General Officer at the near Fort, which he advised me to for an Answer. He invited us to sup with them, and treated us with the greatest Complaisance.³⁴²

On the following day Joncaire learned, despite Washington's efforts to conceal the matter, of the presence of the Half King's delegation; so he invited them in for the customary reception of gifts and liquor. Despite this attention, Tanaghrisson insisted on carrying out his two-

³⁴⁰ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 66.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 71, 76.

³⁴² *Journal of Major George Washington*, 13.

fold errand: to return the "four-town" speech belt which some of his people had accepted in July and, in doing so, to repeat his own speech of September 3; and to persuade Custaloga to return the belt which the Delawares had accepted. As he explained to Washington (who wanted to defer this business until their arrival at the French fort), it was at Venango that "a Council Fire was kindled, where all their Business with these People [the French] was to be transacted; and that the Management of the *Indian Affairs* was left solely to Monsieur *Joncaire*."³⁴³

The outcome was inconclusive. Custaloga, committed to aiding the French, declined to act on the ground that Shingas had sent no speech for the occasion; and Joncaire referred Tanaghrisson to the new commander, Saint-Pierre, at Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf.

Both delegations, Washington's and Tanaghrisson's, left Venango on December 7, but returned on the 22d on their homeward journey. Washington made only an overnight stay this time; the Half King, however, announced his intention to remain at Venango "a Day or two," and seems in fact to have stayed somewhat longer. He and a few other Iroquois returned to Logstown on January 16, 1754, in the company of Ensign La Chauvignerie, La Force, and a detachment of French soldiers.³⁴⁴

This detachment, which remained near Logstown until the establishment of Fort Duquesne, was of course under the general command of Captain Saint-Pierre, but its work was in the field of Indian relations which were Joncaire's special concern. From Custaloga Joncaire learned on February 18 that a thousand [!] English were building a "fort" at Redstone; two days later this same chief returned with two Iroquois who said that the Delawares from the Forks would move to Venango (but might not arrive until spring). Relaying this news to Saint-Pierre on February 20, Joncaire added a request in which he spoke feelingly of his assignment:

The excuse of going to prepare for Easter made me decide to join you in order to escape for a time the misery we have long suffered here of corn with a piece of unpeppered, unsalted meat. My health no longer permits me to continue, which obliges me to repeat my request by a messenger from the village above, especially since I am obliged to hold the pettiest council, often for nothing and without tobacco or

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, 14-15.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 15-20; La Chauvignerie to Saint-Pierre, February 10, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 99; Croghan Journal, CR, V, 732.

brandy. I do not think they will ask for any very soon; for I believe they have even boiled the kegs to smell the odor. Sometimes it is a sick man who sends to ask for a piece of bread, sometimes for a drink of wine; another is going to die, another cannot hunt for lack of powder; one has neither shirt nor leggings; another's dead parents torment him constantly in his sleep, reproaching him for having no pity on them, for making them no feast of brandy; others, finally, come from the devil to get blankets, recalling all the promises we made them last summer, taking great care at the same time to have it understood that when the English were here they did not suffer so much. . . .³⁴⁵

Joncaire's absence from his post was only temporary, however. Letters written by the Governor in April, 1754, indicate that Joncaire had been at Niagara with Contrecoeur, then preparing for the advance down the Ohio; and in one of these letters he advised Contrecoeur to "Keep Sieur de Joncaire with you. He can be very helpful to you until your establishment is consolidated."³⁴⁶ Quite possibly, Joncaire had by then returned to Venango in company with Contrecoeur; and it seems clear that Contrecoeur decided to leave Joncaire at his old post, "in the midst of all his Indian family."³⁴⁷

Some members of this "Indian family" apparently spied on Washington's Virginians and may have been the suspicious "Mingoes" who met him on June 18. By July 1 Duquesne could report that "Sieur de Joncaire informs me that he had the supposed English army reconnoitered and that it is composed of only 400 men."³⁴⁸ On June 18 Lieutenant de Léry at the Chautauqua portage noted that "M. de Jonquières, captain, commanding at the mouth of the Rivière au Boeuf, reports to M. Chabert, his brother, that three Indians have gone past carrying belts on behalf of the English to the Five Nations"; and on July 10 Captain Péan received at Chautauqua a letter in which Joncaire said he expected fifteen Shawnee and Iroquois families to settle at his post. On September 23 Joncaire was at Fort Duquesne, but probably only on a visit.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁵ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 102.

³⁴⁶ Duquesne to Contrecoeur, [April 1-15, 1754], *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 227 (for the dating of this text, see n. 185 in the present chapter); *id.* to *id.*, April 15, 1754, *ibid.*, 116.

³⁴⁷ *Id.* to *id.*, June 20, 1754, *ibid.*, 188.

³⁴⁸ Washington Journal, *ibid.*, 166-67; Duquesne to Contrecoeur, July 1, 1754, *ibid.*, 208.

³⁴⁹ De Léry Journal, *RAPQ*, 1927-1928, pp. 366, 376; Contrecoeur to Repentigny or Douville, September 23, 1754, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 261.

A report of garrisons for the winter of 1754-1755 lists one officer and fifteen militia and soldiers at the mouth of the Rivière au Boeuf.³⁵⁰ A letter written by Joncaire to John Fraser on March 6, 1755, is dated from the Belle Rivière. This might refer either to Venango or to the Forks, but that Joncaire was at Venango a month later is shown by Contrecoeur's reference in a letter of April 14 to Joncaire's having taken twenty sacks from a shipment of flour.³⁵¹

In 1755 the French undertook to remedy in some measure their failure to fortify this place. On April 23, as the Governor later reported,

Sieur de Beaujeu set out with forty bateaux carrying two hundred and forty men, four months' provisions, and all the equipment and utensils necessary to supply all the posts with their requirements.

As his portages are made, he is to build a little stockaded fort at the mouth of the Rivière au Boeuf, merely to surround the storehouses which we are using as a supply post.³⁵²

Beaujeu had been designated to take over the command on the Ohio; and Contrecoeur, eager for his successor's arrival, wrote him from Fort Duquesne on May 18: "If you have the big shed built at M. de Joncaire's place at the mouth of the Rivière au boeuf, I think that will not detain you for long. That kind of building is quickly built."³⁵³

However, as is apparent from a "Memoir of M. Landrière" submitted on October 25, 1756, the work was not done as planned. From Niagara, according to Landrière,

... he continued on his way to those [forts] of Saint-Victor, of the Portage, of Presqu'île, of Rivière au Boeuf, and to Camp Machaut, at the mouth of this river, where, in concert with M. de Beaujeu, he had orders to have a fort constructed, which they were not able to do; having learned that the English were marching on Fort Duquesne, they were content to leave carpenters to prepare the necessary wood and went on to the aid of that place ... proposing to finish on his return from the Belle-Rivière.

He arrived at Fort Duquesne on June 27. . . .³⁵⁴

³⁵⁰ *Wilderness Chronicles*, 65.

³⁵¹ Shippen Family Papers, I, 171; Contrecoeur to Douville, *Papiers Contrecoeur* 310.

³⁵² Duquesne to the Minister of the Marine, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 65.

³⁵³ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 347.

³⁵⁴ *BRH*, XXXIII (1927), 501-502.

Other sources show that Captain Joncaire had been relieved and sent to Niagara to expedite the movement of supplies.³⁵⁵ Lieutenant La Chauvignerie, who was to remain in command of Fort Machault until after the fall of Fort Duquesne, arrived on June 8, 1755, to replace Joncaire; and on the following day he wrote to tell Captain Contrecoeur of his problems:

I am very much concerned about the wood necessary for the work at Fort Machaux. I was sent ahead for that purpose.

M. Joncaire's release from this post is an unhappy occasion for me. I beg, you, Sir, to send me, please, at the earliest opportunity, the tools I need here; for instance, two-beaked anvils and sledgehammers.

Beginning tomorrow, Sir, I am going to send all my men to search the surrounding woods for places where we can find an abundance of construction wood for the above-mentioned fort.³⁵⁶

This seems to be the earliest reference to the name of the proposed fort, and La Chauvignerie confirms what Landrière's memoir suggests, that the name was selected before the fort was built.

La Chauvignerie wrote again on July 13 about the problem of timber:

I searched carefully through all the surrounding woods and I found almost no wood suitable for constructing the fort according to the plan which was set up and the kind of wood that was to be used. This will force us perhaps to go about it differently or to decide to obtain wood from a great distance. . . .³⁵⁷

Succeeding letters continue the story of effort and difficulty. On July 8 La Chauvignerie wrote that he had found "enough wood for about 4 or 500 boards or planks on the top of the mountain opposite the boat-yard. I shall have them put to good use as soon as my detachment arrives, and I hope that by looking over the other mountains near by, too, I shall be able to find some more." By this date an acre of ground had been cleared for the fort, but the officer was handicapped by lack of men. Lieutenant Benoist at Presqu'isle had sent him a sergeant and eight men: "Two of them are sick and the others I am having work on the preparation of the parade ground of the fort and clearing the surroundings."³⁵⁸ On July 13, however, a sergeant and thirty men

³⁵⁵ Benoist to Beaujeu, June 30, 1755, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 369; *id.* to Contrecoeur, July 6, 1755, *ibid.*, 381.

³⁵⁶ La Chauvignerie to Contrecoeur, June 9, 1755, *ibid.*, 357.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 362.

³⁵⁸ La Chauvignerie to Contrecoeur and Beaujeu, July 8, 1755, *ibid.*, 387-88.

arrived, including eighteen of La Chauvignerie's own detachment who had been manning the pirogues. Because of low water, it had taken them thirteen days to descend from Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf.³⁵⁹

La Chauvignerie had written to Contrecoeur and Beaujeu on July 9 that "I cannot undertake to build a fort without men and without horses to bring all the wood to the spot. All that I can build, when my men reach here, is a small redoubt where I can defend myself in case of an attack";³⁶⁰ and even after his men returned he doubted his ability to do better. On July 18 he wrote Contrecoeur:

. . . I did not find a better means to make myself somewhat safe than to have a small redoubt built where I am. It is not finished yet because at first I did not have enough men, and now, not enough men willing to work. . . .

. . . As you are recommending that we keep up the work on Fort Machaut, I shall keep my detachment of 28 men, including the clerks and even more, if you so command, to continue the work. I would only request, Sir, that you send M. de Léry to build the fort. . . . I would also have great need of horses to cart the wood to the place, because, everything being oak, it is very heavy; the posts are big, a long way off, and 16 feet each; and my men are having a hard time bringing wood for the little redoubt I am having built here, although these pieces are not nearly so large nor long nor so far away, being only 10 feet and mostly split in two. Even then five or six men can hardly carry one and can scarcely make one trip a day. . . .³⁶¹

Cheerfully oblivious of these troubles and delays, Duquesne, writing on July 6 to Governor Vaudreuil, who had just succeeded him, referred to "Fort Machault, one-half of which is on the River Ohio, and the other half in the River au Boeuf, and serves as a depot for Fort Duquesne. This new post has been in existence only since this year, because it has been remarked that too much time was consumed in going in one trip from the fort on River au Boeuf to Fort Duquesne. . . ."³⁶² The reality of the situation appears rather in La Chauvignerie's letter to Contrecoeur, dated July 29, asking for a carpenter and a corporal to replace the ones he had, who were mutinous. Continuing, the Lieutenant wrote:

³⁵⁹ *Id.* to Contrecoeur, July 18, 1755, *ibid.*, 394-97.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 388-89.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 394-95.

³⁶² *NYCD*, X, 300; also in *Wilderness Chronicles*, 90-91.

I am sorry to see that nothing will be done this year on the works at Fort machault and that, therefore, I shall spend the winter in buildings which cannot stand any repair work. In spite of the hope you give me about the number of workers that you are to send me, I cannot count on anything unless they are accompanied by an officer capable of directing these kinds of work and laying the plans for them which would be, in spite of everything, a long job, although the enclosure is for the most part cleared. I have had them locate the place where the fort is to be placed according to M. de Beaujeu's approval.³⁶³

Beaujeu's death in the French victory over General Braddock had left Contrecoeur in command, and Contrecoeur had in fact acted on La Chauvignerie's earlier request for Lieutenant de Léry. Since July 1754, however, when he had surveyed the Presqu'isle portage, De Léry had been at Detroit until ordered to supervise the fortification of Fort Duquesne. He had now been at the latter post since April 5 and undoubtedly was more than ready to return to Canada.

On July 29, the day on which La Chauvignerie wrote the letter just quoted, Contrecoeur had given De Léry his orders:

It is ordered that Sieur de Léry, infantry lieutenant, whom we had come to this place to serve as engineer, leave immediately upon receipt of this order, with a detachment of a hundred men, to go to the mouth of the Riviere aux boeufs, where he will have a fort built according to the plan which M. de Beaujeu left in M. de La Chauvignerie's hands. And supposing that this plan cannot be found, he will trace it according to the statement of the size of wood, which M. de La Chauvignerie received from M. de Beaujeu for building the sheds, copy of which we have given M. de Léry. . . .³⁶⁴

In his written reply to these orders, De Léry's lack of enthusiasm is obvious:

I had the honor of telling the General that I was not well enough posted on engineering to build a fort at the mouth of the Rivière aubeouf . . . all the more because this fort will be disadvantageously placed. And since M. de Contrecoeur wrote to the General that an engineer was needed to build this fort, because I had told him that I was not capable of doing it, the same reason—inability—which I advanced then still exists. . . .³⁶⁵

³⁶³ *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 401-402.

³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 404.

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 404-405.

So, on July 31 Contrecoeur wrote again to "the General" (Governor Vaudreuil), enclosing copies of the orders and the reply:

I was right when I had the honor of telling you in my last letter that I foresaw that I would be embarrassed in having the fort built which M. Duquesne had ordered to be made at the mouth of the Rivière au boeuf . . . I have accepted his [De Léry's] offer to get everything ready, Sir, until you are kind enough to send the plan for this fort. M. de Léry is going to have the sheds cut and the posts of the fort smoothed, all ready to be raised . . . M. de Léry left yesterday with 109 men and two cadets, two sergeants acquainted with works, and forty men whom M. de La Chauvignerie had returned to his place, who have worked a long time. . . .³⁶⁶

That De Léry did not built the fort should surprise no one. Landriève, who was with him, relates in the "Memoir" already quoted that he left Fort Duquesne at the beginning of August. "He passed, on his return, camp Machau, where he erected a magazine, he inspected the wood which had been got for the fort which it had been proposed to build. The workmen were still there awaiting orders from the General."³⁶⁷ De Léry himself wrote Contrecoeur that he arrived on August 4 and found no provisions or things useful for building a fort; so he and La Chauvignerie decided to send ninety of De Léry's men to Rivière au Boeuf for supplies. La Chauvignerie did not have the plan for the fort; so De Léry decided to go to the General, leaving behind seven carpenters to cut up the wood.

I do not see any likelihood [he wrote Contrecoeur] of their building Fort machaux without teams there. The woods are far away, and in order to have men transport it we should need at least three hundred men. It is a badly planned undertaking, which neither you nor I can set straight. . . . M. de La Chauvignerie has made a retrenchment around his houses which shelters him from affront from the Indians. I certainly think that with the people he has they would not attack him at all, and he does not fear them in any way. He has flanked this work quite well.³⁶⁸

It may be observed that La Chauvignerie's manner of dating his letters seems to reflect these improvements. In June he had written merely from "the mouth of the Riviere au Boeuf," and in July from "Camp machault"; but his letters of July 29 and August 5 are dated

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 405-406.

³⁶⁷ *BRH*, XXXIII (1927), 503.

³⁶⁸ De Léry to Contrecoeur, August 4, 1755, *Papiers Contrecoeur*, 409-11.

from "Fort machault." By August 27, however, reappearance of "Camp machault" suggests a less optimistic but probably a more realistic outlook.³⁶⁹

De Léry, meanwhile, arrived at Presqu'isle on August 8, and from there wrote again to Contrecoeur "about the location in which it intended to place Fort Machaux, which," he objected, "I do not think will be as advantageous as it might be." If the location were changed he observed, they could not use the wood intended for the purpose.³⁷⁰ La Chauvignerie protested to Contrecoeur that De Léry had been too hasty:

M. de Léry was wrong in telling you that he had found no tools here; for we have all sorts of them which are in cases and barrels, which have not been touched . . . but he did not ask for them, and his first word was that he would leave very early next day. . . . Almost all the wood is cut and ready to haul; so many men could be kept busy. And I am going tomorrow to look for stands of pine to make some boards and planks which we need. The plan of the fort we wish to make here was taken from that of Presqu'ysle; and we should, according to the plan of the late M. de Beaujeu, erect buildings on only two sides, but since it appears probable that more will be needed, I have cut as much wood again as the plan called for. . . .³⁷¹

Because he was in command here until after the evacuation of Fort Duquesne and because his post remained a center for Indian affairs, La Chauvignerie figures in numerous reports and actions of the time. Perhaps the oddest of these stories—one of which La Chauvignerie himself probably knew nothing—is that of William Marshall. This man, who deserted from Fort Cumberland in January, 1755, had been taken in by a Delaware Indian, Kickenapaulin, who later, after Braddock's defeat in July, kept him as a prisoner. Early the following year Marshall spent a week at Venango, where Kickenapaulin traded him his winter's take of skins.³⁷² In August, 1756, Marshall made his escape from Fort Duquesne and returned to Maryland where to evade punishment for desertion he called himself William Johnson and to explain his stay in French territory invented a tale of having been sent to Venango with letters from disaffected Roman Catholics. "Priest Neal," he declared on October 26, "apply'd to him to carry a Packet of Letters to a French Officer at Winango, who as the s^d Neale informed him ha

³⁶⁹ In addition to letters already cited, see La Chauvignerie to Contrecoeur August 5 and 27, 1755, *ibid.*, 411-13, 425-27.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 415.

³⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 425-26 (August 27, 1755).

³⁷² Marshall's confession, *Maryland Archives*, XXXI, 176-77.

but one eye";³⁷³ and later he quoted the priest as having said, "If you reach Venango as I doubt not you will, deliver this to the french Commandant who is a fat, jolly, Man, with one Eye and is called []."³⁷⁴ Marshall's fraud was soon exposed, but he insisted that his statements about French posts and garrisons had been accurate. Accordingly one may note—with caution—what, as "William Johnson," he had said of La Chauvignerie's post:

This Informant say's that he has within these two Years been frequently at Venango where the French have a small Fort made with Logs and Stocadoes, mounted with nine Cannon of a pretty large bore and generally Garrisoned with a Company of Sixty Soldiers beside Indians who to the Number of about 200 are lodged in Cabbins that have been built for them near the Fort, The Garrison, this Informant says, hath been for sometime employed in Collecting and preparing Materials for building a Strong Fort there next Spring. . . .³⁷⁵

Another report of about this time is that made September 30, 1756, by John Adam Long, also of the Fort Cumberland garrison, who had been made prisoner April 3 and taken to Fort Duquesne, where he remained for twenty days:

That he was then carried up to Vinango, where there resided an Officer in a small Stocado Fort with a Command of 40 Men that there are a Number of Square Logs got together at that place Sufficient to build a large Fort on a pritty rising Ground in the Forks of Ohio and French Creek: That he was then carried to the Bacheloons a small Town about 40 Miles higher up the River. . . .³⁷⁶

Finally, in this class of information, is the account of John Walker, who was captured by French and Indians in May, 1756, and arrived at Venango two weeks later. He asserted that "Vinango is a Small stockade fort on a flatt with about 15 Men in it but no Cannon, the Indians were about building a Town about a Mile above it at the mouth of french Creek."³⁷⁷

³⁷³ *PA1*, III, 16.

³⁷⁴ *Maryland Archives*, XXXI, 165. Although the officer's name does not appear in this record, Lieutenant La Chauvignerie is known to have been in command at Fort Machault at the time. It will be noted that Indian reports made to Post in August, 1758, and to Mercer in August, 1759, also refer to this officer's partial blindness.

³⁷⁵ *PR*, P, 99; printed in *CR*, VII, 341-42.

³⁷⁶ *PR*, P, 59; printed in *CR*, VII, 289.

³⁷⁷ John Walker Examination, December 25, 1756, Loudoun Papers, Box 56, No. 2401 A.

As previously observed, Venango was frequently visited by Indian mostly Delawares and Iroquois. The chief nearby settlement of the former was Custaloga's Town on the west side of French Creek at the mouth of Conneaut Outlet; the latter were established about Conwango. The Delawares about the Forks of Ohio, who in February 1754, had indicated to Joncaire their intention of moving to Venango had in fact established themselves at Kittanning; but some fugitive Delawares from the Susquehanna had settled on the upper Allegheny. Carried up the river about May, 1756, John Walker reported that

He passed 7 Indian Towns inhabited by the Delawares, Viz Kittaning 60 fighting Men, one lately built and small, Mahoning or the lick, Leckgahomeca or the sandy bank, and three more which was settled in the Spring by the Susquehanna Indians, in all he computes about 200 fighting Men between fort du Quesne and Vinango. . . .

On the other hand, some Iroquois (or Mingoes), attracted by reward for work on the portage, had settled along French Creek. Walker saw their villages on his way from Venango to "Buffaloe fort":

That on this Creek there is two Towns one about 10 Miles from the fort inhabited by the Mingoes, and the other about half way between the two Forts, which is but small and inhabited likewise by Mingoes, the Chief Employment of these Indians is to carry provisions to the french on Horses. . . .³⁷⁸

In a report dated August 8, 1756, Governor Vaudreuil took note of some of these Indians:

All the Loups who have moved from among the English, have settled near M. de la Chauvignerie; the most distant are only ten leagues from him.

The Iroquois of the neighborhood of Fort Duquêne have almost all withdrawn to M. de la Chauvignerie, at the mouth of the Riviere au Boeuf, on a belt from the Five Nations. M. Dumas is very glad to be rid of them. . . .

The people of Kanaouagon have changed their minds. A dispute among them has made them decide to remain at their old village, instead of going to settle near M. de La Chauvignerie.³⁷⁹

On August 13 the Governor reported that "M. de la Chauvignerie has formed a party of 29 Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas, among who

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁹ Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 95.

are some belonging to the Grand village. He has sent them to M. Dumas who will not fail to make them strike."³⁸⁰

De Bougainville in his 1757 *Mémoire sur l'état de la Nouvelle-France* describes the post in these terms:

Fort Machault.—Fort Machault, situated at the outlet of the Rivière-au-Boeuf into the Ohio; this is the last supply depot for Fort Duquesne; it needs to be protected against attack; this post is not a trading post. The commander has a thousand francs allowance.³⁸¹

Referring to this same period, Benoist (who commanded at Presque'isle) wrote: "at the mouth of the [stream] called *au beuf*, was a fort named *des Loups*—Monsieur de la Chauvignerie commander." Appropriate as this designation, "of the Delawares," might have been, however, no other record indicates that this name had any official status.³⁸²

Several documents of this year report the activities of raiding parties from Fort Machault. On February 26, 1757, two Pennsylvania soldiers were killed near Fort Augusta, and it is probably of this incident that Governor Vaudreuil wrote in a report of July 13:

M. de La Chauvignerie sent M. de St. Ours with 6 Canadians and 14 savages to reconnoiter the English fort where there is a garrison of 600 men. This fort is in the upper part of the Riviere de Zinantchain, and quite near Fort Machault. The Sieur de St. Ours took two scalps within sight of that fort, but could take no prisoners.³⁸³

This notion of the nearness of Fort Augusta and Fort Machault, mistaken as it appears by the modern map, was a source of apprehension to both French and Pennsylvanians and was encouraged by the freedom with which Indians traversed the intervening country.

Other records show La Chauvignerie sending out Ensign Verchères with a party of Indians on May 2;³⁸⁴ and about a month later his son Ensign La Chauvignerie accompanied seven Indians who, having crossed the Susquehanna and passed two mountains, killed and scalped a German settler. The younger La Chauvignerie participated in two

³⁸⁰ *Id.* to Machault, NYCD, X, 439.

³⁸¹ RAPQ, 1923-1924, p. 48.

³⁸² Etablissements de Canada et officiers, 1757-9, Archives de la Bastille, Volume 12142, Part 1, Folio 90.

³⁸³ Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 104-105. See also a report in Croghan's journal, CR, VII, 515.

³⁸⁴ La Chauvignerie, orders to De Blainville, "Notes sur . . . de Blainville," BRH, XXXIII (1927), 603.

further ventures with indifferent success. On his second trip he became lame and stopped along the Susquehanna until his five Indian companions returned with two young captives. On September 11 he set out a third time with another Frenchman and thirty-three Indians, but twenty-one of these turned back two weeks later when another party gave them one of the three prisoners they had taken. La Chauvignerie and the others crossed the Susquehanna below Fort Augusta and on September 30 captured five children (Peter Wampler family) on Swatara Creek. Five days later the young Frenchman became separated from the rest of the party, and after wandering through the woods a few days he found his way to Fort Henry in Berks County where he surrendered on October 12.³⁸⁵

News from the Ohio forts reached Canada on November 15: "He of Fort [Machault] writes that a party of Indians he had sent out with his son to fight had returned with 3 prisoners and some scalps, and that his son had gone astray in the woods."³⁸⁶ The young officer's captivity was not severe. On January 3, 1758, he wrote his father from Germantown, where he was free on parole.³⁸⁷ He was subsequently exchanged and sent to Hispaniola under a flag of truce dated April 28, 1759.³⁸⁸

His interrogations, meanwhile, provided unusually authoritative information about Fort Machault. At Reading, on October 16, 1759,

Quest. 12.—What Sort of Fort is Machault:

Ans.—It is a Fort of Wood, fill'd up with Earth. It has Bastions and Six Wall-Pieces, or Swivel Guns; and the whole Works take up about two Acres of Ground.

Quest. 13.—What Number of Regular Soldiers, Canadians, and Indians, is there at that Fort?

Ans.—Fifty Regulars, & forty Canadians. No Indians are there, but pass & repass to and from a little Town they have about Seven Leagues West from Fort Machault, call'd Ticastoroga; They are of the Tribe of the Wolf.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁵ For La Chauvignerie, see *PAI*, III, 283, 293-95, 306-307; for the attack on the Wampler family, see *PMHB*, XXXII (1908), 310.

³⁸⁶ *NYCD*, X, 836.

³⁸⁷ La Chauvignerie fils to La Chauvignerie, *PAI*, III, 329-30. In April, 1758, it may be noted, Governor Denny sent a Delaware Indian, Job Chilloway, to deliver a French letter to "Winengo"; Burd to Denny, April 13, 1758, Burd Letter Book, Shippen Family Papers.

³⁸⁸ Register of Flags of Truce &c, Papers of the Provincial Secretary, Public Records Division.

³⁸⁹ PPC, enclosed with Captain Oswald to Denny, October 18, 1757; printed *PAI*, III, 296.

Ten days later at Philadelphia he stated

That his Father is a Lieutenant of Marines and Commandant of Fort Machault, built lately at Winango and now a finishing.

That there are about Fifty Regulars and Forty Labourers at said Fort; that they expect soon a considerable Reinforcement from Montreal; that they drop there almost daily some of the Detachments as they pass from Montreal to Fort Du Quesne. . . .

That the Indians who live near Fort Machault are chiefly Delawares of the Tribe of the Wolfs, many of whom, who before lived on Belle Riviere, moved away from thence soon after the attack made by the English on some of those Indians at Kittannin for Fear of the English, and choosing rather to live near and under the Protection of the Forts. . . .³⁹⁰

As noted in the account of Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf, at almost the precise time that Ensign La Chauvignerie was being questioned in Berks County, John Hocktattler (Hochstetler), a German settler captured in Berks County, arrived at Venango. His account, recorded later, is of course briefer:

Q: In What place on the Ohio do Jou arriv'd[?]

A: Where the French C[reek] emptys into Ohio there upon the Corner is a smal Fort Established Lately of Logs, Framed together, there are 25 Men Garrison'd in it, without Artillery, there whe passd the Ohio for to come by it, the place is call[ed] Wenango.³⁹¹

The information of a French deserter, François Fevre (Lefebvre), may conveniently be quoted here although pertaining to a somewhat later date. Questioned on March 20, 1758, this man, who had left Fort Duquesne the month before, asserted

That there is a small weak Fort at Wenango called Machaull, in w^{ch} are seventy men. Three hundred being the Number assigned for the Two Forts Duquesne & Machaull & there are in each fort sometimes more & sometimes less. That they are now working at Fort Machaull in great numbers & propose to make it as strong as Fort Duquesne.³⁹²

³⁹⁰ October 26, 1757, PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 305-308; also in *Wilderness Chronicles*, 115-19.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 120.

³⁹² PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 363. A more detailed statement, dated December 20, 1757, is in Loudoun Papers, Box 112, No. 5949. An unpublished petition of "Francis Lefeife," dated March 16, 1758, is in PPC.

A curious but obscure feature of the war is the matter of Indian negotiations. Although the war was characterized by their extensive participation in hostilities, few Indians were firmly committed to either the French or the English cause. Numerically weak, economically dependent, possessed of the most rudimentary government but adroit and inconclusive diplomacy, they were by nature and necessity opportunists.

Once this is recognized, it is less surprising to find Pennsylvania in 1757 sending messengers to Custaloga, leader of the Delawares about Venango. The messengers were four Conestoga Indians known as William Sam, William Taylor and his wife, and James Narrows, who left Fort Augusta on February 28. Three of them returned on May 4. According to their report, they had been well received at Venango by Custaloga and his people, who escorted them farther up the Allegheny to confer with the Senecas. One of the latter, however, opposed making any formal reply on the grounds that Pennsylvania had sent neither wampum belt nor messenger of sufficient prestige.³⁹³ Not very surprisingly, the emissaries reported that "the French at Winango did not use them kindly."³⁹⁴ William Sam meanwhile had been conducted up French Creek from Venango and across country to a place "at Beaver Creek about 50 miles from Fort Duquesne"—probably Kuskusky, where he was well received. One of the Delaware leaders there, Delaware George (Nenatcheehunt), assured him that "he had between forty and fifty men besides Women and children, who have never struck the English." This messenger returned too "by the way of Venango, where he says the French is going to build a strong Fort to see a great quantity of timber cut ready for hawling." He reported at Easton on July 19.³⁹⁵

Nor was this the end of the matter. In August Nenatcheehunt and Netotwelement (Newcomer) sent messengers from Venango to inquire about the results of the Indian conference held at Easton. In reply Teedyuscung, the chief Delaware participant in this conference, sent his son to show the Ohio Indians the peace belt he had just received from Governor William Denny of Pennsylvania.³⁹⁶ On September 1

³⁹³ Croghan Journal, *CR*, VII, 514-15.

³⁹⁴ Burd to Denny, May 6, 1757, Burd Letter Book, Shippen Family Papers.

³⁹⁵ Croghan Journal, *NYCD*, VII, 286-87; reprinted in *PA2*, VI, 534-35 (1877 ed.). It may be noted that this Indian removed to the Ohio before the Conestoga massacre of 1763; see Kenny's journal, *PMHB*, XXXVII (1913), 46, 179.

³⁹⁶ *CR*, II, 725-27; Denny to Johnson, November 10, 1757, James Sullivan *et al.* (eds.), *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, II, 752-53. The last reference will hereafter be cited as *Johnson Papers*.

Cutfinger Peter, one of the Susquehanna Delawares who had fled to the Ohio in 1755-1756, appeared at Fort Augusta to ask about the prospects for peace; but since he had engaged in attacks on the English settlers, he received a cold welcome from the commanding officer.³⁹⁷

The fact was that the Indians on the Ohio had become generally inactive in the war and that the French were dependent upon more remote Indian groups for allies.³⁹⁸ In the following year, as the British prepared for an expedition to the Ohio, the Indians became increasingly interested in peace. In February, 1758, Indian peace emissaries appeared at Fort Augusta; and after some delay one of these, Willemaghiking—known more conveniently as James—was entrusted on March 25 with a friendly message to the Ohio Indians. Teedyuscung on April 10 escorted to Philadelphia an Indian messenger, Daniel, from the Delawares at Canisteo, a settlement of Indians to whom the commander at Niagara had paid special attention and to whom in the following month Joncaire de Chabert went with presents. In the beginning of June Delaware George traveled from the Ohio to Wyoming (present Wilkes-Barre) to inquire about peace.³⁹⁹

James, meanwhile, had made his way to the Ohio, and at Venango had met two other Delawares on their way east; one of them, Pisquitomen, was the elder brother of Shingas, who in 1755-1756 had distinguished himself by vigorous attacks upon the English settlements. While James carried his friendly message to Newcomer at the mouth of Beaver River and to the Beaver (another brother of Shingas) at Kuskusky, Pisquitomen and his companion Keekyuscung made their way to Canisteo and, accompanied by Indians from that settlement, from there to Philadelphia by way of Wyoming.⁴⁰⁰

The result of their trip was the decision to send Christian Frederick Post, a missionary who had lived among the Indians, to the Ohio to draw the Indians further from their French alliance. It is absurd, but quite natural, that Post and his Indian companions went to Kuskusky by way of Venango, which they reached on August 7. The journal

³⁹⁷ Burd Journal, PA2, II, 814 (1876 ed.).

³⁹⁸ Croghan journals, NYCD, VII, 282, 286; CR, VII, 515.

³⁹⁹ CR, VIII, 29-56, 86-97; PA1, III, 419; *Mémoire pour Daniel de Joncaire-Chabert* . . . , 27, 128-35.

⁴⁰⁰ Names of Indians from Wyomink by Frederick Post, PPC, July 4, 1758; Examination of Lawrence Burke, *ibid.*, July 9, 1758; R. Peters to Forbes, July 8, 1758, Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, IX, 47, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

which Post later submitted to Governor Denny gives a quaint account of their stop there:

7th.—We came in sight of fort Venango, belonging to the *French*, situate between two mountains, in a fork of the *Ohio* river. I prayed the Lord to blind them, as he did the enemies of *Lot* and *Elisha*, that I might pass unknown. When we arrived, the fort being on the other side of the river, we hallooed, and desired them to fetch us over; which they were afraid to do; but shewed us a place where we might ford. We slept that night within half gun shot of the fort.

8th.—This morning I hunted for my horse, round the fort, within ten yards of it. The Lord heard my prayer, and I passed unknown till we had mounted our horses to go off, when two *Frenchmen* came to take leave of the *Indians*, and were much surprised at seeing me, but said nothing.

By what I could learn of *Pisquetumen*, and the *Indians*, who went into the fort, the garrison consisted of only six men, and an officer blind of one eye. They enquired much of the *Indians* concerning the *English*, whether they knew of any party coming to attack them, of which they were apprehensive.⁴⁰¹

Post arrived at Kuskusky on August 12; but his subsequent negotiation with the *Indians* relate more directly to the British campaign against Fort Duquesne than to Fort Machault.

The inevitable outcome of the British advance in strength was the French evacuation of Fort Duquesne on November 24, 1758. In this setback Indian inactivity was a contributory, though not decisive factor. Part of the garrison retired down the *Ohio*; the remainder, led by the French commander Captain de Ligneris, withdrew to Fort Machault, which took on an added importance for which militarily it was ill prepared. General Montcalm recorded the retreat succinctly in his journal (though the date must be corrected) :

General Forbes continued his march toward the Belle-Rivière, and M. Des Ligneris, on November 26, about to be attacked and unable to defend a wretched fort with a bad garrison, a third of whom were sick, evacuated and burned his fort, sent his artillery and munitions to the Illinois and retired to Fort Machault. We are assured that the *Indians*, *Loups* or *Chaouénons*, remain friendly to us.⁴⁰²

For accounts of the situation at the new French headquarters on the *Ohio*, there is a report by Governor Vaudreuil, and there are also

⁴⁰¹ Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels*, I, 191-92.

⁴⁰² *Montcalm Journal*, 493.

the accounts (not uniformly reliable) collected by the English. Writing on January 20, 1759, the Governor stated:

M. de Ligneris arrived at Fort Machault on the 28th [of November]. He decided to keep only 100 men, either because this fort could not provide quarters for a larger number, or because he did not have enough provisions.

.....
The Machault post is, to be exact, only a supply post. At most, it can only be put in shape to resist musketry-fire. It is too weak to be able to sustain a siege; cannon would quickly demolish it. It is, moreover, so poorly located that from the top of the mountains, which are very near, everything happening inside can be seen.⁴⁰³

As might be assumed from what has been said, the Ohio Indians' friendship with the French was an equivocal relationship. Custaloga claimed credit for the fact that a French officer was present during Post's second conference at Kuskusky in November, and he did in fact report to De Ligneris on January 4, 1759, regarding Colonel Bouquet's December conference with the Delawares at Pittsburgh; but he evidently made professions of friendship to the English as well.⁴⁰⁴ Other Indians, genuinely friendly toward the English, hungry for trade goods, or anxious to curry favor, either served the English as agents or withdrew to less troubled localities.

The behavior of the Indians at Conewango—Indians whose friendship the French had long cultivated—provides a more striking illustration of Indian maneuvering. About the beginning of the year 1759 a delegation of Senecas from this town came down to Venango, "where," they said, "we saw the principal Officer who commanded lately at that Fort [Duquesne], and Forty French Soldiers with him, and no more." Declining the war belts which De Ligneris then offered the Iroquois, Delawares, and Shawnees, the Indians announced their intention of going to Pittsburgh to learn what message Bouquet had given the Delawares a month earlier; and accordingly an embassy of some thirty Senecas and ten Delawares set off down the river.⁴⁰⁵

De Ligneris assured Governor Vaudreuil that these Indians had promised "that they would not go among the English, except to find out about their plans against the French in order to inform him about them"; but the Indian delegates' behavior both at Pittsburgh and at

⁴⁰³ Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 129.

⁴⁰⁴ Casteogain's Report, *ibid.*, 134-35.

⁴⁰⁵ *CR*, VIII, 265, 293-97.

Philadelphia suggests rather that the Senecas of Conewango wanted to find out as much as possible about English plans in order to act to their own best advantage. The Governor complained of them:

The Iroquois, Chaouanons, and the Loups of Kanaouagon, very far from answering M. de Ligneris' speeches favorably, when he tried to urge them to go to war against the English, continue to beg him to evacuate Fort Machault, and retire to Presqu'isle, continually telling him that he has too few men to withstand the English, who would surely come and attack him this winter.⁴⁰⁶

And he added that "The savages of Canaouagon who returned from the English reported to M. de Ligneris that they were to come with considerable forces to attack him in the month of February."

Joncaire de Chabert, however, asserted that these Indians were by his persuasion won back to the French side:

the Iroquois of Kananenangon had already made their peace; we had not been able to send them goods, food, or ammunition, they lacked everything, and saw a superior enemy ready to fall upon them. Such were the reasons which they counterposed to my reproaches. I supplied them abundantly, I equipped their warriors, I provisioned the village, and I distributed to them at my own expense all the goods which they needed. The peace was broken off, they raised the hatchet against the English, and immediately I went to see the commander of the Belle Rivière at Fort Machaut, where he had only eighty men with him. I stayed there fifteen days because the enemy was on the march to besiege it, but some mishaps which happened on their way caused their undertaking to fail. As soon as the danger was over, I left. . . .⁴⁰⁷

This narrative may be dated by the fact that the English attempt to attack Fort Machault was made on March 25, 1759.

Colonel Hugh Mercer at Pittsburgh had collected what information he could about the French post. On December 23, 1758, he wrote to Colonel Bouquet:

. . . Delaware George . . . sent a Young Man his Relation to Venango On Purpose to Make discoveries of the Enemies Designs.

He is returnd from thence, was admitted into the fort, which the French are considerably enlarging, employed like-

⁴⁰⁶ Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, March 30, 1759, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 140.

⁴⁰⁷ *Mémoire pour Daniel de Joncaire-Chabert* . . . , 31.

ways on fitting up a Number of Battoes, and preparing every thing Necessary / as the Com^s Officer told him [/] to make a Descent on this Place & *Loyalhanning*; They have two Peices of Cannon & about 300 Men at Wenango & expect a Reinforcement of Both from Priscile. . . .⁴⁰⁸

Almost a month later, on January 19, Mercer relayed a further report:

. . . A young delaware, son to one of our firmest freinds in that Tribe, was two days in y^e fort; The Garrison consists of about an hundred Men commanded by Seven Officers all formerly stationed at Du Quesne. a few days before his Arrival there, about 200 Men had marched for the Lakes, intending to Canada; and the Indian Cheif Custaloga, who had remained at Venango watching the Motions of the French, in order to give us Notice of their Hostile Intentions this Way / As he pretends / had just returnd to his Town which is Situated half way to Le Beef; three Mingo & one Delaware Indian were in the fort And severals hunting round it, to provide the Garrison in Meat, their Stock of Flower is Small but give an allowance equal to Ours.

Only Six Battoes and these hawld up a good way from the River, The Soldiers employed in Repairing the Fort; It is a Square with four Bastions, The Barracks form three of the Curtains and tall Stockades enclose the Bastions, No Ditch and but one Swivel pointing down the River, The fort stands about 200 Yds from the Ohio, a little below the Junction of French Creek, The Curtain opposite the Gate which fronts the River is taken down And New Loggs prepared and the Trench dug for planting them.⁴⁰⁹

In February this post was alarmed when, as Montcalm says, "A small party of Indians attached to the English came to kill two horses and take a wagoner near Fort Machault." Governor Vaudreuil, reporting on March 5, 1759, referred to this as "the kidnapping of one of the wagoners from the Machault post, who was taken at the edge of the woods by a party of four or five men. It was very useless for M. de Ligneris to send in their pursuit. They were very diligent. It is very irritating, Monseigneur, that the English took this wagoner from us."⁴¹⁰ The attack was in fact the work of Lieutenant William Patterson and a party of Delaware Indians who had set out from Fort Augusta on January 21 and returned safely with their prisoner, known as

⁴⁰⁸ *Bouquet Papers*, II, 639-40.

⁴⁰⁹ *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21644, Vol. I, 13-14.

⁴¹⁰ *Montcalm Journal*, 507; Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 138.

Martin Whoolly, or Woolley.⁴¹¹ Examined on March 20, he gave still another description of the post:

... From thence [Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf] to the Mouth of the River is about forty Leagues where stands Fort Machault at an Indian Town called Wenango, the Fort is of Earth, Stockaded not Cannon proof, there are large Barracks in it and a Garrison of eight hundred Men, 550 of the Regiment De La Raine, The rest Canadians—Mons^r La Chauvignarie Commanded in the Summer but Mons^r Lignerie has the Command now. There are always more or less Indians who encamp about the Fort how many there are at present he cannot tell. . . .

Lieutenant Patterson being asked about the Size of Fort Machault and the Number of the Garrison there, replied that it was a small square Fort with four Bastions, no ditch, and by the Barracks and other buildings within it which he was near enough to distinguish, he judged it could not hold more than 400 Men.⁴¹²

Inadvertently, this raid put the fort more on guard against the threatened attack from Pittsburgh. On March 17 the commander there, Colonel Mercer, had received still another report, this time from the Delaware Indian known as Captain Bull who, after visiting the French forts, returned from Venango by way of Kuskusky to Pittsburgh. According to this informant (as reported by Mercer):

He found at Wenango 2 Officers and 40 Men Le Naire Com^d: he does not know the state of their Provision, nor where their Powder is kept, but gives the same discription of the Fort as I Recd formerly, only two Battoes are at Wenango and two he heard had lately come there with Indian Good's.⁴¹³

Accordingly, Colonel Mercer set out from Pittsburgh on March 25 with two hundred men by land, while fifty men started up the river with ten bateaux of supplies. Fortunately for the French, both parties were impeded by high water. On March 28, when the boats had advanced only twenty miles, Indians attacked them, killing the men in one boat. The other boats fled, and the land party also turned back.⁴¹⁴ As Montcalm described the affair in his journal, "The Loups and

⁴¹¹ Patterson to [], January 21, 1759, Shippen Family Papers, IV, 3; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 5, 1759.

⁴¹² Amherst Papers, WO 34, Vol. 33, f. 16 (Library of Congress copies).

⁴¹³ *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21644, Vol. I, 86; also in *Wilderness Chronicles*, 152.

⁴¹⁴ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 3, 1759; *PA5*, I, 275. A sketch map and itinerary apparently representing the route of march is in Thomas Hutchins Papers, I, 45.

Chaouénons have defeated an English barge which composed the advance guard of a body of four or five hundred English who were coming to Fort Machault and who have turned back from there.”⁴¹⁵ Following this failure the English at Pittsburgh made no further attempts against the French posts; and the eventual fall of Fort Machault was a consequence of military action in quite a different area.

De Ligneris continued to maintain outparties and scouts. On November 29, 1758, following the second council held by Post at Kuskusky, Lieutenant Niverville reported he had, “made all my Frenchmen leave with a few Indians to establish themselves in a safer place than this”; but the Lieutenant himself remained.⁴¹⁶ The presence of this French party gave rise to the rumor, which Colonel Mercer reported on January 8, 1759, that the French had “Magazines of Provisions, and arms in forming a little above Kuskuskas, as most convenient for assembling the Lake Indians, to fall down on this place [Pittsburgh].”⁴¹⁷ One of Mercer’s Indian informants reported on February 16 that he had seen a French officer and fifteen men trading at “the Salt Springs” (probably present Niles, Ohio); and on March 1 another spy reported the arrival at Kuskusky of two French soldiers with a letter “to an officer who resides there,” whereupon the officer had set off to the mouth of Beaver River—possibly to invite the Indians of that place to a council.⁴¹⁸

The activity of scouting parties, on the other hand, is illustrated by the experiences of five English drivers who on April 6 fell into Indian hands near Fort Ligonier. The eight Delawares who took them crossed the Allegheny, joined a party of five Frenchmen and nine other Indians, and returned with them to Venango. (The Indian leader, incidentally, was the same Cutfinger Peter who in September, 1757, had visited Fort Augusta.) Two of the prisoners who escaped after nine days learned during their brief captivity that there were then “two or three Parties out towards Pittsburgh and Legonier.” Of Fort Machault itself, they said:

Their Fort we had not time to view but think it to be a Square built with Stockades and Consists of 200 French and 50 Indians the Chief part of the Indians were of the Delaware Nation who mostly resided at Custalogo’s Town and by

⁴¹⁵ *Montcalm Journal*, 516.

⁴¹⁶ Casgrain (ed.), *Relations et journaux*, 178.

⁴¹⁷ Mercer to Forbes, *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21655, p. 26.

⁴¹⁸ *Id.* to Bouquet, February 17, 1759, *ibid.*, Series 21644, Vol. I, 38; *id.* to *id.*, March 2, 1759, *ibid.*, 69; Indian intelligence, March 17, 1759, *ibid.*, 85.

Indians they were told that the Fort also consisted of one swivel⁴¹⁹

How the English siege of Niagara in the summer of 1759 compelled the French to evacuate Fort Machault and their other posts south of Lake Erie has been told in the account of Fort de la Presqu'isle. In the first stage of this evacuation, Captain de Ligneris marched to the relief of Niagara, taking with him the greater part of the troops under his command and accompanied by Captain Aubry with the troops and Indians collected on his march from the Illinois. In response to Captain Pouchot's message from Niagara, received at Presqu'isle by July 17, the relief force, numbering some 600 French and 1,000 Indians, left Presqu'isle by water in a flotilla which, "when passing the little rapid at the outlet of Lake Erie, resembled a floating island, so black was the river with bateaux and canoes."⁴²⁰ The force was routed, however, just short of its destination on July 24. Both De Ligneris and Aubry fell prisoner, and of thirty officers in their force only three escaped death or capture. The disaster precipitated the surrender of Niagara itself on the following day and occasioned the second and final step in the French evacuation of their Ohio posts.

Most of the troops left in garrison by De Ligneris seem to have been stationed at Fort Machault. Reports reaching Pittsburgh were summarized in a letter of August 1:

That at Venango there was about One Hundred French and thirty Indians, that Seven days ago they had perswaded four small Partys of Indians out on the Road to watch our motions, & take a Prisoner for Intelligence, none of these Partys exceed ten Men, there is no Cannon at Venango. . . .⁴²¹

Who commanded at Fort Machault during the final two or three weeks, is not known. De Ligneris seems to have entrusted the Ohio command to Lieutenant de Portneuf, who, however, probably remained at Presqu'isle.

Survivors of the routed relief party fled to the Ohio forts with news of the defeat; and confused reports were carried to Pittsburgh. On August 4 Colonel Mercer heard "that the French and Indians made a Sally, and were repulsed with the loss of Twenty Eight Officers killed & taken, a great number of Soldiers killed and taken, and twelve Indians killed; amongst the Prisoners is M^r Delinery who commanded

⁴¹⁹ Report of two prisoners, April 24, 1759, *ibid.*, 112.

⁴²⁰ Journal of the Siege of Fort Niagara, *NYCD*, X, 986.

⁴²¹ Indian intelligence, *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21655, p. 69.

at this place, shot through the thick of the thigh."⁴²² The wound caused De Ligneris' death some time afterward. A day later Mercer heard "that most of the French Officers that were on this River [the Ohio] are killed or taken, particularly the blind Captain (called so by the Indians from his being blind with one Eye) who Commanded at Venango, killed. One Neverville a great Partisan . . . killed."⁴²³ This later report, however, was erroneous; for a list of the captured French officers includes the names of Montizambert (Niverville, sieur de Montizambert) and Lacharrignery (La Chauvignerie), and the latter is known to have gone to France subsequently.⁴²⁴ Mercer reported on August 16 the story of an Indian

returned from Venango, with the following Intelligence, that as soon as letters were bro^t to that Post of the fall of Niagara, the Garrison sett fire to the fort, and upon their arrival at Le Beuff & Priscile, both these were demolishd in the same Manner, And the Troops crossd the Lake with what they could carry off. . . . He brings some Hatchets picked out of the Ruins of Venango.⁴²⁵

Another report placed the French departure from Fort Machault on August 6. Mercer said that the French, "to render their Memory grateful among the Indians, made a Virtue of Necessity, and what they could not carry off, very liberally distributed to their Friends"; and Governor Vaudreuil summed it up in his report of June 24, 1760, by writing that "All the garrisons of our posts on the Belle Riviere have retreated to Detroit with as much provisions, artillery, ammunition, and goods as they could carry in their bateaux. The rest was given to the savages."⁴²⁶

Two officers, Captain William Patterson and Lieutenant Thomas Hutchins, sent from Pittsburgh in the fall to explore the country, arrived at the site of this French fort on October 9, 1759:

Venango furnished us with nothing but the Remains of a Reduced Fort, and about 44 Houses, with one Swivel and a Quantity of Broken Gun Barrels and Old Iron. The Fort is

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 64-65; also in *Wilderness Chronicles*, 164.

⁴²³ *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21655, p. 65; *Wilderness Chronicles*, 165.

⁴²⁴ Brymner, *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1886, clxxiv; *ibid.*, 1888, 46.

⁴²⁵ Mercer to Bouquet, August 16, 1759, *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21655, p. 80; also in *Wilderness Chronicles*, 166, with a line omitted.

⁴²⁶ Mercer to Denny, August 13, 1759, PR, Q, 503, printed in *CR*, VIII, 394-95; Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 167.

Situate in a Rich Level Bottom better than a Mile Long and about a Quarter of a Mile wide. . . .⁴²⁷

Some months later when an English detachment came to occupy the place, Colonel Bouquet wrote a letter, dated July 13, 1760, which indicates further inevitable decay:

The stockadoe Fort here is burnt to the ground, and the few Huts round it pulled down. No Iron to be seen but a few trifles.

The saw mill is hardly worth repairing. The two saws are gone, and the Dam fallen down. . . .⁴²⁸

It should be noted that the Captain Patterson who visited the ruins of Fort Machault in October, 1759, is the same officer who had captured the Canadian wagoner there in February preceding. He and Hutchins stayed two days at the site, and the latter officer was able to prepare a map which shows clearly the situation of the fort in the final year, when it served as the last French headquarters on the Ohio.⁴²⁹

Destruction of the forts and retreat of the last troops in August, 1759, brought to a close the story of French military intervention on the upper Ohio. This withdrawal, however, did not restore the older unfortified world of the Indian, the Indian agent, and the trader.

⁴²⁷ Patterson and Hutchins Journal, *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21644, Pt. II, 167. The "44 Houses" were additional barracks required for the troops from Fort Duquesne.

⁴²⁸ Bouquet to Monckton, Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, Fourth Series, IX, 268.

⁴²⁹ The central portion of this map is reproduced as the third illustration in the insert following page 276. It should be noted that north is to the right of the map. Letters on the map are referred to in an "Explanation," which is reproduced below:

"a The Magazine 3 feet thick of Earth

"b Barracks two Storey high with Stone Chimneys

"c Door to a large Cellar

"d the Gate

"e Rising ground that the Fort stands on about 15 feet higher than the Bank of the river

"f Bank of the River 12 feet high

"g the Landing

"h a good fording 200 yards a Cross the River

"i a Bridge Cross a hollow

"NB Venango Fort is Situate on a Rising Piece of Ground on a Rich Bottom abounding with Clover. 60 yards West of the Ohio It's N & South Poligon is 45 Yards and its E & West Poligon 37 Yards the Bastions & Part of the Curtains are Built of Sapplins 8 inches thick and 13 feet in length set stockado Fashion, and part of the Curtains are of hewed Timber laid length ways upon one another which also makes one side of the Barracks"

Thereafter, until this land ceased to be a frontier, it was armed, and for most of the next two decades it was the scene of warfare and of uneasy truce between British garrisons and neighboring Indians. During this period, furthermore, settlers began to move into the country, supplanting the traders and the Indians; and their entrance established here the pattern of white and Indian hostility which in Pennsylvania was part of the legacy from the French and Indian War.

However, during the time when French and Virginia forts were established on the upper Ohio and lost again, this country lay well beyond the settled Pennsylvania frontier. In order not to break the continuity of the story, relation of events in the settled parts of the Province has been reserved for separate consideration; but with the story of French military intervention ended, it is possible to turn to the more complicated and in some respects more remarkable account of the first arming of the Pennsylvania frontier.

The First Pennsylvania Forts

BEFORE the French and Indian War, military establishments were almost unknown in Pennsylvania. A Proprietary proposal in 1750 to protect the Pennsylvania fur trade by building a "Fort or Block-House" on the Ohio had been rejected by the Provincial Assembly; and as late as 1755 William Smith could report that:

In *Pennsylvania*, we have but one small Fortification, and that raised and supported at the Expense of Private People. The Proprietors, indeed, generously made us a Present of twelve large Cannon, part of the twenty-six we have mounted, and they have also given the Gunner of the Fort a Salary of twenty Pounds per *Annum* towards his Support.¹

This solitary fort mentioned by Dr. Smith was the "Association Battery" erected below Philadelphia a few years earlier. The inland reaches of the Province, on which, only a year later, Pennsylvania's first and most elaborate system of frontier defenses would be erected, lay wide and unprotected in 1755, from the upper Delaware River west and southwest across the Susquehanna to the Maryland line.

Pennsylvanians need now to be reminded that before the 1750's the idea of a western frontier marking the line of conflict between hostile peoples was strange; for this pattern, once established, has become so familiar that romancers and even historians have assumed its earlier existence.² The reality of 1755 is better reflected, however, in an observation made by General William Shirley, writing to Secretary Henry Fox on December 20 of that year:

¹ *A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania . . .* (2d ed.), 11-12. The formal naming of this battery, "The Association," is reported in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 1, 1748.

² Well-known examples of this predating appear in "Sufferings of Peter Williamson . . .," in Archibald Loudon (ed.), *Selection of . . . Narratives, of Outrages, Committed by the Indians . . .*, I, 91-107, cited hereafter as Loudon (ed.), *Narratives*; and in "Provincial Correspondence: 1750 to 1765," in Hazard (ed.), *Register*, IV (1829), 389-91, 416. The former of these is of quite early origin, being an excerpt from *French and Indian Cruelty, Exemplified in the Life, and Various Vicissitudes of Fortune, of Peter Williamson . . .*, first printed at York, England, in 1758.

I can't but Attribute, Sir, the present Confusion and Distress of Pensilvania, principally to the Government's being just now beginning to recover from it's principales of non-Defence, & the people's being unaquainted to Attacks from the Indians, & making a stand against them.³

Life on the margins of the settled areas had its attendant hardships and dangers, it is true, and here and in the lands between the white and the Indian settlements lawless and violent deeds were sometimes committed, as elsewhere in the Province; but so far as there was an early pattern of conflict on the Ohio it was one of rivalry and occasional clash between English and French interests, and not one of warfare between white and Indian.

Indeed, the strength of Pennsylvania's position on the Ohio during the quarter-century before the French and Indian War—and the subsequent weakness of that position as well—resulted from the settlement there of Delaware Indians from the southeastern parts of the colony. A background of generally peaceful relations with William Penn's settlers and the adoption of an economy dependent upon European trade goods made these Indians natural collaborators with the Pennsylvania traders who accompanied and followed them westward. Friendly relations with these Indians were further strengthened by the settlement there of some of the Six Nations, or Iroquois, regarded as traditional allies of the English. Tanaghrisson, the "Half King," a leader of these Iroquois colonists, was especially attached to the English.

The French occupation of the upper Ohio country, which began with the landing at Presqu'isle (present Erie) about May 3, 1753, and attained its goal with the seizure on April 17, 1754, of a makeshift Virginia post at the site of present Pittsburgh, was achieved without opposition by Pennsylvania. The Assembly insisted as late as March, 1754, that it could not be proved that the new French forts were within the bounds of Pennsylvania;⁴ and Governor James Hamilton, who in May, 1753, had sent messengers to the Ohio to warn the Indians and traders there of the French undertaking, was reduced to assuring Governor Dinwiddie on May 6, 1754, that the Penns approved whatever measures Virginia might take to defend the Ohio country, provided these measures did not prejudice the Penns' claims to that area.⁵

³ Loudoun Papers, Box 15, No. 704.

⁴ Assembly to the Governor, February 27 and March 9, 1754, *CR*, V, 748, 764.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 607-608, 615, 629, 666.

Virginia efforts to halt the French advance were of little effect, however; and of the two detachments that took the field, Captain William Trent's men were compelled to surrender the Forks of the Ohio (present Pittsburgh) to the French on April 17, 1754, and Colonel George Washington was forced to surrender at Fort Necessity on July 4.

These nearer French successes produced an apprehensive stir in the western parts of settled Pennsylvania. A Cumberland County petition dated July 15, 1754, and signed by seventy-five persons, expressed concern over "the late Defeat of the Virginia Forces"; one dated July 22, signed by fifty-seven "Inhabitants of the Townships of Pextang, Derry, and Hanover, in Lancaster County," referred to the possibility of a French and Indian descent of the Susquehanna; and a petition of July 26, signed by ninety-eight inhabitants of Donegal Township, Lancaster County, joined in a somewhat general appeal for protection.⁶

Pennsylvania had in fact no military tradition and no machinery of defense. Its past contributions for colonial defense had been reluctant and sparing, the few efforts to set up a militia had been unpopular and impermanent, and not until the close of 1747 was any general plan devised for popular defense. This, Benjamin Franklin's well-known "Association," was of necessity extralegal, since it was impossible to have a militia act passed by the Quaker-dominated Assembly, but it had the hearty approval of the Governor, who issued commissions to the elected officers. It was units of this Association, of course, that established the battery mentioned earlier.

This volunteer militia system undoubtedly had some influence on the first Provincial defense efforts of 1755. References about this time to Benjamin Chambers as a colonel and to one or two others by their old Associator ranks suggest that there may have been some survival or revival of units of that organization.⁷ Whether or not this was the case, men who had been active in the Association might naturally resume local leadership in the new time of trouble, and it is interesting that militia companies not conforming to the Militia Act of 1755 commonly were referred to as "associated companies."

The first Pennsylvania frontier defenses of the French and Indian War were magazines, not forts, established in Cumberland County; and they were designed for the protection of supplies rather than of settlers. General Braddock's army advanced from Virginia in 1755

⁶ *Ibid.*, VI, 130-32.

⁷ *PAI*, II, 463-64; for Chambers' rank in the Associators, see *PA5*, I, 24.

by way of western Maryland. However, Pennsylvania was a supply base for the expedition; and the efforts of this province were directed toward accumulation of these supplies and the opening of a road over which they could be carried to the advancing troops. On June 13 Edward Shippen wrote to Governor Morris offering the use of "a Strong Stone House, 30 feet Square, at the back Run at Shippensburg" for storing supplies; and in July he wrote again, recommending to the Governor that cattle for the expedition be kept at Tobias Hendricks' (present Camp Hill) on the Proprietors' own Manor of Lowther.⁸ Charles Swaine, who arrived at Shippensburg on July 9, supervised the storage there of supplies which by July 3 had amounted to 213 barrels of pork, 56,000 pounds of flour, and 100 head of oxen. By this date it had been decided to establish an advanced "Magazine at or near McDowalls mill" (present Markes, Franklin County), which, Shippen thought, "ought to be protected by at least 20 or 30 Soldiers, and there shou'd be a Blockade [Stockade] built."⁹ It was while on a trip to Cumberland County to supervise the establishment of this advanced depot that Governor Morris received the news of General Braddock's defeat on July 9.

This defeat, though its full implications were not at once apparent, called for further precautions. Governor Morris accordingly "at the request of the People laid the Ground for a Wooden Fort in the Town of Carlisle and directed one of the same kind to be formed at Shippensburg . . . and formed four Companies of Militia to whom I distributed some Powder and Lead." He also requested Colonel Dunbar to post the remains of Braddock's army at Carlisle, Shippensburg, and McDowell's Mill; and James Burd, who had supervised the opening of the supply road, thought "that a Fort wou'd be immediately erected" at Raystown (Bedford) to bar that road to the French.¹⁰

Withdrawal of Dunbar's men to New York increased the apparent need for Provincial defense of this region. Incomplete information indicates that the four militia companies proposed by the Governor represented Carlisle and vicinity, perhaps under William Buchanan; Lurgan Township (northern Franklin County) under Alexander Culbertson; Hamilton Township (west of Chambersburg) under Joseph

⁸ Shippen to Morris, June 13, 1755, *PA1*, II, 359; *id.* to *id.*, July [c. 25], 1755, *ibid.*, 364.

⁹ Morris to Braddock, July 3, 1755, *ibid.*, 372; Shippen to William Allen, July 4, 1755, *CR*, VI, 460.

¹⁰ Burd to Morris, July 25, 1755, *ibid.*, 500; Morris to Philadelphia officials, August 1, 1755, *ibid.*, 516; *id.* to Thomas Penn, July 31, 1755, *ibid.*, 517.

Armstrong; and Peters Township (about Mercersburg) under William Maxwell.¹¹ For greater security, local officials later proposed additional forts to supplement the two ordered by the Governor. In general, these preparations on the Province's first armed frontier seem to have anticipated attack by a French military force advancing by way of the Potomac and southern Pennsylvania rather than trouble with the Indians.

The traditionally friendly Indians on the Ohio now found themselves in a precarious situation, however, unable to trade with the English and threatened by the French and their Indian allies. The Six Nations Half King and his pro-British followers had removed to the English settlements, but this course was impractical for any large number of Indians; so of necessity the Ohio Indians, their faith in British power shaken by Washington's failure in 1754 and broken by Braddock's defeat in 1755, became more or less active collaborators of the French.

Even before the French victory at the Monongahela there had been warnings of trouble. On June 22-24, 1755, "Two Parties of French and Indians, to the amount of 130 Men," had raided the borders of Virginia and Maryland, killing more than twenty persons near Fort Cumberland; and on July 3 a few Indians had attacked Burd's road builders.¹² John Harris had warned that "for want of small Block Block-Houses or Forts and Men to guard our Back Inhabitants" Pennsylvania settlers might suffer similar raids. But to some people the trouble at Fort Cumberland seemed comfortably distant; and Edward Shippen, writing on July 4 of the Indian attack at "our Fort" (Fort Cumberland), had observed that "of all the Persons I have talked with John Harris at Paxton is the greatest Coward, and discourages the Folks most. . . . I hope I have put a Stop to his silly Proceedings." Nevertheless, in this same letter Shippen had recommended a guard and stockade at the Cumberland County supply depot. By this date the raids on the settlers were believed to have been the work of the once-friendly Delawares and Shawnees.¹³

On July 31 the Provincial Assembly received petitions from Paxton,

¹¹ Petition, Lurgan Township, Cumberland County, August 1, 1755, *ibid.*, 533; petition, Cumberland County, August 7, 1755, *PAI*, II, 385-86; account of ammunition, *ibid.*, 392.

¹² Dinwiddie to Morris, July 5, 1755, *CR*, VI, 465; Burd to *id.*, July 5, 1755, *ibid.*, 466-67.

¹³ Harris to Conrad Weiser, June 30, 1755, *ibid.*, 458; Shippen to Allen, July 4, 1755, *ibid.*, 459-61.

Derry, and Hanover townships, Lancaster County (now Dauphin and Lebanon), "setting forth the great Danger they apprehend themselves to be in since the late Defeat of the Forces under General *Braddock*, and praying that this House would furnish them with Arms and Ammunition for Defence of their Houses and Families"; on the following day it received similar petitions from Chester County.¹⁴ On August 22 the Assembly granted a thousand pounds "for the King's Use," and appointed a committee of five members (of whom Evan Morgan and Benjamin Franklin became the active members) to dispense the money. By the end of October this committee had purchased five hundred guns and a supply of ammunition which were distributed in Cumberland, York, and Lancaster counties.¹⁵

George Croghan, whose trading post at Aughwick (Shirleysburg) stood "30 Miles back of all Inhabitation on y^e frontiers," began to build "a Small Stockade fort," as he wrote William Johnson on September 10; by October 9 he hoped to have his stockade finished "by the middle of next week," and asked Charles Swaine at Shippensburg to "Lend me 6 Guns with powder, 20 of Lead by the bearer," which he promised to repay.¹⁶

Then on Thursday, October 16, the first hostile blow fell on the Pennsylvania settlements—not on the western reaches of Cumberland County as anticipated, but on the Susquehanna. "A Dutch Woman," going to visit relatives at Penns Creek near present Selinsgrove, first discovered the bodies of the victims; and on October 20 John Harris wrote to inform the Governor of the attack. Twenty-five persons had been killed or carried off; and the Delaware Indians who committed the massacre had transferred the field of battle from the remote woods of the Monongahela to the bounds of the settled countryside.¹⁷

From Penns Creek a wave of alarm spread southward and eastward over the Province. A party of about forty men who went up to bury the victims of the attack were fired upon near the scene of the massacre on October 25 and had several of their number killed or drowned; and the two incidents won credence for the report, widely circulated

¹⁴ PA8, V, 3935, 4004.

¹⁵ An *ACCOUNT of the Disposal of the One Thousand Pounds . . .*, *ibid.*, 4354-57; Peters and Lardner report, CR, VI, 679. For the "List hereto annexed" of the report, see Copy of the List of Arms . . . , Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, III, 28-29.

¹⁶ Croghan to Johnson, *Johnson Papers*, II, 29-30; *id.* to Swaine, CR, VI, 642-43.

¹⁷ Harris to Morris, October 20, 1755, *ibid.*, 645-46; Weiser to *id.*, October 22, 1755, *ibid.*, 647; petition of Penns Creek settlers, October 20, 1755, *ibid.*, 647-48. See also "Narrative of Marie Le Roy and Barbara Leininger," PA2, VII, 401 ff. (1878 ed.).

a few days later, that fifteen hundred French and Indians were on the march.¹⁸ The people of Cumberland County, within whose limits the two incidents took place, apprehensive before of attacks along their western frontier, now fully expected heavy blows upon their northern borders. Isolated settlers retreated into more populated areas; and those who stood their ground improvised loopholes and raised stockades to transform houses, mills, and even churches into the "private forts" which, in Cumberland County especially, became a commonplace of frontier life. In Lancaster County the effect of the attack at Penns Creek seems to have been fully as great as in Cumberland County; the impact upon Lancaster County was perhaps the greater because the threat of attack here had seemed less immediate.

A proposal (anticipating the later Shamokin venture) to establish a fort at Penns Creek proved short-lived. A shipment of arms for this purpose on October 28, including the last weapons bought with the Assembly's thousand-pound grant and two cannon donated by William Allen, was opened at John Harris' and distributed locally, some of them being sent to Samuel Hunter's mill near present Rockville.¹⁹

On October 20 Tobias Hendricks wrote from "Fortt Pleasent" to Secretary Richard Peters, asking arms "for the Defence of this Fort and the Persons that has Joyned to it, which is upwards of one hundred." Possibly Hendricks' fort was the proposed one up the river, but it seems more probable that it was at his own home in present Camp Hill. In response to this appeal, George Stevenson reported from York on November 5 that "We have sent 53 Men well fited from this Town last Monday [November 3] 2 o'clock P.M. & a Doctor, some Medicines & what Ammunition we could spare to Tob^s Hendrix's to join the main Body of English Forces on the most neadful Part of the Frontiers, Mr. Adlum is with them."²⁰ Another York County company under Hance Hamilton marched to Carlisle.

¹⁸ Deposition of Adam Terrence, October 26, 1755, *CR*, VI, 648-49; Samuel Boude to William Allen, October 26, 1755, *ibid.*, 653-54; Harris to Morris, October 28, 1755, *ibid.*, 654-655; *id.* to Shippen, October 29, 1755, *ibid.*, 655-56; Weiser to Allen, October 30, 1755, *ibid.*, 659-60; intelligence from Manóquetotha (Scarroyady), November 1, 1755, *ibid.*, 672-73; speech of Scarroyady, November 8, 1755, *ibid.*, 682-83.

¹⁹ Account of Ammunition . . . , *PA1*, II, 392; Harris to R. Peters, October 28, 1755, *ibid.*, 441; Harris to Shippen, October 29, 1755, *CR*, VI, 656; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 30, 1755.

²⁰ Hendricks to Peters, *PA1*, II, 438; Stevenson to *id.*, PPC, printed inaccurately in *PA1*, II, 514; see also Stevenson to Smith, November 5, 1755, *ibid.*, 466.

Settlers east of the Susquehanna also reacted to these attacks and alarms. In Berks County, Conrad Weiser had heard on October 26 that the enemy had "crossed Susquehannah and killed a great many people, from Thomas McKee down to Hunter's Mill" ("within five Miles of Harris' Ferry," as Governor Morris observed).²¹ No doubt this alarm explains the stoppage at Harris' of the shipment of arms and cannon intended for Penns Creek.

In Berks County, the general dismay occasioned by the first Indian attacks was perhaps best expressed by James Read of Reading, who, as he wrote the Governor on October 27, had "the misfortune of being Major of two associated Companies" of militia.²² In Heidelberg Township, near the Berks-Lancaster county line, Weiser assembled two hundred of his neighbors on October 27 and set out to meet the enemy. Directing fifty men toward Tolheo (present Bethel, Berks County), Weiser led the others toward the Susquehanna. Arriving next day at Adam Reed's (near present Indiantown Gap), he learned that a party led by Thomas McKee, Harris, and others had gone up to Penns Creek and Shamokin; so, their number now increased to 320, Weiser's party turned homeward. Meantime, the party sent to Tolheo, their number grown to a hundred, had met William Parsons, who instructed them to go on to the mountain pass, construct defenses, and keep watch while he got ammunition. In Parsons' absence, however, this party, apparently overcome with relief when they found no Indians at the pass, marched back down the mountain, firing guns on the way and terrifying the settlers, who of course thought the enemy was upon them.²³ A few days later, however, three settlers were killed north of the mountain; and on October 31 Governor Morris commissioned Weiser "Colonel of the Forces that were raised & should be raised" in Berks County.²⁴

In Lancaster County, matters were reported in such confusion that James Hamilton, Governor Morris' predecessor and now a member of his Council, was sent to that county with a *dedimus*, dated November 3, to commission militia officers. Edward Shippen reported on November 4 that "The People of this County are very willing to join in repelling the Invadres, but are without order, and many want arms.

²¹ Weiser to James Read, October 26, 1755, *CR*, VI, 650-51; Morris to Dinwiddie, October 29, 1755, *ibid.*, 651.

²² Read to Morris, *ibid.*, 651.

²³ Weiser to *id.*, October 30, 1755, *ibid.*, 656-59; Parson to R. Peters, October 31, 1755, *PAI*, II, 443-45.

²⁴ Morris to Weiser, October 31, 1755, *CR*, VI, 660; see also *ibid.*, 664-65.

There are five Companys now in this Town from the Lower end of this County and the upper end of Chester County, besides three Companys belonging to the Town." Two days later he wrote that "there are about a Thousand Men in arms gone up to John Harris's, within theye [these] two Days; and this morning Mr. Hamilton took horse to meet them There"; however, "before the Army would move Mr. Hamilton & Mr. James Wright, were obliged to promise to bear their charge upon ye road, and to support them During their Stay abroad"! Shippen also reported that "Eleven Companys were Stopt coming up . . . by a Lye . . . that y^e Gov^r declared that if any of y^e Company should kill an Indian Or a frenchman they would be prosecuted according to Law."²⁵

Behind the apprehensive marchers the wave of rumor rolled on. Maryland settlers east of the Susquehanna heard on November 3 "how 1500 French and Indians had burnt Lancaster Town to the Ground, and were proceeding downwards, driving all before them." On the following days a thousand men of Cecil and Kent counties prepared to march, it was reported, and were to have been joined by five hundred from Queen Annes County; but on the afternoon of November 6 word came that the reports had been false. The aggregations of militia dispersed, their exploits not unrecorded: A year later "sundry Tavern-keepers in *Lancaster*" petitioned the Assembly to repay them "for Diet furnished the voluntary Militia on their March last Year to *Harris's Ferry*."²⁶

Temporarily, attention had been diverted from the western frontier of Cumberland County. It is true that Sheriff John Potter had called a meeting on October 30 at which it had been decided to maintain forts at Carlisle, Shippensburg, Colonel Chambers' (Chambersburg), Mr. Steel's Meetinghouse (east of Mercersburg), and William Allison's (Greencastle); but the first two of these had been authorized in July, and mention as early as November 2 of "the Fort at Mr. Steel's Meeting House" suggests that this fort also was of previous origin.²⁷ The plans were late. Referring on November 5 to Hendricks' district as "the most neadful Part of the Frontiers," Stevenson had written

²⁵ Dedimus to Hamilton, *PA1*, II, 460-61; Shippen to Morris, November 4, 1755, *ibid.*, 463-64; *id.* to *id.*, November 6, 1755, *ibid.*, 472; *id.* to Joseph Shippen, November 7, 1755, Shippen Papers, American Philosophical Society.

²⁶ Extract of letter from Bohemia, Cecil County, November 10, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 20, 1755; *PA8*, VI, 4439. See also *ibid.*, V, 4362.

²⁷ James Burd, minutes, Lamberton Scotch-Irish Collection, I, 23, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; *CR*, VI, 675.

unaware that on Saturday afternoon, four days before, a hundred Delaware and Shawnee Indians led by "King" Shingas and Captain Jacobs had descended upon the Big Cove (present McConnellsburg, Fulton County) and Tonoloway Creek near the Maryland line and had wiped out the settlements there. Sheriff Potter subsequently reported that of a total of ninety-three families, forty-seven had been wiped out, and twenty-seven plantations burnt.²⁸

The news spread rapidly along the valley. James Burd, building Fort Morris at Shippensburg, heard Saturday night that Indians had been seen at William Maxwell's on Conococheague; and on Sunday afternoon word of this new massacre came to John Armstrong at Carlisle. After consultation, Armstrong, John Smith, and William Buchanan decided that Hance Hamilton and his company should march for Shippensburg on Monday morning and that Burd should, if possible, precede him. Meanwhile, Sheriff Potter and Adam Hoops at Conococheague had summoned their neighbors, about a hundred of whom met at McDowell's Mill on Sunday morning and scouted among the still burning plantations.²⁹

Reinforcements arrived that afternoon; but Potter, Hoops, and the Reverend John Steel, who wanted to pursue the Indians up the valley, were outvoted by those who wished to return to McDowell's Mill, whereupon Potter and his men went home. "I will not guard a man that will not fight," Potter declared, and urged the Governor to give arms to "such persons as would go out upon Scouts after the Indians rather than for the supply of Forts." Burd and Hamilton arrived at McDowell's on Monday, and called upon the local militia and others to join them. By Thursday, November 6, according to Hoops, four hundred men had assembled, half from Cumberland County, half with Hamilton from York County; but Shingas' warriors and their captives had by then recrossed the Allegheny Mountains,³⁰ and the

²⁸ Potter to R. Peters, November 3, 1755, *ibid.*, 673-74; Thomas Barton to [], November 2, 1755, enclosing intelligence from Benjamin Chambers, *ibid.*, 675-76; John Armstrong to Morris, November 2, 1755, *ibid.*, 676; Potter's report, *ibid.*, 706-707.

²⁹ Armstrong *et al.* to Burd, November 2, 1755, Edward Shippen Thompson Collection, Public Records Division; Hoops to Morris, November 3, 1755, *PA1*, II, 462-63.

³⁰ For accounts by captives, see George Hutchinson deposition, November 15, 1755, Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, II, 42; *A Narrative of . . . William and Elizabeth Fleming* (Darlington Library has the second German edition, *Eine Erzählung von den Trübsalen und der Wunderbahren Befreyung . . .*); narrative of Charles Stuart, *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XIII (1926), 58 ff. Stuart, correct in the day of the week but not in the date of the month, places the attack on Saturday, October 29.

troops could only search the Cove and Path Valley and bring in whatever livestock the Indians had missed.³¹

This second invasion of Cumberland County intensified the demand for adequate protection. Reporting the attack to the Governor, John Armstrong wrote on November 2, "I'm of opinion that no other means than a Chain of Block Houses along or near the South side of the Kittatinny Mountain, from Susquehannah to the Temporary Line, can Secure the Lives and Properties even of the old Inhabitants of this County, the new Settlements being all fled except Shareman's Valley" and on November 17 the Assembly had before it "A Petition from sundry Inhabitants of the County of *Cumberland*, praying that a Line of Forts may be erected from *Potowmack* to *Susquehanna*, and properly garrisoned, for the Preservation of the Inhabitants of the said County from the Incursions of the *French* and their *Indians*."³²

Governor Morris continued meanwhile to commission militia officers, and on November 3 had asked the Assembly to establish a regular militia. The Assembly, while delaying action on this request, voted on November 19 to appropriate the stores of flour and cattle then in Cumberland County, intended originally for Braddock's army, for the relief of the distressed inhabitants, as Joseph Armstrong and John Smith judged proper; and in addition the Assembly made small grants of money to individual sufferers from Indian attacks. The Governor entrusted a quantity of powder, lead, and shot to Edward Shippen who during the next few months distributed them in Cumberland, York, Lancaster, and Berks counties; and more arms were distributed on a "lend-lease" basis, to frontier settlers.³³ Meanwhile the establishment of "private forts" continued, the best known in Cumberland County probably being that at John McDowell's mill.³⁴

In Lancaster and Berks as in Cumberland County, people reacted to danger by establishing "private forts." John Harris had as early as June 30 advised such protection; and on October 23 after the massacre at Penns Creek he wrote Richard Peters: "If I had some little Encouragem^t I could raise a Stockade Fort here but for me to Maintain a Number of Men I am not able in s^d Place if Built." Six

³¹ *CR*, VI, 673-74; *PA1*, II, 452-53.

³² *CR*, VI, 676; *PA8*, V, 4119.

³³ *CR*, VI, 672; *PA8*, V, 4131-32, 4144; *PA1*, II, 613-15; *PA2*, II, 695-96 (1876 ed.)

³⁴ For the fort at McDowell's, see John Craig's deposition, March 30, 1756, *Penn Manuscripts*, Indian Affairs, III, 77.

days later, garrison or none, Harris cut loopholes in his house, around which he afterwards erected "an excellent Stockado."³⁵

On November 8, only six days after John Armstrong recommended a chain of forts west of the Susquehanna, the Provincial Assembly received "a Petition from divers Inhabitants of *Paxton-Narrows*, in the County of *Lancaster*," asking for a militia law or for funds to maintain troops and build forts;³⁶ and while the Assembly debated these matters, the people proceeded to establish their own line of defense. Unlike the early defenses west of the river, these in Lancaster and Berks coincided with the line of the later Provincial chain of forts. The earliest mentioned is Hunter's Fort (present Rockville), to which was sent part of the October 28 shipment of arms intended for Penns Creek.³⁷ Eastward at the mountain passes were Samuel Robinson's at Manada Gap, Adam Reed's near Indiantown Gap, Peter Hedrick's at Swatara Gap, and Dietrich Six's at Tolheo. Manned by patrols set up on November 19, these stockades constituted a defense system extending from the Susquehanna to the Schuylkill, established through local initiative and with little official aid beyond a share of the arms purchased with the Assembly grant of August 22 or lent by the Provincial authorities.

An Indian attack on November 15 on a party standing watch at Dietrich Six's (where Fort Henry was later built) stressed the need for organized defense; six men of the watch were killed, and on that and the following day nearby settlers were also killed and their houses burnt.³⁸ On November 19 some of the landowners, led by Conrad Weiser, Emanuel Carpenter, and Simon Adam Kuhn, agreed to support a body of 150 men who were to station themselves in houses along the foot of the Blue Mountain, half of their number in the part of Berks County west of Schuylkill River and the other half in Lancaster County. They were to serve for forty days, until about the end of the year; and on Governor Morris' orders the guard in Berks County continued a month longer until replaced by Provincial garrisons.³⁹ Of the officers who served in this county, the names of Captain Jacob

³⁵ Harris to Peters, Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, VII, 127; *id.* to Shippen, October 29, 1755, *CR*, VI, 655-56; Shippen to Morris, April 19, 1756, *PAI*, II, 635.

³⁶ *PA8*, V, 4104.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 4357.

³⁸ Weiser to Morris, November 19, 1755, *PAI*, II, 503-504.

³⁹ *Id.* to *id.*, same date, *ibid.*, 505; Morris to the Provincial Commissioners, March 12, 1756, *PPC*.

Morgan (later of the Provincial service) and Captain Diefenbach are on record. In Lancaster County, the original guard was replaced; on December 10, George Reynolds of Lebanon Township and Henry Wagoner of Bethel were commissioned captains of companies which succeeded the previous groups. Elsewhere in Lancaster County, Captain Peter Hedrick and Captain Adam Reed served in Hanover Township and Captain Thomas McKee in Paxton. In this last township, John Harris, acting on the unauthorized orders of Captain George Croghan, maintained a guard of men for eighteen days.⁴⁰

The Governor's mind was meanwhile occupied with plans to fortify Shamokin (present Sunbury) at the forks of the Susquehanna. Rumors of a French army descending the West Branch had caused miscarriage of the plan to fortify Penns Creek in October and had inspired a surmise that the French themselves intended to fortify Shamokin. Such a feat, had it been possible, would have been disastrous to Pennsylvania; and to forestall this threat seemed a pressing matter. Inconveniently for the Province, the land at Shamokin was not yet purchased from the Six Nations, though it appears that these Indians' representative there, Shikellamy, had sold some sort of claim to the Penns.⁴¹ The difficulty was accommodated, however, when John Armstrong reported that Andrew Montour and Scarroyady, successor to Tanaghrisson as head of the Six Nations refugees from the Ohio, had on November 1 advised "that a Fort should immediately be Erected at Shamokin." Undoubtedly aware that these Indians could not speak for the Six Nations council, Governor Morris gave them on November 14 a somewhat evasive reply to their request; but on the following day he wrote to William Johnson: "I intend to build a Fort at Shamokin this Winter, of which be pleased likewise to acquaint the Six Nations, & I doubt not they will approve this measure."⁴² Winter was to give place to summer, however, before Morris' plan was put into effect.

East of the Schuylkill and in Northampton County, defense plans lagged. Remote from the French posts and apparent threat of invasion, the settlers in this region reacted less promptly. The Moravians at Bethlehem were concerned over the narrow escapes of some of their

⁴⁰ *PA8*, VI, 5385, 5390.

⁴¹ Peters to the Proprietors, June 1, 1756, Gratz Collections, Peters Letter Book, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁴² Armstrong to Morris, November 2, 1755, *PA1*, II, 452; Morris, instructions to Scarroyady and Andrew Montour, *CR*, VI, 699; Morris to Johnson, November 15, 1755, *ibid.*, 701.

missionaries from Shamokin, Wyoming, and Lackawanna;⁴³ and the Scotch-Irish settlers presented to the Assembly on November 4, "A Petition from *Thomas Craig* and *Hugh Wilson*, of the *Forks of Delaware*," apprehensive of danger and asking for arms.⁴⁴ A few days later it was rumored at Easton that the fictitious "Body of 1500 French & Indians" was within sixty miles of the town; and on November 10 the Assembly had another petition, from the "*Forks of Delaware, Lower and Upper Smithfield*," for passage of a militia law. But a day later Timothy Horsfield wrote from Bethlehem: "As far as I can learn, the People who were lately much frigtnd in these parts are again pretty much composed, and I cant hear of any Mischief being done, nor of any French or Indians being seen any where near us."⁴⁵ It is possible that the composite nature of the population of this county made co-operation less easy and may account in part for later complaints about the difficult attitude of the people here.

Indian troubles on this part of the frontier were an aftermath of the attack at Penns Creek on October 16 and of the effect of this attack upon the Indians resident along the Susquehanna North Branch under Six Nations supervision. Excepting a few Six Nations Indians and a Shawnee settlement (headed by Paxinosa) at Wyoming, these Indians were chiefly Delawares of various bands. The Schuylkill Indians (Unamies) and Munsees excepted, these Delawares were remnants of bands of confused or uncertain identity. Unlike the Indians of the southeastern part of the Province, some of them had been roughly dispossessed in consequence of the "Walking Purchase" of 1737; and to a greater degree than the Indians on the Ohio they felt themselves hemmed in by the whites to the south and east and the Six Nations to the north. The efforts among them of Moravian missionaries from Bethlehem and of the Presbyterian Brainerds in New Jersey had contributed religious disunity to their confusion and called forth reaction in the form of "nativist" religious movements.⁴⁶

⁴³ Timothy Horsfield to Morris, November 2, 1755, and enclosure, *PA1*, II, 458-60; *id.* to *id.*, November 11, 1758, *ibid.*, 480; *id.* to *id.*, November 16, 1755, and enclosure, *ibid.*, 491-93, 500.

⁴⁴ *PA8*, V, 4097.

⁴⁵ Memorial to Governor Belcher, New Jersey, November 12, 1755, *PA1*, II, 488-89; *PA8*, V, 4109; Horsfield to Morris, November 11, 1758, *PA1*, II, 480.

⁴⁶ The best account of the Indians of this region is that in Anthony F. C. Wallace, *King of the Delawares: Teedyuscung*, pages 18-66 being particularly relevant. The point must be stressed, however, that the notoriety of the "Walking Purchase" of 1737 stems very largely from the politically motivated charges and investigation of 1756-1762.

The mood of most of these Indians was unstable; and after the first attacks upon white settlers all Indians were more or less suspect. The Indians at Shamokin abandoned their settlements and moved up to Nescopeck on the North Branch; but the hostile Indians from the Ohio moved, too, and made this place their headquarters. Silverheels, a friendly Six Nations Indian whom Hamilton sent up the river for news in November, 1755, reported that at Nescopeck "he saw one hundred and forty Indians, all Warriors; that they were dancing the War Dance; expressed great Bitterness against the English, and were preparing for an Expedition against them, and he thought would go to the Eastward" to attack the settlers.⁴⁷

On November 21 Bishop Spangenberg at Bethlehem received a letter from a missionary at Gnadenhütten (present Weissport and Lehigh, Carbon County), reporting the threat of attack and asking that the mission Indians be escorted to safety. The county officials to whom Spangenberg forwarded this letter called upon the townships on November 24 to maintain a guard along the line of the mountain; and on the same day a Northampton company, followed by New Jersey troops under Colonel John Anderson, set out for the mission. However adequate this help, it arrived too late; when David Zeisberger, who had gone in advance with the news, arrived at the town at dark the mission farm west of the river was in flames. While the troops stopped for the night near the mountain pass a few miles away, a party of hostile Indians from Nescopeck fired the buildings and massacred the missionaries. Of fourteen persons, three escaped.⁴⁸

As elsewhere, the attack was followed by dismay and by hasty efforts at defense. A Bucks County company under Captain John Wilson, which was joined by local units, set out from Bethlehem on November 26 to patrol the mountain line.⁴⁹ Three days later Bishop Spangenberg urged to the county justices "that Gnadenhütten is of as great

⁴⁷ *CR*, VI, 783.

⁴⁸ Timothy Horsfield *et al.*, To the Inhabitants of Northampton County, November 24, 1755, Horsfield Papers, I, 65, American Philosophical Society; Horsfield to Parsons, November 25, 1755, *CR*, VI, 736-37; *id.* to Morris, November 26, 1755, *PAI*, II, 520-23.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 521. A "Petition of John Willson of Chester County (but Late of Bucks)" to the Assembly, n. d., relates that "Your Petitioner rais'd his Company of Fifty two Men, and having to provide Fire Arms and Amunition for Several of them, marched up to the Mountain, shortly after Kanodenhead was Burnt, and continued there (sometime) untill it was thought the Indians had left the Settlement—

"Your Petitioner at the Request of the Frontier Inhabitants Stationed Twenty of his men amongst them in such order as seemed most Necessary the said party of men stay'd two Weeks. . . ." Public Records Division.

importance to our Government as Shamokin. . . . If the Government should think well to build there a fort, we will give of the land we have there, ten acres, for that purpose." By William Hays of this county the commissioners of the recently passed Supply Act (November 27) sent a shipment of a hundred guns and ammunition for Easton, the Moravians at Bethlehem, and residents of Lehigh Township and other parts of the frontier. The Moravians themselves, devoutly pacifist but recognizing the necessity of defense, set up stockades and guards at their settlements about Bethlehem and Nazareth.⁵⁰ Meanwhile, behind these emergency measures, plans developed for the system of Provincial defenses undertaken soon afterward in Northampton County.

Of the numerous appeals for aid presented to the Governor and the Assembly in consequence of the first Indian attacks on the outlying settlements, few were so explicit or so well anticipated the subsequent course of official action as the petition from Paxton Narrows presented on November 8, 1755, which asked the Assembly "that this House would either enact a Militia Law, or grant a sufficient Sum of Money to maintain such a Number of regular Troops as may be thought necessary to defend our Frontiers, and build Fortifications in proper Places."⁵¹ By the close of the month both the recommended measures had become law: "An Act for the Better Ordering and Regulating Such as Are Willing and Desirous to Be United for Military Purposes within This Province" was signed by Governor Morris on November 25; and "An Act for Granting the Sum of Sixty Thousand Pounds to the King's Use, and for Striking Fifty-five Thousand Pounds Thereof in Bills of Credit and to Provide a Fund for Sinking the Same" was passed two days later.⁵²

As early as December 24, 1754, the Governor had submitted to the Assembly a Proprietary recommendation to "provide at this Time for the Defence and Safety of the Province . . . by establishing a regular Militia . . . and providing Arms and Stores of War, and building proper Magazines in the most convenient places." Enactment of such measures in a province where Quaker tradition and political position were so strong presented obvious difficulties, however; and the

⁵⁰ Spangenberg to justices, November 29, 1755, William C. Reichel (ed.), *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, I, 208; Hays to Parsons, December 6, 1755, Northampton County Papers, 1727-1758, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁵¹ PA8, V, 4104.

⁵² James T. Mitchell and Henry Flanders (comps.), *The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801*, V, 197-212. Hereafter cited as *Statutes at Large*.

Assembly refused to act on the recommendation on the grounds that the French forts at Presque Isle and Le Boeuf were not known to be within the Province.⁵³

So matters rested until arrival of the news of Braddock's defeat in July, 1755, when the Governor, then at Carlisle, authorized the two forts and four militia companies in Cumberland County. These companies, like all other militia organized prior to November 25, were voluntary associations commissioned under terms of the royal charter authorizing the Proprietor "to doe all . . . which to the charge and office of a Captaine generall of an Army, belongeth."⁵⁴ Renewed appeals on August 9 and afterward for a militia law having failed to move the Assembly, the Governor "caused the Inhabitants of the several Counties to be told that if they would enter into associations, form themselves into Companies, and recommend fit persons for their Officers, he would grant them Commissions."⁵⁵

The bill submitted by the Assembly on November 20 and signed five days later was so loosely drawn, to satisfy conscientious objectors, that a crown committee later pronounced it "rather Calculated to exempt Persons from Military Services than to encourage and promote them."⁵⁶ On February 13, 1756, it was determined that companies formed under this act should be regimented by counties, Philadelphia to have its own City Regiment, however, and no regiment to comprise fewer than eight companies; and an order to this effect was issued a month later. A preliminary draft of the order, dated February 13, presumes one regiment in Philadelphia County (8 companies), one in Northampton (9), a combined regiment for Bucks (6) and Berks (3), one each for Chester (7) and Lancaster (10), and a combined regiment for Cumberland and York.⁵⁷

That this militia act was voided by the King on July 7 was of little practical importance; for Provincial Council minutes do not record this invalidation until October 15, fifteen days before the expiration of the act by its own terms.⁵⁸ The deficiencies of the act, moreover, were all too apparent; and although Benjamin Franklin had defended it ably in "A Dialogue between X, Y, and Z concerning the Present

⁵³ *CR*, VI, 213, 233-34.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, I, xv (1836 ed.).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, VI, 680.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, VII, 276.

⁵⁷ *CR*, VII, 40-41, 61-62; *PA2*, II, 697-698 (1876 ed.).

⁵⁸ *CR*, VII, 272-78.

State of Affairs in Pennsylvania," printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of December 18, 1755, Franklin himself was within a few days of that date engaging paid troops to defend the Province. It was the Supply Act of November 27, 1755, rather than the Militia Act that provided an effective means of defense.

In contrast with the companies set up under the Militia Act, associated companies like the four commissioned in Cumberland County in July, 1755, had a longer and more useful life. Such companies continued to be created even while the act was in force and were not affected by its invalidation. A list dated November 4, 1756, after dissolution of the regular militia, lists five associated companies in Philadelphia City, nine in Bucks County, eight in York, and nine in Lancaster.⁵⁹ Several associated companies had by then been taken into Provincial pay, and others served on various parts of the frontier without benefit of Provincial pay. On August 24, 1756, for example, "the Remaining part of the Inhabitants of East Penborrow township, in Comberland County," reported that they had "agreed with a gard of fourteen men in number," whom, however, they were unable to pay. On November 5 John Harris reported that Paxton Township had kept a guard for twelve months past; by May 16, 1757, Derry Township had for eighteen months maintained a guard in Hanover Township, its neighbor to the north, at a cost of three hundred pounds; and in this same month a guard of twenty-five men ranged the frontiers of Lehigh and Allen townships in Northampton County.⁶⁰

With the signing of the Supply Act on November 27, 1755, two days after passage of the Militia Act, it became possible for Provincial officials to plan for an effective system of defense; for the authorized fund, administered by a group of seven commissioners (two from the Governor's Council, five from the Assembly), could be used to maintain paid troops and to build and garrison forts. Richard Peters sounded very optimistic when, the day after passage of the Supply Act, he wrote to the Proprietors:

The Gov^r goes among the Back Settlers as soon as the Plan of Operations shall be concerted between him & y^e Committee. And I hope he will regain y^e Affections of all y^e Country People, & build Block-Houses, establish companies of Rangers, under Regular Pay all along y^e Blue Hills, & perhaps We can

⁵⁹ *PA1*, III, 19-21.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 758-59; III, 34, 159, 164. The Hanover Township guard, commanded by Captains Hedrick and Reed, was taken into Provincial pay, May-August, 1757; see *PA8*, VI, 4626.

hire a Company or two to act on y^e offensive to go to the Indian Towns. These Things done y^e Province will be well defended. . . .⁶¹

Governor Morris' plan, as described by Peters in a letter of December 4, was "to build a Fort at Shamokin immediately, & for that Purpose to raise 500 Men who will serve some for a Garrison & Others for Companies of Rangers. The Plan will be compleated in a day or two."⁶² However, this scheme had the practical defect of providing no immediate protection for the frontier settlers, already badly shaken by the first Indian attacks and unable to organize or to finance any really effective resistance; and numbers of these people were reported ready to march on Philadelphia. With affairs in this state, Governor Morris left for New York, where General Shirley had invited some of the governors to confer with him on plans for defense; and in his absence the Provincial Commissioners named in the Supply Act took the first active steps to establish a system of Provincial defenses.

In compliance with the frontier demands for immediate protection, these commissioners dismissed for the time the Governor's plan and took up the one which had been proposed in Cumberland County, calling for a chain of frontier forts between which patrols should pass and repass in an unbroken line of defense. On November 2, as has been observed, John Armstrong had advocated such a chain extending from the Susquehanna to the Maryland line; and his proposal had been incorporated into the Cumberland County petition presented on November 17 to the Assembly. The Provincial Commissioners now proposed to extend such a chain eastward to the Delaware. Some six months later, when a more aggressive policy was being advocated, the commissioners defended their decision:

When the Indians first began to Infest our Frontiers, the Commissioners were of Oppinion that the best means of Securing our Inhabitants was to carry the warr into the Enemy's Country and hunt them in all their Fishing, Hunting, Planting, & dwelling places; But having sent for Croghan & others in order to obtain their Opinion, and they advising that by a Chain of forts the Frontier should first be in some degree secured before we acted Offencively, the same was agreed to—the Building of Forts immediately set about, which took up much more time than was expected.⁶³

⁶¹ Gratz Collections, Peters Letter Book.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Provincial Commissioners to Governor Morris, n. d. [c. June 12, 1756], *CR*, VII, 153.

The commissioners were spurred on by new Indian incursions; on December 10 raiding parties attacked at several places in Northampton County, both above and within the Blue Mountain. Four days later William Peters wrote to the Governor, then in New York:

Mr Hamilton Orders me to send you the enclosed papers, by w^{ch} you will see What a Miserable Situation y^e Province is in; he desires me to Apologize for his not writing to you himself (being busily engaged wth the Rest of y^e Comis^{rs} at the State house) & to tell you that the Whole Country from the Minesinks quite to Easton is Deserted by the Inhabitants, & that the Indians are Wasting & Destroying all before them as fast as they Can, Runing from Plantation to Plantⁿ the Commiss^{rs} talk of Raising & takeing 500 Men into y^e Gov^{nts} Pay, & to send immediately to one Lesh^r (who they say has 100 Men Already Raised) & to Another of y^e New Captains to Carry 300 Men into those parts to make head against those Indians; And M^r Hamilton, M^r Franklin & Jos^s Fox, (if he can be prevail'd on) Propose to set out Next Thursday towards y^e Parts where y^e Indians are Committing those Ravages, in Order to Spirit up the People to Act Vigerously against them, & then to Proceed to y^e Building Block Houses all along y^e Borders, & to Station Sufficient Numbers of the 500 Men at all proper places to Secure y^e Country, they talk of going as far as Shamokin to Build a Fort there, And dont Propose to Return till they have, in some Measures Guarded the Whole Frontier—⁶⁴

By the time Hamilton himself wrote on December 18, provision had been made for Cumberland County as well:

Our present Scheme is to take 500 men into Constant Service, half on this & half on the other side of Sasquehanna, & to erect Five Block Houses on Each Side, and the space between them to be continually ranged by the respective Garrisons. I have given Geo. Croghan a Captain's Commission; He is to raise the men immediately, and Superintend the building over Sasquehannah. . . .⁶⁵

Having given Croghan his instructions, three of the commissioners, Hamilton, Franklin, and Fox, set out for Northampton County. Between December 20, when they arrived at Easton, and December 31,

⁶⁴ Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, II, 50.

⁶⁵ Hamilton to Morris, *PAI*, II, 537-38. Commissioners, orders to Croghan, December 17, 1755, I. D. Rupp, *History and Topography of Northumberland* . . . , 118. Compare *PAI*, II, 536; in the interval 1847-1853 Franklin's name and the date were removed from the orders, and since then the original document has entirely disappeared.

when they left Bethlehem to meet Governor Morris at Reading, they took into the Provincial pay several companies of troops, some three hundred men in all, including units raised locally and some militia companies brought up from Bucks and Philadelphia counties, and placed them under the direction of William Parsons, commissioned as major. They assigned companies captained by George Aston and John Trump to build two blockhouses between Dupui's on the Delaware River and Gnadenhütten, and they directed another company under Captain William Hays to build a third fort at the latter place. Hays's company, however, was routed by an Indian war party on January 1, 1756, so Franklin was sent back from Reading to reorganize and complete the county's defenses. He returned to Bethlehem on January 7 and remained in the county until February 5 when he left for Philadelphia. Establishing himself at Gnadenhütten, Franklin supervised the construction there of Fort Allen and directed the building of three other forts in the county, all on the northern side of the Blue Mountain. On his departure, he placed the further defense of Northampton in the hands of Captain William Clapham, commissioned a colonel. How far defense needs had grown since December is shown by the fact that on January 26 Franklin had 522 paid troops in this county alone and also that at the conclusion of his work, with the forts completed, he still had 389 soldiers in pay.⁶⁶

The situation in Berks and Lancaster counties at this time was less grave, thanks to the efforts of Weiser and others who had established the line of guardposts extending from the Schuylkill to the Susquehanna. Arriving at Reading from Philadelphia on January 1, Governor Morris reported that: "There are I find above one hundred and thirty men upon the Frontiers of this County, besides the Guard in this Town, and I shall consider with the Commissioners whether it will be sufficient and in what manner to post them, so as best to contribute to the Public Safety."⁶⁷ The Governor made only minor changes during this brief visit of January 1 to 6 before going on to Carlisle; but on January 25 to 27 he stopped again in Reading on his homeward journey and completed arrangements for the defenses of these

⁶⁶ Documents on which this paragraph are based are published in *CR*, VI, 763-65, 771-72; VII, 15-17; *PAL*, II, 539, 541-43, 546-50; III, 325; A. H. Smyth (ed.), *Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, III, 306, 320-38; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 1, 8, 29, 1756. Cited hereafter as Smyth (ed.), *Writings*. The return of garrisons, *PAL*, III, 325, is misplaced and should be assigned to early February, 1756; the original is in Franklin's handwriting.

⁶⁷ Morris to Robert Strettell *et al.*, *CR*, VI, 771.

two counties, which included four forts and two secondary outposts.⁶⁸ Unlike the forts in Northampton County, all but one of these stood at the southern foot of the Blue Mountain. The three chief forts east of the Susquehanna in the Governor's opinion were Fort Allen in Northampton County and Lebanon and Henry in Berks, Fort Henry being "ye most considerable of them."⁶⁹

West of the Susquehanna, Captain Croghan had been ordered in December to erect "three Stockadoes, viz^t, One back of Patterson's, One upon Kishecoquillas, and one Near Sideling Hill." Croghan having already fortified his own trading post at Aughwick, this would provide four forts on the frontier of Cumberland County. When Governor Morris and his company arrived at Carlisle about January 10, 1756, Croghan had enlisted men "in a very Expeditious manner, but not so frugally as the Commissioners for disposing of the Publick money thought he might have done."⁷⁰ According to Richard Peters:

It appeared by his Returns y^t he had raised 300 Men, y^t he had in part built a Fort at the Sugar Cabbins on the new Road cut for the Use of Gen^l Braddock, . . . & had left 70 Men there. The Gov^r has since called this Fort after M^r Lyttelton. M^r Croghan's own House at Aucquick distant 20 Miles East of Fort Lyttelton was fortified last Fall; here he had posted 100 Men, & this is named Fort Shirley—At 20 Miles distant Eastward from this another Fort called Fort Granville is laid out at a Place called Coshicoguillas, distant 20 Miles Eastward of Fort Shirley, & here he had posted 50 or 60 Men.⁷¹

In addition, the fort at Patterson's probably was completed or nearly so.⁷²

As noted earlier, the commissioners originally had planned for five blockhouses west of the Susquehanna, garrisoned by 250 men in all. On January 15, 1756, the Governor wrote from Carlisle that

The Commissioners and I have agreed to engage three hundred Men for the Protection of the Western Frontier, who are to be stationed in Five forts, extending from the Sugar Cabins near Sideling Hill to a Place within about twenty Miles of the Sasquehannah, and probably we may order a [sixth] Fort on the West side of that river.⁷³

⁶⁸ *PAI*, II, 542-45, 547-48, 551-56, 563-64.

⁶⁹ Morris to Dinwiddie, February 1, 1756, *ibid.*, 561.

⁷⁰ *Id.* to Governor Charles Hardy, July 5, 1756, *ibid.*, 689-90.

⁷¹ Peters to the Proprietors, February 23, 1756, Gratz Collections, Peters Letter Book.

⁷² "Extract of a Letter from Patterson's Fort, on Juniata, January 28, 1756," *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 5, 1756.

⁷³ Morris to the Council, *CR*, VI, 773-74.

The plan finally adopted, however, provided only four forts. With one exception, these were the forts on which Croghan's men had worked; however, Morris decided to evacuate the fort at Patterson's and ordered Captain James Patterson (on whose land this fort stood) to build a fort farther northeast on Mahantango Creek. The Governor took a special interest in these four Cumberland County forts, and special credit for them; he lost no time in circulating somewhat premature reports of their construction and noted with satisfaction that the garrisons were composed of regularly enlisted men and not (like some of the eastern companies) of militiamen taken into pay.⁷⁴

These Cumberland County forts were more widely separated than those east of the Susquehanna; and, unlike the latter, they lay outside the more settled country, beyond not only the Blue Mountain but also the Tuscarora Mountain. The earlier local defenses following the line of the Cumberland Valley were not supplanted by the Provincial chain as those of Lancaster and Berks counties were, but survived for a time as a separate system with distinct functions. While local forts like those at Carlisle and Shippensburg served as refuges for settlers, the Provincial forts served as military outposts to ward off threatened invasion. This was consistent with the Governor's plan for a fort at Shamokin; even so, these outposts were less advanced than had been proposed by Lieutenant Colonel Adam Stephen, a Virginia officer who on November 9, 1755, had written from Winchester to advise that:

The proper Steps to be taken to secure your Frontiers, are to set about a Chain of Forts directly. One at Ray's Town [Bedford], another in the Fork of the North and south Branch of Juniata [near Huntingdon], some others up Sasquehanna, at the proper Passes. Unless this is done, the pacifick Gentlemen [Quakers] of your Colony will either from Necessity change their Principles, or have their Throats cut.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ *Id.* to *id.*, January 21, 1756, *ibid.*, 776-77; *id.* to Governor Sharpe, January 29, 1756, *PAI*, II, 556-57; *id.* to Governor Dinwiddie, February 1, 1756, *ibid.*, 560-62; *id.* to Governor Hardy, February 2, 1756, *CR*, VII, 10-11; *id.* to Colonel Washington, February 2, 1756, *PAI*, II, 564-65; *id.* to General Shirley, February 9, 1756, *ibid.*, 569-70. The earliest comprehensive list of garrisons, dated February 23, 1756, describes the companies west of the Susquehanna and those of McKee, Smith (Schmitt), and Busse east of the river as "regularly inlisted by the Governor in the Kings Service"; the other companies, it says, were "inlisted, by the Commissioners named in the Act, as Militia." See Pargellis (ed.), *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765*, p. 167.

⁷⁵ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 20, 1755.

By the end of January, 1756, therefore, the Provincial plan of defense relied upon a chain of forts garrisoned by paid troops who were to patrol constantly between the forts. East of the Susquehanna this chain followed the line of the Blue Mountain; west of the river it lay beyond that ridge and was supplemented by the five county forts along the line of the Cumberland Valley. Between and behind these forts were scattered the "private forts" which, without official status or garrison, nevertheless encouraged some of the people to resist rather than to flee. From northeast to southwest the chain, as planned, included four forts in Northampton County: Fort Hamilton (present Stroudsburg), Fort Norris (east of Kresgeville), Fort Allen (Weissport), and Fort Franklin (south of Snyders). The first two of these sites are in present Monroe County, the third in Carbon, and the last in Schuylkill. In Berks County were Fort Lebanon or William (near Auburn, present Schuylkill County), with an outpost at Northkill (near Shartlesville), and Fort Henry (near Bethel). Lancaster County had Fort Swatara (near Lickdale), with an outpost at Manada (near Manada Hill), and Fort Hunter (near Rockville). The first of these places is in present Lebanon County, the others are in Dauphin. In Cumberland County were Fort Pomfret Castle (probably near present Richfield), Fort Granville (near Lewistown), Fort Shirley (Shirleysburg), and Fort Lyttelton (Fort Littleton). Of these four sites, the first is on the present border of Snyder and Juniata counties, the second in Mifflin, the third in Huntingdon, and the last in Fulton.⁷⁶

Up to this point the plan of the forts was purely defensive. It was not until the summer of 1756 that the Province undertook the bolder step of establishing a fort where Sunbury now stands; and by

⁷⁶ Two other lists may be noted for comparison. One by William Franklin is contained in his letter of September 16, 1757, reprinted by the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 8, 1757, from the *Citizen, or General Advertiser* of September 23. This names "Henshaw's Fort on Delaware, Fort Hamilton, Fort Norris, Fort Allen, Fort Franklin, Fort Lebanon, Fort William Henry, Fort Augustus, Fort Halifax, Fort Granville, Fort Shirley, Fort Littleton, and Shippensburg Fort, besides several smaller Stockades and Places of Defence. . . ." This list represents a later date, of course, and introduces some variations in names; most notably it confuses the name of Fort Henry with that of Fort William Henry in New York.

The other list, at least equally familiar, is a purported "disposition of the force" in 1755, furnished by an unidentified contributor and printed in Hazard (ed.), *Register*, IV (1829), 390. This enumerates Fort Loyal Hanna (300 men), Raystown and Cumberland (200 each), Frederick, Juniata, Littleton, and Loudon (100 each), Franklin at Shippensburg and Louther at Carlisle (50 each), Henshaw on Delaware, Hamilton, Norris, Allen, Lebanon, Franklin, William Henry, Augusta, Halifax, and Shirley (all "uncertain"). The complete unreliability of this list, though it seems to derive partly from Franklin's letter, should be obvious.

that date minor changes had been made in the defensive chain itself: In Northampton County secondary posts were set up in an attempt to remedy defects of the original plan; and in Cumberland County, at the other extreme of the line, severe enemy attacks were responsible for revision. Fort Pomfret Castle remained unbuilt.⁷⁷ An additional fort "at an equal Distance between Fort Lyttleton at the Sugar Cabbins & a Maryland Fort near the Northern Bend of Patowmec," was ordered built in February; but in March this order was rescinded and a Provincial garrison placed at McDowell's Mill.⁷⁸

In design, these first Provincial forts were not drastically different from such "private forts" as that devised by John Harris; and some of them were, like the private forts, adaptations of older structures. Their prototype was the "Wooden Fort in the Town of Carlisle," laid out in July, 1755. Although this fort and the one ordered at Shippensburg remained long unfinished, Morris' letter of July 3, 1755, to General Braddock, describing the proposed magazine at McDowell's Mill, reflects the Governor's ideas of fortification: "Inclosed I send you a plan of the fort or stucado, which I shall make by setting Logs of about ten foot long in the ground, so as to inclose the store houses. I think to place two swivel guns in two of the oposite Bastions, which will be sufficient to guard it against any attack of small arms."⁷⁹ Materials other than logs and planks were used sparingly, as when stone was used for fireplaces and wells or when parts of previous buildings were utilized. Fort Henry was remarkable for having the roofs of its buildings "all covered with Tyle."⁸⁰ Croghan's orders in December, 1755, were to build the "Stockadoes" in Cumberland County "Fifty feet Square, with a Block-house on two of the Corners, and a Barrack within, capable of Lodging Fifty men."⁸¹ Franklin's ground plan of Fort Allen, enclosed in a letter of January 25, 1756, presents a similar but larger rectangular structure; and a comparable figure must have accompanied the orders to Captains Busse, Schmitt, Morgan, and McKee in Berks and Lancaster counties, who were instructed to erect

⁷⁷ Morris, orders to Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong, June 14, 1756, *CR*, VII, 161; Armstrong to Denny, November 19, 1756, *PAI*, III, 58.

⁷⁸ Peters to the Proprietors, February 23, 1756, Gratz Collections, Peters Letter Book; Morris, orders to Captain John Potter, March 25, 1756, *PAI*, II, 602.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 372.

⁸⁰ William Parsons, Notes and Observations touching the Returns of the Several Companies . . . , May 28, 1756, Loudoun Papers, Box 24, No. 1189.

⁸¹ Rupp, *History and Topography of Northumberland* . . . , 118; also in *PAI*, II, 536.

stockade forts "of the form and dimensions herewith given you." These captains were to make use of existing buildings if satisfactory, but were cautioned "to take care that there be no hill near it that over looks or commands it, . . . and that there be a Spring or Running stream of water, either in the fort or at least within the command of your guns."⁸² In practice, as surviving descriptions show, there was considerable variation in arrangement, determined by the terrain, the availability of earlier buildings and of building materials, and the ability and industry of the officers and garrisons.

By the spring of 1756 this chapter of Pennsylvania's military history had been written. A province unprepared for the consequences of Braddock's defeat and without a military tradition had established a chain of defense posts along its exposed frontier, raised troops to man these posts, and steadied itself to resist enemy attack. Considerable as these achievements were, however, more remained to be done. The plan to erect a fort at Shamokin, postponed but not abandoned, had yet to be executed to complete the planned system of defenses; and the troops, though raised and stationed, had yet to be organized and brought under military discipline.

⁸² Franklin to [], PR, O, 7, printed somewhat inaccurately in CR, VII, 16; Morris, orders to officers, PAI, II, 552-55, 563-64.

The Pennsylvania Troops

PENNSYLVANIA, which until 1755 had no armed frontier, had likewise never maintained an army. The Province had on demand contributed to British military undertakings, but usually by furnishing money or supplies, thus setting the precedent which it followed in relation to Braddock's campaign in 1755. Less often, Pennsylvania had furnished troops, most notably in 1740, when companies were raised to serve in the West Indies, and in 1746-1747, when four companies were raised to serve in New York under the command of Governor Gooch of Virginia. However, these troops neither served in Pennsylvania nor were under its control, and the Province was reimbursed by the British government for the expense.

Nor had Pennsylvania developed for local and emergency service the usual substitute for paid troops, a general militia. Governor John Evans in 1704 and Governor George Thomas in 1744 had undertaken to establish such organizations, but with no great success; and the Province's first militia act, so called, finally passed on November 25, 1755, was completely inadequate for the purpose.

The formation of Pennsylvania's first body of regularly enlisted, paid troops, as contrasted with unpaid volunteer militia, was made possible by the supply act of November 27, 1755, the same law that provided for the construction of the forts. At first, however, these troops either were militia companies taken into pay or were recruited by officers commissioned by the Governor. The original terms of enlistment were short, both to speed the raising of an adequate force and because it was thought that once the forts were erected some units might be disbanded.

In Northampton County, where the first companies were taken into pay in December, 1755, the Provincial Commissioners began to learn of the difficulties inherent in the hiring of militia companies. The fact that the men chose their own officers made it difficult if not impossible to maintain discipline. Very local in origin, the units were unwilling to serve far from home, especially if for any reason they thought their

own communities in danger. Finally, the militia were of course least numerous on the thinly populated frontiers where the danger was greatest.

The terms on which these first companies entered into service are illustrated by the Provincial Commissioners' agreement with one of the Berks County units, taken into pay at this time:

Establishment of A Company of fifty men Exclusive of Commission officers in the Province of Pensilvania

Captain P ^r Day	0-7-6
Lieuten ^t : D ^o	0:-5-6
Ensign — D ^o	0: 4:0
2 Sergeants P ^r Day Each	0:2
48 private men at six pieces of Eight p ^r Month—	

Allowance of Provisions p^r Week for Each man Viz.

Beef	3 ^{lb}	} 17½ pounds Pr Week & one Gill of Rum p ^r Day—
Pork	3—	
fish	1—	
Bread or Meal ..	10½	

if the fish is not supply^d Beef is to be furnished in Lieu thereof, and if the pork is not Supplyd 4^{lb} of Beef is to be furnished instead of 3^{lb} of Pork

The Province furnishes a Gun ammunition & a Blanket to Each Man to be returnd when the Service is over But as the commissioners Have no arms or Blankets now with them they agree to allow 7/6 for the use of a gun & a Blanket or half that sum for either of them — . — the men to be engaged for three months certain.

Delivered to Christian Bussee Captⁿ 5th Janry 1756

Andrew Angel Lieutent

Jacob Kerne Ensign¹

A week later Benjamin Franklin mustered Captain John Van Etten's company on the same basis, the terms varying only in detail. Since this company consisted of only thirty men, no provision was made for an ensign; the men's pay is given as "Six Dollars P^r Month"; the fish ration is specified as "(mackerel)"; and the rum was to be issued "half to be given in the Morning, and half in the Evening."² At the other extreme in size, the first four companies organized west of the Susquehanna consisted of seventy-five men each.

¹ Draft in clerk's handwriting, PPC.

² *Ibid.*, under date of January 12, 1756. For the texts of other documents relative to the establishment of this company see *PA1*, II, 546-47; *PA5*, I, 38-39.

At the beginning there was no unity of command other than the over-all authority of the Governor. Sketchy traces of a grouping of companies by counties only emphasize the absence of a comprehensive plan. Weiser's commission on October 31 as "Colonel of the Forces that were raised & should be raised" in Berks County, which antedated the raising of paid troops, was continued thereafter, but made no provision for companies stationed in the county but raised elsewhere. Franklin, with a nonmilitary commission to organize the defenses of Northampton County, thought a field officer desirable and appointed William Parsons as major. George Croghan, commissioned a captain, was authorized to organize the defenses in Cumberland County; the appointment of additional captains a month later, in January, 1756, left him simply as senior captain, or major.

The fact that militia taken into pay served under officers chosen by themselves and the want of any law regulating the troops were damaging to discipline. Van Etten's men in January, 1756, simply subscribed to an agreement that "whoever of us shall get drunk, desert, or prove cowardly in Time of Action, or disobedient to our Officers, shall forfeit his Pay." Shortly thereafter, Governor Morris ordered captains to have their men sworn in "by taking the oath of fidelity to his Majesty in the form herewith given you, before some Magistrate having authority to administer the same, and causing the second and sixth Sections of his Majesty's articles of war also herewith, to be read to Each soldier at the time of his Inlistment. . . ."³ The Governor still lacked authority, however, to hold courts-martial.⁴

Passage of "An Act for regulating the Officers and Soldiers Commissionated and raised by the Governor for the Defence of this Province," signed April 15, 1756, and renewed at various later dates, authorized disciplinary measures, but did not prevent lapses.⁵ On June 19 some of Colonel Clapham's recruits mutinied on their way to Shamokin. On August 5 Lieutenant Samuel Allen of Captain Reynolds' company was implicated in a mutiny at Fort Allen; and later this same month Captain Orndt at Fort Norris was faced with mutiny by his garrison and with the insubordination of Lieutenant Anthony Miller, who was stationed at Trucker's Mill. Both Reynolds' and Orndt's companies were militia taken into pay; and it was the

³ Orders to Captain Thomas McKee, [January 26, 1756], *PAI*, II, 563. For the form of the oath, see *PA5*, I, 346.

⁴ Governor Morris to General Shirley, February 9, 1756, *PAI*, II, 570.

⁵ *CR*, VII, 92, 313 (November 4, 1756), 390 (January 18, 1757); VIII, 64 (April 8, 1758).

opinion of Lieutenant Miller "he had as good a Commission as his Capt. and he would not submit to him." On August 25, when Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong had assembled a force at Fort Shirley for his attack on Kittanning, he found the troops discontented: "the commissioners not having been punctual in the payment of the men there was great uneasiness among them upon that score which was too general to admit of harsh treatment especially as their complaints were Just. . . ."⁶

Irregular and tardy payment of the troops, undoubtedly contributory to poor discipline, was a consequence of the unwieldy method of financing the war. The procedure, not peculiar to Pennsylvania, was to entrust disbursements to a group of commissioners chosen from the Assembly on the one hand and from the Council on the other. Each supply act named the commissioners to administer the fund; and the successive groups of these commissioners, powerful while the money lasted but devoid of authority and of responsibility when it was spent, transformed into a three-way dispute the old dissension between Governor and Assembly. Colonel Clapham's force was scarcely established at Shamokin before a misunderstanding arose about his officers' pay. In September, 1756, the Fort Augusta garrison had four months' pay owing them. In November, 1759, the paymaster estimated that by the end of the year the Province would be £26,000 in arrears of pay for officers and men; the Fort Augusta garrison had not then been paid since June, 1758.

The great obstacle to orderly financing of the war was the fact that the Assembly saw in the recurring need for funds opportunities to demand that the Proprietary estates be taxed; and since the governors had the Proprietors' orders to reject such demands, each supply bill furnished occasion for a political battle. Since the dates and amounts of the appropriations are of some importance to the military story, it may not be inappropriate at this point to list briefly (omitting unsuccessful bills) the acts, totaling £490,000, by which Pennsylvania financed its military undertakings.

The emergency grant of £1,000 by the Assembly on August 22, 1755, has been noted in the preceding chapter, as has also the £60,000 act passed on November 27 of that year. This act levied a tax on estates, but avoided a political showdown by exempting the Penn estates in

⁶ Governor Morris to [Thomas Penn], n. d., draft in Gratz Collections, French and Indian Wars, 1756. The draft gives the date as July 25, but it is clear from the context that this is a slip of the pen. The letter was written during Armstrong's absence on the expedition.

consideration of a Proprietary gift of £5,000 toward the amount authorized. The commissioners named by the act were James Hamilton and John Mifflin of the Council and Isaac Norris, Benjamin Franklin, Joseph Fox, John Hughes, and Evan Morgan of the Assembly. The fund was expended between January 14 and July 26, 1756.⁷

An act granting £30,000, signed by Governor Denny on September 21, 1756, levied a tax on liquors. The commissioners, the same as under the previous act except that Lynford Lardner and William Masters replaced Hamilton and Morgan, paid out this money between October 12, 1756, and January 4, 1757.⁸

The third act, passed March 23, 1757, and described as a supplement to the £60,000 act, provided an additional £100,000 and is significant for the fact that it specified the size of the military force as 1,400 men. Among the commissioners, Joseph Galloway and John Baynton replaced Norris and Franklin. The money was expended from March 24 to November 10, 1757.⁹

An act passed April 22, 1758, which exempted the Proprietors' estates, also granted £100,000. The commissioners, the same as under the previous act, disbursed this fund between March 4, 1758, and February 23, 1759.¹⁰

An act granting £100,000 but making no exemption of the Penn lands was signed by Governor Denny on April 17, 1759, on advice of General Amherst and Colonel Stanwix. Thomas Cadwallader replaced Mifflin, and the commissioners spent the money between May 8 and December 15, 1759.¹¹

Finally, for this period, Governor Hamilton on April 12, 1760, signed an act also making a grant of £100,000, to be raised by a tax on estates, not excepting the Proprietors'. It was administered by the same commissioners.¹²

It should be noted that in 1758 and afterward when the Pennsylvania troops served under British command, the Province clothed and paid the men but the Crown either provided arms and ammunition, tents,

⁷ Text printed in *Statutes at Large*, V, 201-12. Report of expenditures in *PA8*, V, 4358-69; see also Commissioners to Morris, August 12, 1756, *PA1*, II, 742-43.

⁸ Text in *Statutes at Large*, V, 243-62. Report of expenditures in *PA8*, V, 4369-75; see also *CR*, VII, 383.

⁹ *Statutes at Large*, V, 294-302; *PA8*, VI, 4865-84.

¹⁰ *Statutes at Large*, V, 337-52; *PA8*, VI, 5050-66.

¹¹ *Statutes at Large*, V, 379-96; *PA8*, VI, 5151-56.

¹² *Statutes at Large*, VI, 7-22.

and provisions or reimbursed the Province for expenditures for these items.¹³

Almost needless to say, the first Pennsylvania troops were not uniformed, and early discussions of the subject were inconclusive. Writing from Philadelphia on February 25, 1757, Captain Busse reported to Lieutenant Colonel Weiser that it had been settled that the men should have green greatcoats, red jackets, and buckskin breeches, but that nothing had been said concerning the officers.¹⁴ After the term of service had been extended and when the provincials were being prepared to serve under General Forbes, steps were taken to remedy this situation. However, these were not immediately effective, and on March 1, 1758, Colonel Burd heard that in Northampton County one of the magistrates had "informed ye soldiers they should not take their Regimentalls, as it only putts money in their officers pocketts."¹⁵ Shortly after this, when the "new levies" for the Forbes campaign were raised, George Stevenson wrote from York on May 8: "Must the men buy green Cloathing? I fear this will hurt us much. I think linnen Stockings, red below the Knee, Petticoat Trousers, reaching to the thick of the Leg, made of strong Linnen, and a Sailor's Frock made of the same, would be best. Young men that have Cloathing, (especially Dutch) will not like to lay out their Money for more."¹⁶ Informed, however, of General Forbes' wishes "that all the new Levies be cloathed in the same Uniform with those already raised in the Counties of Bucks Philad^a & Chester," who wore "short green Coats, lapell'd with the same," Stevenson acted promptly to carry out these wishes.¹⁷

Shortly after this, however, Colonel Bouquet brought Forbes to a different point of view. Commenting in a letter of June 21 on the difficulty in procuring Indian scouts, Bouquet suggested jokingly that an alternate course might be "to make Indians of part of our provincial soldiers. They are very willing. . . . It would only be necessary to remove their coats and breeches, which will delight them; give them moccasins and blankets; cut off their hair and daub them with

¹³ William Pitt to Governor Denny, December 30, 1757, *CR*, VIII, 28; *id.* to *id.*, December 29, 1758, *ibid.*, 288; *id.* to Governor Hamilton, January 7, 1760, *ibid.*, VIII, 451-52; Egremont to *id.*, December 12, 1761, *ibid.*, 678-79.

¹⁴ Conrad Weiser Papers, Correspondence, II, 38, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The original is in German. Cited hereafter as Conrad Weiser Correspondence.

¹⁵ Burd Journal, *PAI*, III, 356.

¹⁶ Stevenson to R. Peters, *PAI*, III, 392.

¹⁷ *Id.* to Bouquet, June 2, 1758, *Bouquet Papers*, II, 7.

paint. . . ."¹⁸ Forbes liked the idea, and Bouquet was also encouraged by the Virginians. Colonel Washington wrote from Fort Cumberland to recommend Indian dress: "nothing but the uncertainty of its taking with the General causes me to hesitate a moment at leaving my Regimentals at this place, and proceeding as light as any Indian in the Woods."¹⁹ When two hundred Virginia troops appeared at Raystown in this garb, Bouquet assured Washington that "Their dress should be our pattern in this expedition";²⁰ three days later, on July 14, he wrote again, reporting that "It takes very well here, and thank God, we See nothing but Shirts and Blanketts, &c."²¹ It seems probable that many of the provincials were in fact as delighted as Bouquet had predicted to escape from military uniforms.

The size of the Provincial forces during the years 1756-1762 varied greatly. In December, 1755, the commissioners had contemplated a force of 500 men; but by the time of the first inclusive return, dated February, 1756, the number had almost doubled, to 919. Of these, 389 were in Northampton County; there were four companies, rated at 180 men, in Berks and Lancaster; and five companies, totaling 350 men, were stationed in Cumberland.²² Enlistment of more than 400 men for the Shamokin expedition brought the forces to full strength. An estimate of expenses submitted on November 24, 1756, assumed a total of 1,404 officers and men;²³ and the figure was fixed by the £100,000 Supply Act of March 23, 1757, which specified "eleven hundred men, officers included, to be employed as ranging companies on the frontiers of this province and for making incursions upon the enemy, and three hundred men to remain in garrison."²⁴ A return of June 1, 1757, shows an actual total at that date of 1,019 officers and men, including only 103 at Fort Augusta, where rumors of an enemy attack had induced most of the garrison to leave at the end of their term of enlistment.²⁵

The Assembly's resolution of February 15, 1758, to reduce the forces to 700 men (seven companies of 100 men each), amended a week later

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 124; see also Forbes to Bouquet, June 27, 1758, *ibid.*, 136.

¹⁹ Washington to *id.*, July 3, 1758, *ibid.*, 159.

²⁰ Bouquet to Washington, July 11, 1758, *ibid.*, 183; also in Hamilton (ed.), *Letters to Washington*, II, 354.

²¹ *Id.* to *id.*, *Bouquet Papers*, II, 206; also in *Letters to Washington*, II, 361. See also Washington to Bouquet, July 13, 1758, *Bouquet Papers*, II, 203.

²² Pargellis (ed.), *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765*, pp. 166-67. There is a rough draft of this return in Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, VIII, 59.

²³ *PAI*, III, 61-62.

²⁴ *Statutes at Large*, V, 301.

²⁵ Loudoun Papers, Box 85, No. 3769.

to 1,000 men, was not put into effect. Informed of the campaign proposed for that year, the legislators voted on March 23 to increase the forces to 2,700 by enlisting new levies for the duration of the campaign. These forces served under the command of General Forbes in conjunction with British regulars and with contingents from other colonies. On December 23 the Assembly voted to continue the 1,400 old troops in service, and the new levies were paid off.²⁶

The Assembly on March 15, 1759, again authorized a force of 2,700 for the year's campaign; but on December 7, at the close of the campaign, it voted to continue only 150 men in service. On February 28, 1760, a force of 2,700 was for the third time authorized; but at the end of this year no provision was made for continuing any provincials in service.²⁷

Governor Hamilton informed the Assembly on January 8, 1761, that 150 men remained undischarged, half of them detained at the new British posts of Presque Isle and Le Boeuf, the others stationed at Fort Augusta and Fort Allen; but the Assembly declined to pay the former for their extra service and requested that the men at the two Provincial forts be paid off at once. The Governor refused to evacuate Fort Augusta, however; and the dispute was adjusted when the Assembly agreed on February 5 to maintain a garrison of thirty men until September 10. The only force provided for field operations this year consisted of three hundred men, authorized March 12 to serve until November 25 on the communication to Pittsburgh.²⁸

The Assembly agreed on March 11, 1762, to pay 1,000 officers and men until November 25; but the supply bill to provide for this force contained provisions objectionable to the Governor and was rejected. Despite this failure, however, and despite the Indian demand in August, 1762, that Fort Augusta be evacuated, the Governor continued a small garrison at this place until the renewal of Indian hostilities in 1763.²⁹

The form of organization as well as the size of the Pennsylvania forces varied during this period. Effective organization of the forces, superseding the rather sketchy county grouping, dates from the spring of 1756, when Governor Morris dealt first with the problem of supply and pay of the troops and then with the matter of field officers.

²⁶ *PA8*, VI, 4729, 4733-34, 4755-56, 4914.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 4947, 5081-82, 5110, 5161-62.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 5169-72, 5177-79, 5186-87, 5218.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 5322; *CR*, VIII, 753, 768.

In the former sphere, Elisha Saltar was commissioned on March 28, as "Commissary General of the Musters for the Province of Pennsylvania," an office which he filled until May 11, when James Young succeeded him.³⁰ Under the general supervision of this officer, the garrisons were supplied by various local contractors. At the beginning of 1758, for example, two commissaries serviced the troops in Northampton County: Samuel Dupui supplied the garrison at his own house and that at Dietz's, and Jacob Levan supplied the remaining five. In Berks and Lancaster, Jonas Seely supplied Fort William, Conrad Weiser and his sons supplied Fort Henry, and Barnabas Hughes looked after Fort Swatara and Fort Hunter. Peter Bard served as commissary for Fort Augusta, and Adam Hoops and William Buchanan supplied the posts west of the Susquehanna.³¹

The problem of command was next dealt with. On March 29 William Clapham, whom Franklin had left in command in Northampton County, was commissioned colonel of the Pennsylvania forces, with the immediate responsibility of raising the eight-company battalion which was to be sent to Shamokin.³² Somewhat later the companies patrolling the defense line were organized into separate battalions: On May 5 Lieutenant Colonel Conrad Weiser was commissioned to command the companies east of the Susquehanna, and on May 11 Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong was given the command west of the river. The forces constituted a single Pennsylvania Regiment of three battalions—Weiser's 1st, Armstrong's 2d, and Clapham's own 3d, which were numbered in the order in which the troops had been raised rather than according to the dates of the commanders' commissions. William Parsons was recommissioned major in Weiser's 1st Battalion; and James Burd, transferred from Cumberland County, was promoted to the same rank in Clapham's 3d.³³

³⁰ Instructions to Elisha Saltar . . . , *PAI*, II, 604-605; Orders and Instructions to James Young, Esquire, *CR*, VII, 162-63.

³¹ *PAI*, III, 48, 340; *PA5*, I, 62.

³² The date of Clapham's commission to command in Northampton County is not known, but it must have coincided with Franklin's departure in the first days of February, 1756. Franklin refers to him as "Captain Clapham" in a letter of January 31. Smyth (ed.), *Writings*, 327-28. The Moravian Diarium Bethlehem calls him "Colonel Clapham" in an entry of February 18, and Governor Morris addressed him as "Coll. Clapham" in a letter of March 8. For the date of his general commission see *PA5*, I, 70.

³³ *Ibid.* The organization as a three-battalion regiment appears in a rough unpublished return in PPC, apparently utilized in the compilation printed in *PA5*, I, 42-47.

A subsequent division of the forces into two regiments—the 1st Pennsylvania, or Augusta Regiment, comprising Clapham's battalion and the 2d Pennsylvania including the other two—produced some anomalies. The former was left without a lieutenant colonel, and after Clapham's resignation in March, 1757, fell under the command of a major, and the latter had no colonel but was divided between two lieutenant colonels. Despite these changes, the basic division into three battalions, essentially on a territorial basis, survived until the beginning of 1758.³⁴

The expense estimate of November 24, 1756, envisioned each of the three battalions as comprising seven companies of foot and one of horse; and it supposed a company to contain three commissioned and four noncommissioned officers, a drummer, and fifty rank and file. The return of June 1, 1757, presents the actual arrangement: The Augusta Regiment and Armstrong's battalion with eight companies each, and Weiser's battalion with nine; a company consisting of three commissioned officers (captain, lieutenant, ensign) and a quota of fifty-three men, including two sergeants.³⁵ In a company captained by a field officer, active command devolved upon the subaltern, identified as a captain lieutenant; Lieutenant Colonel Weiser's company, for example, was led by his son Captain Lieutenant Samuel Weiser.

William Denny, who assumed the governorship on August 20, 1756, undertook to replace former militia officers with men regularly commissioned; and after a fiasco at Fort Augusta in the spring of 1757, when the greater part of the garrison, their time having expired, declined to re-enlist and left the post dangerously undermanned, he ordered that the men were to be enlisted for three years.³⁶ Unfortunately, Denny's temperament exasperated many of his associates and, aggravating the political muddle, robbed his intended reforms of much of their effectiveness. The regulation, though a sound one, was made when the forces were somewhat depleted, and it slowed recruiting. Accordingly, as a stopgap the commissioners authorized on May 18 the enlisting of the equivalent of three three-month companies (159 men) east of the Susquehanna and on July 21 the equivalent of one such company at Marsh Creek, then in York County; and these men were

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 62-63, 70-71, the earlier return being on the later pages. Morris to Loudoun, August 13, 1756, describes the forces as consisting of two regiments. Loudoun Papers, Box 33, No. 1479.

³⁵ *PAI*, III, 61-62; Loudoun Papers, Box 85, No. 3769.

³⁶ Denny to the Proprietors, April 9, 1757, *PAI*, III, 117.

assigned to garrison duty while the regular troops were being recruited to full strength.³⁷

In December, 1757, a plan was drafted for reorganizing the troops into a single Pennsylvania Regiment of two battalions, with Governor Denny as colonel (and nominally captain of Clapham's former company) and Weiser and Armstrong as lieutenant colonels.³⁸ However, the plan had to be revised in consequence of Weiser's resignation.

Put into effect in January, 1758, in slightly different form, the reorganization named the Governor as colonel, and Armstrong and Burd as lieutenant colonels. Armstrong's force, now the 1st Battalion, comprised thirteen companies, including eight west of the Susquehanna and five east of the river (one of the latter, formerly Captain Schmitt's, now being regarded as the Governor's company); Burd's 2d Battalion included the eight companies of the old Augusta Regiment and four from the line east of the river.³⁹ This arrangement, which in effect divided Weiser's old battalion between the other two, disrupted the territorial plan of organization and to that extent facilitated reassignment of the troops.

The new levies, authorized March 23, 1758, to increase the forces to 2,700 men, constituted twenty-three companies of foot, sixteen of which were erected into a new 3d Battalion, while the other seven were assigned to the older groups. In each of the old battalions one company was replaced by a troop of light horse. Thus, for the duration of the Forbes campaign the Pennsylvania Regiment consisted of three battalions, each of sixteen companies. The Governor now was designated commander in chief, and the battalions' field officers were, respectively, Colonel Armstrong, Lieutenant Colonel Hance Hamilton, and Major Jacob Orndt; Colonel Burd, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Lloyd, and Major David Jameson; and Colonel Hugh Mercer, Lieutenant Colonel Patrick Work, and Major George Armstrong. These officers of the new 3d Battalion were experienced men promoted from

³⁷ Commissioners to Denny, *ibid.*, 161, 236.

³⁸ *PA5*, I, 88-91. Colonel Stanwix had in a letter of October 24, 1757, expressed his approval of the reorganization (*PA1*, III, 302); and on December 7 Denny wrote Major James Burd that "I never proposed to have a Colonel to the Augusta Regiment after Colonel Clapham's Resignation. The Three Battalions will be reduced to two and form one Regiment, the Officers to rank according to the dates of their Commissions." Shippen Family Papers, III, 105.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 105-109.

the old battalions, Mercer from major in the 1st, Work from captain in the 2d, and Armstrong from captain in the 1st.⁴⁰

The Governor's honorary rank had no bearing on actual command. All troops on the campaign, whether regular or provincial, and from whatever province, were under General Forbes' command. One obstruction to harmonious co-operation of such disparate units, and a recurring cause of dissensions, had been removed by a royal order of December 30, 1757, according to which provincial officers not above the rank of colonel retained their positions when serving with regular troops, except that regulars of the same rank took precedence.⁴¹ It was of course because of this that the commanders of the Pennsylvania battalions were in 1758 designated colonels. It was Forbes, not Governor Denny, who assigned Major Orndt, a Provincial officer, to command the Pennsylvania troops left in garrison at Fort Augusta and at the lesser posts east of the Susquehanna.⁴²

When the new levies were discharged near the end of the year, the 3d Battalion disappeared and its field officers resumed their former status. There remained the 1st Battalion of thirteen companies commanded by Colonel Armstrong, Lieutenant Colonel Mercer, and Major Hamilton; and the 2d Battalion of twelve companies under Colonel Burd, Lieutenant Colonel Lloyd, and Major Joseph Shippen.⁴³

For the campaign of 1759, the 3d Battalion was reconstituted, and the list of field officers was similar to that of the previous year: 1st Battalion, Armstrong, Lloyd, and Orndt; 2d Battalion, Burd, Shippen, and Jameson; and 3d Battalion, Mercer, Work, and Edward Ward.⁴⁴

At the end of 1759, however, only 150 troops were retained in service, and these were by Governor Hamilton's order organized in three companies, each composed of three commissioned officers, two sergeants,

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 128-32, 177-85. On May 31, 1758, Joseph Shippen wrote Burd that "It was first determined to divide the Pennsylvania Troops into 4 battalions; but it seems probable now, they will consist only of 3—This Matter, nor the Number of field officers is not yet settled." *Ibid.*, 169. Forbes wrote Bouquet, June 3, 1758, that "the Governr has formed the province troops into three regt" (*Bouquet Papers*, II, 39); and since the battalion commanders had been made colonels the term *regiment* was technically correct. The promotions were primarily to give the Pennsylvania field officers equal status with those of other corps, and in practice the Pennsylvania units remained battalions of a single regiment.

⁴¹ Pitt to Denny, December 30, 1757, *CR*, VIII, 27-28; received by Denny March 7, 1758.

⁴² Sir John St. Clair to Bouquet, June 30, 1758, *Bouquet Papers*, II, 153; Forbes to *id.*, July 11, 1758, *ibid.*, 184; Orndt to Denny, July 21, 1758, *PAI*, III, 487.

⁴³ *PA5*, I, 271-74.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 298.

a drummer, and forty-four privates.⁴⁵ Armstrong's subsequent resignation left Colonel Burd the ranking Provincial officer and commander of this abbreviated force.

When in 1760 the forces were for the third and last time expanded to 2,700 men, almost an entire regiment had therefore to be created, though most of the officers were men of previous experience. An innovation of this year was the increase of the companies to one hundred men each. The Pennsylvania Regiment thus revived consisted of two battalions, one of fourteen companies under Burd, Work, and Asher Clayton, and one of thirteen companies under Mercer, George Armstrong, and Thomas Smallman.⁴⁶

The three hundred men authorized in 1761 to serve on the line of communication to Fort Pitt consisted of five companies under the command of Colonel Burd. From the termination of their service on November 25, 1761, until 1763, the Province had no military force other than a small guard maintained by the Governor at Fort Augusta.⁴⁷

It is at once apparent how closely the fluctuations in Provincial military strength conform to and reflect the general military situation. The inclusive dates of this military establishment, continuous from 1755 to 1760 (disregarding the small and temporary contingent raised in 1761), span the period from the first enemy attack on Pennsylvania to the French surrender of Canada. It is equally apparent, on the other hand, that these dates are not those of the official period of conflict, which began with the British formal declaration of war on May 17, 1756, and closed with the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

It is true, certainly, that the war began before 1755 and that its course may be traced from the French troops' first landing at Presqu'isle (present Erie) in June, 1753, from their forcible if bloodless eviction of Virginia troops from the Forks of Ohio (present Pittsburgh) on April 17, 1754, from the subsequent armed clashes with Washington's Virginians on May 28 and July 4, or from the defeat of Braddock's British army on July 9, 1755; however, Pennsylvania was not directly involved in any of these events; and although they all took place within its present boundaries, the Province as a whole remained, as it seems now, strangely indifferent to all except the last.

⁴⁵ Hamilton to Burd, January 7, 1760, Shippen Family Papers, V, 3. One company was divided between Fort Loudoun and Fort Lyttelton; two were assigned to Fort Augusta and Fort Allen, with half a company at the latter place.

⁴⁶ *PA5*, I, 311-14.

⁴⁷ R. Peters to E. Shippen, March 19, 1761, Shippen Family Papers, V, 135.

Even then, it was the consequences of Braddock's defeat, rather than the event itself, that shocked Pennsylvania settlers and legislators out of their accustomed security and unwillingness to provide for their own safety. It was the Indian massacre at Penns Creek on October 16, 1755, a minor attack statistically, that brought home to Pennsylvania the hostility of the long-peaceful Indians and the unavailability of any British force to protect the Province from this new and unexpected enemy.

Within the 1755-1760 life of the Pennsylvania military establishment, two overlapping phases are recognizable. The first of these, during which the Province maintained a permanent force of 1,400 men, extended to 1759 and ended with the French evacuation of their posts in western Pennsylvania; the second phase, characterized by a seasonal fluctuation in the size of the forces, began in 1758 and covered the period during which provincials served as part of the combined forces commanded by British generals.

It was in the first part of the period, during the years 1755-1758, when reasons of over-all strategy required Pennsylvania to bear the burden of its own defense, that the Provincial forts were most important. At the beginning of 1758 nine companies garrisoned eleven posts on a line between the Delaware and the Susquehanna, and eight others were stationed at Fort Augusta; but in that year the garrisons were sharply reduced and some of the posts were evacuated, so that by July this same area was guarded by the equivalent of eight companies, half at Fort Augusta.⁴⁸ A year and a half later, at the beginning of 1760, only two companies (one hundred men) remained, one-and-a-half companies at Fort Augusta and a half-company at Fort Allen.

Even in the years before 1758, Pennsylvania was not wholly deprived of British aid. Governor Morris' first request for the help of British troops came to nothing; for the remnants of Braddock's army, which the Governor wished to have stationed in Cumberland County, were too demoralized for further active service and were ordered to New York. On December 22, however, Morris, then in New York, made a second appeal, this time for troops to support the newly organizing provincials, and this time General Shirley granted the request.⁴⁹

Shirley's detachment, numbering three officers and ninety-five men, drawn from the independent companies and the grenadiers of the 50th

⁴⁸ *PAI*, III, 339-40; *PA5*, I, 241.

⁴⁹ Loudoun Papers, Box 15, No. 705.

Regiment, arrived on January 6, 1756, at Philadelphia, where it came under the command of Captain Thomas Jocelyn of the 50th Regiment. Governor Morris, out directing the erection of the new Provincial defenses, wrote from Carlisle on January 15 to order the independent troops under Lieutenant William Ogilvie to be posted at Easton and the grenadiers under Lieutenant William Spearing at Reading. They remained at these posts somewhat less than two months, being ordered back to New York by March 15.⁵⁰

Later this same year Shirley's successor, Lord Loudoun, lent an engineer, Lieutenant Elias Meyer of the 60th (Royal American) Regiment, to Morris' successor, Governor Denny. In October Meyer accompanied the Governor and some of the commissioners to Cumberland County, where he made recommendations for revamping the defenses; and he went then to Fort Augusta, where he drew up plans for improving the fortifications there.⁵¹

In the following year Loudoun agreed to station half of the 1st Battalion of the Royal American Regiment in Cumberland County. Accordingly, on May 30, 1757, Colonel John Stanwix arrived at Carlisle, where the first five companies of his battalion constructed an entrenched camp just northeast of the town.⁵² In September Loudoun sent the entire 2d Battalion also. Seven of the companies arrived at Carlisle on September 22; on Stanwix' advice, two of the others were stationed at Reading and the third was divided between Lancaster and York for recruiting service.⁵³ When these companies went into winter quarters in November, the five companies of the 1st Battalion were placed at Lancaster, and the 2d Battalion was divided between Reading and York.⁵⁴

This British support in 1757 is distinguished both by its size and by the fact that it was something of a prelude to General Forbes' campaign of the following year; but neither it nor the lesser help that preceded it materially alters the fact that from 1755 until 1758 military operations in Pennsylvania were essentially Provincial undertakings.

⁵⁰ For documents relating to the service of these troops, see *CR*, VI, 774-75; *PAI*, II, 556-57, 577, 585, 587, 596-97; III, 90 (undated and printed out of correct order).

⁵¹ For Meyer's services see *ibid.*, 9-14, 47-49, 58; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 7 and 21, 1756.

⁵² Denny to the Proprietors, April 10, 1757, *PAI*, III, 119; Armstrong to Denny, June 2, 1757, *ibid.*, 173; *id.* to *id.*, June 30, 1757, *ibid.*, 203.

⁵³ Loudoun to Denny, September 7, 1757, Loudoun Papers, Box 98, No. 4419; Stanwix to Colonel Joseph Desseaux, September 10, 1757, *ibid.*, Box 98, No. 4443.

⁵⁴ Loudoun to Denny, October 31, 1757, *ibid.*, Box 104, No. 4722; Rev. Michael Schlatter to Loudoun, February 4, 1758, *ibid.*, Box 119, No. 5538.

Remarkable as Pennsylvania's military effort was—the more remarkable in a province with no previous experience in defending its own territory—the fact remains that it represented a change of policy from nonmilitarism to defense, but not to one of attack. The outstanding and essential feature of Pennsylvania's military program was the defensive chain of forts along the margin of the settled part of the Province, and only two significant military undertakings went farther afield.

The first of these, of course, was the establishment of Fort Augusta, a fort appreciably larger than Fort Duquesne, which it resembled. French apprehensions to the contrary, however, Fort Augusta was only a more advanced defense, poorly situated for an offensive against the French though well enough placed for guarding the settled country behind it. The other undertaking, the raid on Kittanning in the late summer of 1756, was Pennsylvania's only planned attack during this war on an enemy force; and it is remarkable not only because it succeeded but also because it stood alone.

This defensive policy, dictated by military inexperience and by a pacifist tradition, accounts for most of the anomalous features of Pennsylvania's military effort. It explains why this Province, though it maintained a force numerically equal to the French army on the Ohio, took no military action against the enemy, but dissipated this force among a number of border posts. It explains why French and Pennsylvania troops met so rarely face to face. It explains why the largest Provincial garrison was stationed at a fort intended for defense only, where it expended most of its energy in providing itself with shelter and provisions.

During this same period, it is true, the French also sought primarily to maintain their established positions. They, however, had already achieved their objectives and by difficult and costly campaigns had established themselves in a region where English influence had been strong. Furthermore, the French maintained themselves in that region in spite of their limited colonial resources and of the difficulties involved in transporting troops and supplies the long distance from their Canadian headquarters.

An important factor in French success was their effective employment of Indians. By using these irregular auxiliaries, accompanied and encouraged by a few of their own men, the French were able to terrorize and devastate large areas of the frontier and to hold the English provinces on the defensive. They were able to do this, moreover, with

little fear of retaliation; for the French themselves had no real settlers in the area and no problem of defending civilians.

On the other hand, the French-dominated territories had a relatively larger Indian population than the lands controlled by the English. The Iroquois, who would seem to furnish an exception to this statement, actually played an equivocal role. Their League as such was neutral, but the component groups were relatively free to go their own ways so long as they provoked no internal conflict. The Mohawks, most eastern and most pro-British of the Six Nations, were a small group numerically; the Senecas, by far the largest member of the confederacy, had close ties with the French and sheltered hostile Indians who fled from Pennsylvania. It is true that many of the French allies were warriors brought from Canada and from the country about the Lakes and toward the Mississippi; but a critical point was the French success among the Indians of the upper Ohio, whose background was one of generally friendly relations with the English.

The French achieved this success largely through economic devices; for, once the English traders had been driven from the Ohio country, the Indians had perforce to turn to the French for the trade goods on which they had come to depend. The French were exceedingly fortunate in their defeat of Braddock, not alone because of the military advantage so gained, but also because of the impression made on the Indians by the unimagined wealth of booty. It is worth noting in this connection that in the plunder of settlers' homes Indian raiders probably found a further substitute for the disrupted trade.

Moreover, the French played on the Indians' pride and on their lively reaction to grievances. The Indians resident on the upper Ohio, mostly immigrants from farther east, were of course conscious of their loss of lands and power, and although their relations with the Pennsylvania settlers had been generally amicable, they were sensitive to reminders of real or fancied injuries. These Indians' slighter contacts with the French, on the other hand, had provided less occasion for such resentment. In time the French lost much of these advantages, as difficulties of supply restricted their trade with the Indians, as no subsequent windfall provided a sequel to Braddock's defeat, as frontier raids became more difficult and less rewarding, and as the French made their own contributions to the Indian treasury of grievances.

In Pennsylvania, at least, the outbreak of hostilities found the frontier settlers inexperienced in defense. Far removed from the romantic picture of hardy woodsmen habitually rifle-in-hand, the

endangered settlers appealed at once for guns and ammunition. "Not a Man in Ten is able to purchase a Gun," the Reverend Thomas Barton wrote on July 30, 1755, from Huntington (in present Adams County). "Not a House in Twenty has a Door with either Lock or Bolt to it."⁵⁵ The Indians told James Smith "that the white people appeared to them like fools; they could neither guard against surprise, run, or fight."⁵⁶

No Indian attacks were made in any considerable force; for the Indians were not a numerous people, and the warriors relied upon surprise rather than upon strength for their success. The attackers generally avoided the Provincial forts and troops, and most of their victims were poorly armed or defenseless civilians. In their immediate effect the raids were more a succession of individual and neighborhood tragedies than military encounters, and scarcely any of them can be accorded individual notice in a history of the period.

Reports made about the end of November, 1757, list 318 persons killed east of the Susquehanna, including 22 soldiers and 14 members of volunteer parties,⁵⁷ and 174 west of the river, including 48 officers and men. These figures do not tell the full story, however; and Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong, reporting the losses west of the Susquehanna, added the significant fact that in Cumberland County 374 plantations had been abandoned beyond the Blue Mountain and 554 within the longer settled Cumberland Valley.⁵⁸

Military casualties were in fact notably light during the period between the establishment of the defense line early in 1756 and the campaign which began in the summer of 1758. At Fort Augusta during the ten-month period from December 8, 1756, to October 14, 1757, seven men were killed and five wounded in three separate Indian attacks on February 26, June 9, and June 23; five men deserted; and eight men died, four in February and four between August 13 and October 1.⁵⁹ At this same fort, during the three-month period from

⁵⁵ Barton to R. Peters, Peters Manuscripts, IV, 36.

⁵⁶ William M. Darlington (ed.), *An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the Life and Travels of Col. James Smith . . .*, 47.

⁵⁷ Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 107 ff. As printed in *PMHB*, XXXII (1908), 309-19, Adam Reed's report for Hanover Township is omitted. The reports contain a few duplications, but it is probable that some casualties were missed.

⁵⁸ Armstrong to Peters, November 25, 1757, Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, VIII, 285.

⁵⁹ Burd Journal at Fort Augusta. The major portion, December 8, 1756-October 14, 1757, is printed in *PA2*, II, 745-820 (1876 ed.); an additional fragment, October 14-November 21, 1757, is preserved in manuscript in Shippen Family Papers.

December 18, 1757, to March 25, 1758, five men died and five more deserted.⁶⁰ The garrison here numbered 289 officers and men on December 9, 1756, fell to 103 in June, 1757, and rose again to 350 by January 1, 1758.

The discrepancy between military and civilian casualties, actually the consequence of Indian methods of warfare, was of course open to misinterpretation. In a message dated September 28, 1757, the Assembly, replying to Governor Denny's request for an adequate militia law, assailed the Provincial troops as expensive and ineffectual:

what Service has been done by those Troops? What Protection has the Province received from them? Have they relieved the Frontier Inhabitants from the insupportable Burthens of keeping watch Night and Day at their own Expençe? Or has a single Indian been killed or taken Prisoner by them, tho' our enemies have been continually committing Depredations on the Frontier, and constantly murdering the People?⁶¹

In defense, Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong wrote to the *Pennsylvania Gazette* a letter which described the service of the troops under his command:

such of the Provincial Forces as his Honour the Governor has been pleased to station to the Westward of the *Susquehannah*, have been, this Summer, active against the Enemy, by scouring the Woods, as often as the Soldiers were capable of that Duty; by sending out Parties to *Ray's Town*; by keeping out Spies so far as the *Allegheny Hills*, and sometimes even to the Waters of *Yohiogane*; and by being particularly diligent in covering the People on this Frontier during the whole of their Harvest; for which Purpose, near twenty different Parties were detached from the four Garrisons in this County; and Divine Providence was pleased so far to favour their Endeavours, that no Inhabitant, on this Frontier, has fallen into the Enemies Hands where Soldiers were stationed; whereby it is highly probable that a great Number of Lives have been saved, which, without the Benefit of the Guards, and great Care of the Centinels, would, no Doubt, have fallen an easy Prey to a skulking Enemy; as did the two unfortunate Parties in *Cessny's* and *Steenson's* Fields, who refused to join in Partnership with their Neighbours, where they might have had the Benefit of the common Guards.⁶² These several

⁶⁰ Shippen Journal at Fort Augusta, Shippen Family Papers.

⁶¹ *CR*, VII, 744.

⁶² See Armstrong to Denny, July 25, 1757, and enclosed list of casualties, *PAI*, III, 219-20, 239-41.

Services, among many others, tho' not the most considerable among military Operations, will, we hope, appear so necessary in the Eyes of all unprejudiced Persons, as to acquit the Second Battalion of being a useless Burthen to the Publick.⁶³

Between the attack and the defense lies considerable truth. The presence of the troops undoubtedly discouraged many an Indian attack, but the troops could not be everywhere; and the Pennsylvania policy of defense, which the Assembly itself showed no desire to alter, left the Indians free to continue their attacks upon the unwary and the unprotected.

It is in their cumulative impact—in the extent to which they determined the character of the war and the military policies of the provincial governments, in their disruption of the frontier settlements with the attendant destruction of buildings and crops as well as of lives, and in their effect upon frontier temperament and outlook—that these Indian attacks become historically significant. Their effectiveness is manifest in all the records of the time. The Indian warriors may appear only fleetingly in the accounts of the Provincial forts, but the threat of their forays fell like a shadow across the frontiers; and although the official enemy was France, it was with good reason that colonists thought of the conflict as the French and Indian War.⁶⁴

⁶³ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 13, 1757.

⁶⁴ For a lively and discerning account of frontier war in general, see John K. Mahon, "Anglo-American Methods of Indian Warfare, 1676-1794," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XLV (1958), 254-75.

CHAPTER SEVEN

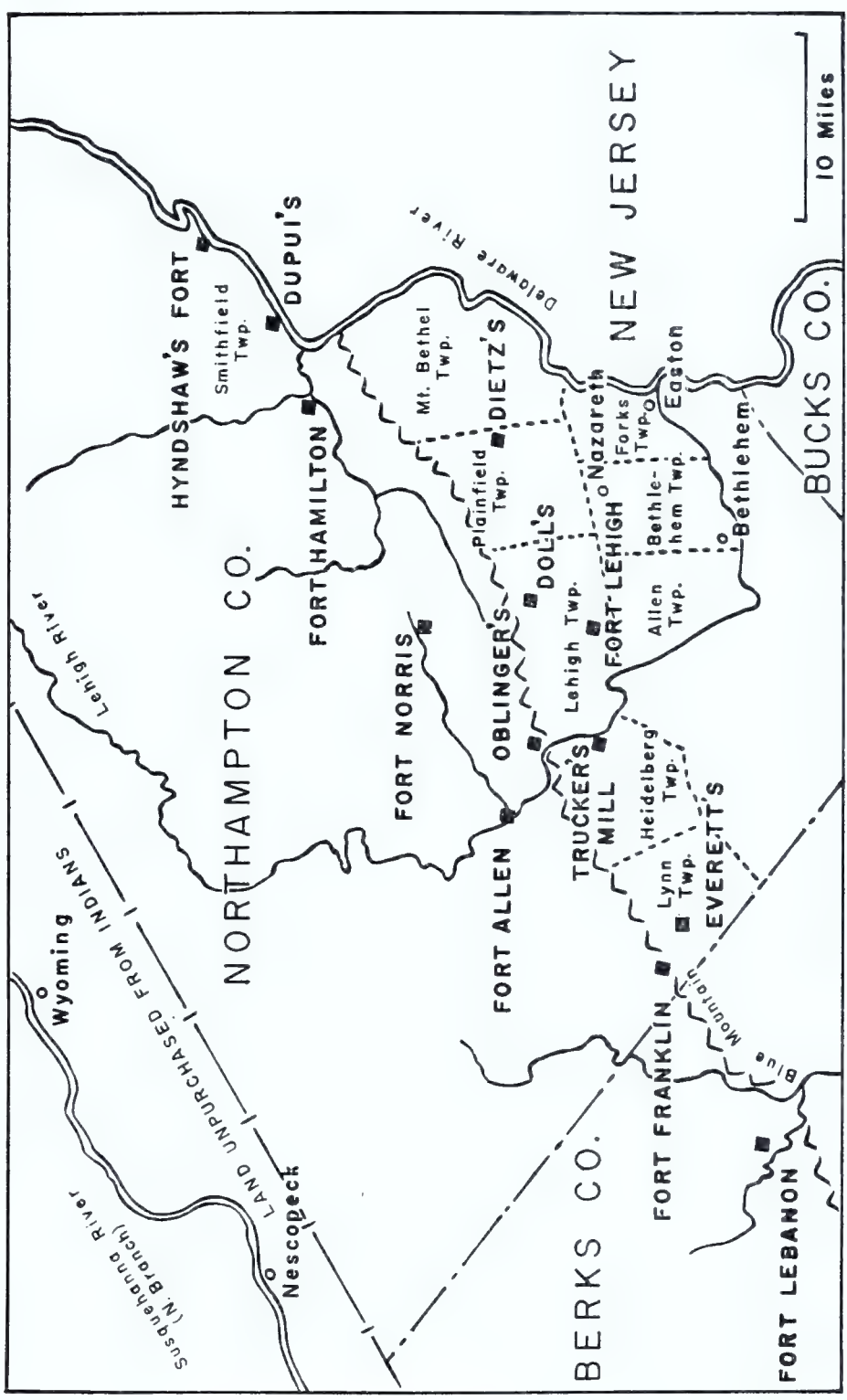
Provincial Forts in Northampton County

THE FOUR FORTS intended for Northampton County were planned by the Provincial Commissioners and subsequently were named for some of the commissioners and their associates. The arrangements made in December, 1755, for construction of three of the forts, those later called Fort Hamilton, Fort Norris, and Fort Allen, were disrupted by the defeat suffered by Captain William Hays's company at Gnadenhütten on January 1, 1756; and the actual establishment of the four forts was accomplished under Franklin's supervision in January. All four forts lay north of the Blue Mountain, evenly spaced between the Delaware and the Schuylkill in accordance with the concept of the forts as guard posts in a defensive line held by constant patrols.

This plan, it is clear, did not have full approval of the county people, who wanted the garrisons posted among the settlements. Some of the settlers lived along the river above the Delaware Water Gap and beyond the line of the forts; and the settlers below the Gap would have preferred the forts to be south, rather than north, of the Blue Mountain. As Governor Morris interpreted the commissioners' report, the people would not be satisfied "unless every Man's House was protected by a Fort and a Company of Soldiers."¹ To have satisfied the settlers, a defense line half again as long as that planned by the commissioners would have been necessary; nevertheless, until the forts could be built and the line of patrols established, the claims of the settlers to protection had considerable validity.

However, as the officials were to learn, the Northampton part of the defensive system had serious defects. The line of defense was direct and economical, but communicated poorly with the settled parts of the Province; and, in addition, these forts seem to have been none too well constructed. Finally, recognition of the lesser military significance of this part of the frontier and the hit-and-run nature of most of the

¹ Morris to the Council, Reading, January 5, 1756, *CR*, VI, 771-72.



FORTS IN NORTHAMPTON COUNTY

Indian raids (which the patrols were unable to prevent) rendered doubtful the necessity or value of such defenses as were at first erected. Of the four original forts, Fort Franklin was abandoned in November, 1756, and Hamilton and Norris were ordered evacuated in September, 1757. Fort Allen, the remaining defense of the four, continued to be garrisoned throughout the period of hostilities, and the garrison was not withdrawn until January, 1761.

In effect, the original defensive chain was supplanted by a line of secondary posts running from the mouth of Bushkill Creek down through the Water Gap and then along the southern foot of the Blue Mountain to and beyond the Schuylkill. It is uncertain to what extent these secondary posts deserve the name of forts, and even in the easy usage of that day most of them were not so designated. In February, 1756, when Franklin had finished his military preparations, he reported eight garrisons in this county outside the four forts: at Minisink, at Brodhead's, at Wind Gap (Dietz's house), in the settlement above Easton, in Allen Township, at Trucker's (Drucker's) mill, at Oblinger's (Uplinger's), and, through misunderstanding, in Lynn Township. In all, these garrisons accounted for 185 of the troops in the county as compared with 204 at the four forts.

Of these eight secondary garrisons reported by Franklin, those in Allen Township and above Easton were soon disbanded, and the one in Lynn Township was removed to Fort Franklin; but the others became more or less permanent posts and increased in importance as the forts of the original chain were evacuated. In February, 1758, before the alterations effected by the Forbes campaign, there were six of these secondary posts: Dupui's, Wind Gap, Doll's, Fort Lehigh, Allemangel Blockhouse, and Everett's (Ebert's). In the course of this year, however, all these seem to have been evacuated by the troops, leaving Fort Allen the only Provincial post in the county.

The shift of military strength from Northampton during this period may be illustrated in another way: Of the 919 Provincial troops reported in February, 1756, there were 569 east of the Susquehanna, of whom 180 were in Lancaster and Berks counties and 389 in Northampton. Under the original regimental organization made later this same year, nine of the twenty-five Provincial companies were stationed east of the river, and five of these (280 officers and men) were assigned to Northampton County posts. In July, 1758, however, of the 2,700 troops then in service, only 180 were posted east of the river, of whom 110 were in this county.

Northampton County had for a time a separate military organization under the command of Major William Parsons, who was commissioned in December, 1755, and who, like other higher officers, was captain of a company. The company was later reduced, but Parsons retained his rank, serving under Colonel William Clapham and remaining in the county after Clapham's reassignment in March, 1756. In May of the same year the Northampton County troops became part of the 1st Battalion, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Conrad Weiser (commissioned May 5) and Major Parsons (May 14); and this arrangement continued unchanged until early in 1758. Meanwhile, these garrisons, like the others under Weiser's command, were called upon to furnish detachments to reinforce Fort Augusta and Cumberland County and likewise to supply guards for the Indian conferences at Easton and for workmen sent to Wyoming. Major Parsons' death on December 15, 1757, and Weiser's resignation shortly afterward briefly preceded dissolution of this battalion.

Under the reorganization effected in January, 1758, three of the four companies then in this county were incorporated into Colonel John Armstrong's new 1st Battalion, while Captain Jacob Orndt's company, then at Fort Allen, was assigned to Colonel Burd's 2d Battalion. Acting probably on General Forbes' instructions, Colonel Burd on May 3 ordered Major Thomas Lloyd to take command of the companies east of Fort Hunter and to direct their ranging operations. When General Forbes marched on Fort Duquesne, however, all four companies in Northampton County were sent to join him and were replaced there by two companies of new levies of Colonel Mercer's 3d Battalion. One of these companies was also withdrawn later. During this period the Northampton garrisons were commanded by Orndt, who had been promoted to major and assigned by General Forbes to oversee the posts east of the Susquehanna.

INDIAN NEGOTIATIONS IN NORTHAMPTON COUNTY

The minor part taken by this county in military matters is offset by its more important role in Indian negotiations. In very large measure these negotiations were made possible by the work of the Moravians, who from their headquarters at Bethlehem carried on a remarkable teaching program among the Indians. The individual labors of one of their lay missionaries, Christian Frederick Post, who in 1758 and again in 1760 served the Province on embassies to the

Indians, are well known; but the less publicized, less direct aid afforded by this religious community amounted to far more.

Civil authorities and Moravians alike were distressed by the alienation of the Indians on the Susquehanna North Branch, of which the massacre at the Moravian mission of Gnadenhütten was a tragic consequence; and the two parties joined in efforts to win back the disaffected natives. In New York, Sir William Johnson also tried to pacify the unruly Delawares and Shawnees on the Susquehanna by urging the Six Nations to exert pressure upon these subordinate peoples. The nature of the relations between the Six Nations and these Indians may not have been fully understood, however, and the authority of the Six Nations certainly was not absolute. The Indian attack on Gnadenhütten on November 24, 1755, was followed by the attacks of December 10; and these in turn were succeeded by the heavy attack of January 1, 1756, on the troops at Gnadenhütten and by other attacks of the same date. Of these last, one was the work of the Delaware Teedyuscung, once a Moravian convert.

By reports which inevitably lagged weeks and months behind the events, Provincial officials learned of the shifting Indian populations and sympathies on the Susquehanna. Upon rumor of an English attack, the hostile Indians at Nescopeck had retired up the North Branch and in the course of their retreat had struck the blows suffered by Northampton County in late November and December, 1755. Even the few friendly Indians (Shawnees, Mahicans, Six Nations, and others) who had remained at Wyoming with the Shawnee leader Paxinosa withdrew upriver to be out of harm's way.

Messages from Johnson and the Six Nations, delivered to the retreating malcontents at Tioga (near present Athens, Pennsylvania), had little immediate effect; one part of the fugitives took the road to the Ohio and the French, and another part settled along the Chemung and its branches up to Canisteo, adjacent to the Seneca country.

The difficulties of 1756 are indelibly recorded in a Pennsylvania stove plate cast in that year:

Dis ist das Jahr,

Darin witet der Inchin Schar

It was indeed a year in which Indian war parties raged; and on April 14, in consequence of repeated attacks upon the frontiers, Governor Robert Hunter Morris declared war on the Delawares and their allies

and offered bounties for Indian scalps and for white captives rescued from the Indians.²

Despite this unpromising situation, it was felt that an effort should be made to win back some of these Indians; and on April 26 Captain Newcastle, an Ohio Iroquois, was sent by way of Bethlehem with a message to the Indians supposedly still at Wyoming. He delivered this message at Tioga; and on the strength of the Indians' reply the Governor entrusted Newcastle with a second message inviting the Indians to a conference. Meanwhile on June 3 the Governor ordered a twenty-day suspension of hostilities east of the Susquehanna.

Returning to Bethlehem on July 18, Newcastle brought with him the Delaware leader Teedyuscung, with whom Governor Morris held a conference at Easton on July 24-31. During this same month, it may be noted, Sir William Johnson met with Paxinosa and a chief man of the Munsee Delawares, Anandamoakin.³ Governor William Denny, who succeeded Morris soon after this, held two further conferences at Easton, November 8-17, 1756, and July 21-August 7, 1757; and at the last of these the truce (which had been several times renewed) was concluded on August 4 by the Governor's proclamation of "a firm League of Peace and Friendship renewed, fixed and established, between all His Majesty's Subjects and the said *Delawares* and other confederated *Indians*."⁴ In consequence of this pacification, Teedyuscung returned to live at Wyoming, where in the spring of 1758 the Province built him and his followers a new town; and a peaceful band of Munsee Delawares resettled at Wyalusing. As a further measure to encourage friendly relations with the Indians, the Province on April 8, 1758, enacted an Indian Trade Act authorizing government-supervised trading posts, the first of which were established at Fort Allen in Northampton County and at Fort Augusta.

Easton was also the scene of the great Indian conference of October 8-26, 1758, at which was ratified a treaty designed as the basis for a

² *Ibid.*, VII, 88-90. The declaration excluded Indians living north of "a Line extending from the Mouth of the . . . Cayuga Branch, at an Indian Town called Diahoga, or Tohiccon, to the Station Point between the Province of New York and Jersey, at the Indian Town called Cashetunk, upon Delaware"—that is, between present Athens and Damascus, Pennsylvania.

The "Inchin Schar" stove plate is illustrated in Henry C. Mercer, *The Bible in Iron* (2d ed.), 96-97.

³ *CR*, VII, 188. Johnson's minutes, *NYCD*, VII, 149 ff., do not name the Shawnee and Delaware leaders. Identification of the latter as Nutimus in [Thomson.] *Enquiry* . . . , though it appears to be erroneous, has been accepted by some later writers. For other references to Anandamoakin, see *PAL*, III, 505; *CR*, IX, 280.

⁴ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 11, 1757.

lasting peace between the Province and the Indians. Hopes for such a peace were heightened by the attendance at this conference of delegates from the Ohio Delawares. Two of these Indians had journeyed to Wyoming on their own initiative and had been brought from there to Philadelphia in July by Christian Frederick Post. Encouraged by this, the Governor sent Post, accompanied by the commanding officer at Fort Allen and a soldier, to the Ohio to win the Indians there to the British interest. Upon conclusion of the Easton treaty of October, 1758, Post was sent on a second journey to the Ohio to detach the Indians more effectually from their alliance with the French.

The advantages of these Indian negotiations are not easily assessed. The withdrawal of the enemy Indians in 1756 and afterwards, as well as the subsequent treaty at Easton, contributed to the relative freedom of this county from hostile attack; and its remoteness from the French posts was also an advantage. Even so, it was impossible to give the settlers complete protection against raiding parties from the Seneca country and from acts of malice committed by individual Indians. Plans to enlist well-disposed Indians to protect this frontier, using a fort at Wyoming as a base, were to no effect; these Indians were rather nonbelligerent than pro-British, and they were outnumbered by the less friendly Indians, with some of whom, moreover, they were closely akin.

Lack of a clear-cut defense line and the ambiguities of Indian relations therefore confused the situation in this county, and in spite of its relatively great distance from the French posts, the story of its defenses is not a simple one. Against this background it becomes possible, however, to trace the separate histories of the four original Provincial forts and of eight secondary posts which supplemented and in large measure supplanted the first defense line.

FORT HAMILTON

Begun in December, 1755, Fort Hamilton, which stood at the present Stroudsburg, Monroe County, was garrisoned by Provincial troops until the fall of 1757. It presumably was named for James Hamilton, who was then a member of the Governor's Council and an active Provincial Commissioner who had served as Lieutenant Governor from 1748 to 1754 and was to serve as such again from 1759 to 1763. The fort comprised a large house surrounded by a poorly built square stockade with four half bastions. The stockade probably was about the same size as that at Fort Norris, eighty feet square, and may have

enclosed more than the one reported building. The neighborhood in which this fort was built was one which had suffered in the Indian attacks of December 10, 1755, at which time the Indians burnt the barns of Daniel Brodhead but were beaten off by the people in his house.⁵

The fort was the first of the Provincial chain undertaken by the Provincial Commissioners, who visited Northampton County in December, 1755, and wrote from Easton on December 25:

*The Country all above this Town, for 50 Miles, is mostly evacuated and ruined, excepting only the Neighbourhood of the Dupuy's, five Families, which stand their Ground. Captains Aston and Trump march up to Dupuy's this Day, and are to build two Block Houses for the Defence of the Country between that Settlement and Gnadenhutten, which, when finished, the Inhabitants that are fled say they will return.*⁶

Work on these two blockhouses, which were to become Fort Hamilton and Fort Norris, proceeded slowly, undoubtedly interrupted by the Indian attacks of January 1 at Gnadenhütten and elsewhere. On January 14, 1756, Franklin wrote to Governor Morris from Bethlehem:

Trump and Aston had made but slow Progress in building the First Fort, complaining for want of Tools, which it was thought the People in those Parts might have Supply'd them with. . . . The Day after my Arrival here, I sent off 2 Waggon's loaded with Bread, and some Axes, for Trump & Aston, to Nazareth, escorted by Lieut. Davis, and the 20 Men of McLaughlin's that came with me. . . . Capt. Wayne tells me that Trump expects the first Fort will be finished next week. . . .⁷

Three days later Indians attacked six of Trump's soldiers who had escorted some settlers to their deserted homes where Fort Norris was to be built, killing four of the soldiers and four of the settlers.⁸

Presumably the fort was completed soon afterward; and by January 24 Franklin was about to send Captain John Trump and others to build the second fort. In a letter of this date, written by Franklin to Timothy Horsfield, the name of "Fort Hamilton Near Brodheads" seems to make its first appearance.⁹ To replace Trump's men, Franklin moved up a Northampton County company from the "Irish Settlements"; and this garrison of forty-one men under Captain William

⁵ Deposition of John McMichael *et al.*, CR, VI, 759.

⁶ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 1, 1756.

⁷ PAI, II, 548-49.

⁸ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 29, 1756; PMHB, XXXII (1908), 313, 315.

⁹ Quoted in Horsfield to Parsons, January 25, 1756, Horsfield Papers, I, 99.

Craig is listed in Franklin's return of early February.¹⁰ On February 10 Captain Craig, in reply to a notice about escorting supplies to Fort Allen, protested to Major Parsons that "it will be verry Dificualt for Me To March all My Men out of y^e Settlements, besidess The People of The Settlement are extraimly uneasy at My Leaving ym without a Proper Gaurd";¹¹ so it appears that at this date he was no longer posted at Fort Hamilton. His company was paid off early the following month; and the detachment of twenty-six men of Captain Wetterholt's company at nearby Brodhead's was posted elsewhere.

Craig's company apparently was succeeded by a detachment of Captain Jacob Orndt's company from Fort Norris, under Lieutenant Anthony Miller. Major Parsons, who inspected the post on Saturday, June 12, 1756, made the following report:

I set out for Fort Hamilton and got there about 3 Afternoon. It is garrison'd by Lieut^t Anthony Miller with a Detachmt^t of 15 Men of Capt. Orndt's Company. . . . Lieut^t Miller complains much for want of Boards to finish the Scaffold's, Floors Petitions & c^a. He had sunk a Well in the Fort but for want of a Mason it is not yet wall'd up. There is a sufficient Store of Powder and Lead, but not one pair of Bullet Moulds, in the Fort. The Lieut^t who seems to be a pretty careful Man, says the Number of Men with him are not sufficient to guard the Fort and to furnish Parties for Scouting and therefore he can't be quite so useful to the Inhabitants as he willing would be. Some of the Neighbours complain that Capt. Aston took their Boards for the Use of the Fort, but never accounted for them. John Drake says he strip'd a great Quantity of Boards from his Barn & some say that most of the Boards had from Ephraim Culbert's Mill, belong'd to poor private Persons, and not to Culbert himself, who have not been satisfied for them. I was inform'd that this Fort took the most time of any of the Forts to get it in the Order it is. But by the roughness of it's Work one might be induced to think it had been built in a Hurry.—¹²

¹⁰ Unsigned document in Franklin's handwriting, PPC [February, 1756]; printed out of order in *PAI*, III, 325. It is incorporated into a general return dated February 23, 1756, printed in Pargellis (ed.), *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765*, pp. 166-67.

¹¹ Northampton County Papers, Bethlehem and Vicinity, 1741-1849, I, 17, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹² Notes and Observations Touching the Returns of the Several Companies . . . , May 28, 1756, Loudoun Papers, Box 26, No. 1189. Cited hereafter as Parsons Journal.

Commissary James Young on June 24 also found conditions bad:

Att 4 A:M: Sett out from Bosarts, at 6 Came to Fort Hamilton it Ab^t 7 Miles from Bosarts a Good Waggon Road and the Land better than any I had seen on the N^o side the Mountain. Fort Hamilton stands in a Corn field by a Farm house in a Plain and Clear Country, it is a Square with 4 half Bastions all Very ill Contrivd and finishd the Staccades open 6 inches in many Places and not firm in the Ground and may be easily pull'd down. before the gate are some Staccades drove in the Ground to Cover it which think might be a great Shelter to an Enemy I therefor Order'd to pull them down I also ordered to fill up the Other Staccades where open.—I found here a Leiv^t and Eight men. 7 were gone to Easton with a Prisoner Deserter from Gen. Sherleys Reg^t.

In the right margin of his report Young listed the "Provincial Stores" at this fort: "1 Wall Piece 14 G^d Muskets 4 Wants Repair 16 Cartootch boxes filld with Powder and Lead 28^{lb} Powder 30^{lb} Lead 10 Axes 1 Broad Axe 26 Tamhaukes 28 Blankets 3 Drawing knives 3 Spliting knives 2 Adses 2 Saws 1 Brass Kettle."¹³

Lieutenant Miller sometime later was transferred to Trucker's Mill, and Captain John Nicholas Wetterholt, who had been at Trucker's, took command at Fort Hamilton. Early in August Captain Wetterholt was ordered to Fort Allen to arrest mutineers of Captain Reynolds' company. On his way to carry out these orders on August 15, Wetterholt learned that Lieutenant Miller had defied Captain Orndt; so he stopped at Trucker's to subdue Miller before dealing with the trouble-makers at Fort Allen.¹⁴

A return of the 1st Battalion on November 26, 1757, reports Captain Wetterholt and twenty-seven men at Fort Hamilton, Lieutenant John Jacob Wetterholt and fifteen at Samuel Dupui's, and Ensign Henry Geiger and eight at "Teet's" (Dietz's). A notation on this return observes that "Fort Hamilton, wants Boards & it is incumbered and incommoded by some small Buildings & Fences of the neighbouring Peoples." An added recommendation, apparently of later date, advises

¹³ PPC, July 2, 1756; printed in *PAI*, II, 679. The deserter mentioned by Young is referred to also by Parsons, who, forwarding a letter to Governor Morris, wrote on July 9: "The Inclosed was sent me by Lieut. Anthony Miller (of Capt. Orndt's Compa) posted at Fort Hamilton. And with it came Andrew Mason (a Deserter from Capt. McGwin's Compa of Coll^o Webb's Regiment) under the Care of 6 of the Lieutenant's Men." Northampton County Papers, 1727 to 1758, p. 211, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁴ See the accounts of Fort Allen and of Trucker's Mill for further details.

that the fort be "new built, & a comp^y at least in it."¹⁵ It may be noted in passing that on January 28, 1762, the Provincial Commissioners paid £4 to "John M'Dowell, and Jacob Stroud, 1,150 Feet of Boards for Fort Hamilton, 1756."¹⁶

In February, 1757, units from Weiser's battalion were ordered to Cumberland County to oppose an expected enemy attack. Detachments from Wetterholt's, Reynolds', and Lieutenant Engel's companies arrived at Reading on February 4 and proceeded under command of Captain Morgan from Fort Lebanon.¹⁷ In March Governor Denny ordered reinforcements from this battalion to Colonel Clapham's regiment, and on March 23 wrote Major Burd that "Colonel Weiser will detach Seventy five Men to Fort Augusta, and twenty five Men to Fort Halifax." Some of these men were from the detachments serving in Cumberland County; others were new levies from the eastern garrisons. Among those sent to Fort Augusta was Captain Wetterholt who, with Lieutenant Hyndshaw (of Captain Van Etten's company), arrived there on April 27 with fifty men.¹⁸

To replace Captain Wetterholt's men at Fort Hamilton, Lieutenant Colonel Weiser on March 28 ordered a detachment of sixteen of Captain John Van Etten's company from Hyndshaw's Fort; and Van Etten, who received these orders on April 7, took command at Fort Hamilton on the following day.¹⁹ The orders which Captain Van Etten received immediately afterward to send Lieutenant Hyndshaw and twenty-five men to Reading left his company much weakened for the task of keeping two forts; and encounters with hostile Indians added to his concern. On April 20 a young man named Andreas Gundryman was killed and scalped near Fort Hamilton, and on April 25 Sergeant Leonard Dean of Van Etten's company was killed near Dupui's. The responsibility was eased on June 14, however, when Van Etten received Governor Denny's orders to evacuate Fort Hyndshaw and remove with his remaining men to Fort Hamilton, there to be joined by a detachment from Fort Norris; and he made the transfer five days later. From this time until July 21, the record of daily events

¹⁵ Manuscript in PPC; as printed in *PA5*, I, 73-74, the notations are not always clear.

¹⁶ Account in *PA8*, VII, 5661.

¹⁷ Reynolds to Weiser, Reding [*sic*], February 5, 1757, Northampton County Papers, Miscellaneous, 1749 to 1838.

¹⁸ Denny to Burd, March 23, 1757, Shippen Family Papers, II, 139; Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 781 (1876 ed.).

¹⁹ Van Etten Journal, *PA1*, III, 225-26.

at Fort Hamilton may be read in Van Etten's journal.²⁰ During this time, on June 23, Indians burned Brodhead's house, which they had failed to destroy in the attack of December 10, 1755.

Governor Denny and Lieutenant Colonel Weiser seem to have issued conflicting orders for this post. The Governor's orders, as has been stated, were for Van Etten to command at Fort Hamilton, reinforced there by Lieutenant Engel's men from Fort Norris. However, upon the return of Lieutenant Hyndshaw, who on April 13 had left with the reinforcements for Fort Augusta, Weiser gave orders for this officer to take command at Fort Hamilton and for Van Etten to return to Fort Hyndshaw. Presented with Weiser's orders on June 26, Van Etten rejected them; and a second demand presented July 1 was rescinded by Weiser himself, who arrived at Fort Hamilton later the same day and continued Van Etten in command.

It appears that there was some dissatisfaction with Van Etten. Major Parsons had reported to Weiser on March 26 that Van Etten and Lieutenant Hyndshaw were not on good terms. Van Etten's journal ends abruptly on July 21 with reference to trouble among his men about which he intends to inform Weiser. Sometime later Van Etten resigned, leaving Lieutenant Hyndshaw in command of the company.²¹

Fort Hamilton was evacuated not long afterward. Included in Governor Denny's orders of September 27, 1757, to Lieutenant Colonel Weiser were provisions for the garrisons "at Fort Norris and Hamilton, which I would have stationed at Adam Deedts's Stockado near the Wind Gap."²² As in other such cases, the abandoned fort became a shelter for nearby settlers. Major Burd, who visited the place on March 2, 1758, in the course of a tour of inspection, describes its situation: "March'd from hence [Teads' or Dietz's] at 9 A: M for M^r Samuëll Depews went by the way of Fort Hamilton to Vew that place, Arrived at Fort Hamilton at 2 P: M vewed it, & found it a very poor stockade with one large house in the Middle of it & some Familys living in it this is 15 miles from Teads's"²³

Thereafter the fort seems to have fallen rapidly into ruins. When Pontiac's War broke out, Robert Levers, writing on August 21, 1763, to urge that troops be stationed here, spoke of Fort Hamilton having

²⁰ PPC, under dates of July 1 and 21, 1757; printed in *PAI*, III, 222-35, apparently from a manuscript now at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

²¹ Parsons to Weiser, March 26, 1757, Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 47; List of Officers . . . , *PA5*, I, 62.

²² Shippen Family Papers, II, 55.

²³ Burd Journal, PPC, March 10, 1758; printed in *PAI*, III, 356.

been built "where the Remains of it now stands"; and when troops were placed here two or three months later new quarters (Fort Penn) had to be provided.²⁴

FORT NORRIS

Planned in December, 1755, and built a month or two later, Fort Norris stood between present Kresgeville and Gilbert, Monroe County. Garrisoned by Provincial troops until the fall of 1757, it consisted of a group of buildings surrounded by a stockade eighty feet square with four half bastions. It was named presumably for Isaac Norris, Speaker of the Assembly and a Provincial Commissioner.

Like Fort Hamilton it was built in a region which had suffered from the Indian attacks of December 10, 1755. Among the victims of these attacks were Frederick Hoeth, his wife, and seven of their eight children, whose home stood near the site that Fort Norris later occupied. As observed in the account of Fort Hamilton, this was one of the three forts planned by the commissioners who visited Northampton County in December, 1755. However, it appears that no work was done on it until Franklin's return to the county in January, 1756; and on January 17 Indians wiped out a small party of settlers whom a few of Captain Trump's soldiers had escorted to this place. Writing from Fort Allen to Timothy Horsfield at Bethlehem, Franklin reported on January 24 that, "My Son wth Hay's Company and Orndt's Marches in a few days to Surfass's Place (where Trump is also Expected) to Erect another Fort between this and & Fort Hamilton Near Brod-heads."²⁵ Two days later Franklin wrote to the Governor:

As soon as Cap^t. Hays returns with the Convoy of Stores and Provisions, which I hope may be to morrow, I purpose to send Orndt and Hays to Haeds to join Cap^t. Trump in erecting the middle Fort there, purposing to remain here between them and Foulk, ready to assist and supply both, as occasion may require, and hope in a week or ten Days, weather favouring, those two Forts may be finished and the Line of Forts compleated and garrisoned, the Rangers in Motion, and the internal Guards and Watches disbanded, as well as some other companies. . . .²⁶

²⁴ Levers to Horsfield, "At Buzzard's," Northampton County Papers, Bethlehem and Vicinity, 1741-1849, p. 181.

²⁵ Quoted in Horsfield to Parsons, January 25, 1756, Horsfield Papers, I, 99.

²⁶ PR, O, 8; printed in CR, VII, 17, where, however, the words *Hays to* are omitted before the word *Haeds* (Hoeth's).

Writing from Fort Allen on January 31, Thomas Lloyd referred to the Indian attack of January 17 on the party of settlers and Trump's men: "A Party who left Bethlehem the same Day we did [January 15] have been defeated not far from us & all but two perished. we have just recieved Information of a Fire seen two Nights ago near the Place where they were slain & where we shall March tomorrow to erect another Fort."²⁷

A reference to the building of this fort appears also in the accounts of the Provincial Commissioners, who on March 16, 1756, paid £15 "To David Sisholtz, for a Blockhouse removed to Fort Norris."²⁸

Of the three companies assigned to build this fort, those commanded by Hays and Trump were soon disbanded, but the one under Captain Jacob Orndt was continued in service. In his return of early February, where the fort is first called by name, Franklin reported "Captain Orndt at Fort Norris" with fifty men.²⁹

Subsequent documents show the garrison adjusting itself into service. On February 19 Colonel Clapham at Bethlehem ordered Timothy Horsfield, "Be pleased to send eighteen Barrels of Bread, Six Barrels of Beef, one of Pork, two of Fish and three Caggs of Rum to Fort Norris." Three days later Captain Orndt requested Horsfield that "if the late Captin hease Should Receve his pay fore his Compey you would be plised To Deduct fiveteen Shillings fore me fore I Delivered to his brother John heas Two pare of Shoos fore the use of his Compey." And on March 7 he wrote again to tell Horsfield of Indian alarms: During the previous night "there Came Two Inshens . . . att the nor West Said gribin to the ford"; and that day Indians had fired upon a detachment bringing in shingle wood. On March 19 Captain Orndt wrote to ask "whether I Should Inlist my Compey again fore there Time is up the 10th of the next month."³⁰ This company was not reduced; instead, Captain Orndt received a new commission, dated April 19, 1756;³¹ and he and his men remained at Fort Norris until October.

The first detailed report of this fort comes from Major Parsons, who, on "Fryday June 11th 1756"

²⁷ Copy of letter dated at "Fort Allen at Gnadenhutzen," Franklin Papers, Letters to Franklin, I, 1, No. 41, American Philosophical Society.

²⁸ *PA8*, V, 4359.

²⁹ Unsigned document in Franklin's handwriting, PPC [February, 1756]; printed out of order in *PA1*, III, 325.

³⁰ Northampton County Papers, Bethlehem and Vicinity, 1741-1849, I, 19, 21.

³¹ *PA5*, I, 43, 62, 70.

. . . set out from Easton for Fort Norris; escorted by a Serjeant & some of Capt. Insley's Men . . . and arrived at Fort Norris about 6 Afternoon. . . It is a well built Fort and kept very clean Commanded by Captain Orndt, who appears to be a very good Officer. He complains for want of Boards to finish his Scaffold & c^a. he has dug a Well within the Fort and almost wall'd it up but for want of Stones the Well is not quite finished.

The Capt. told me they suffered much for want of Salt, that being obliged to make use of their old Pickle for for [*sic*] Salting, some of their Beef was damaged. As he intended for Philad^a in a few Days and as things in general had a good Appearance I did not enquire very minutely of these Matters. Late in the Evning his Ensign, who had been out with a party of Men, return'd Home without discovery anything extraordinary. Next morning I mustered the Men, posted here, from whence I have made the Return.

The Capt. told me his Inlistments were all in Philad^a - N.B. There is a large Hill to the Southward of the Fort from whence I imagine an Enemy might discover most that passes at the Fort.³²

Commissary Young, who came on June 23, made an equally favorable report:

Att 11 AM Came to Fort Noris, found here a Serjant Commanding with 21 Men, he told me the Ensign with 12 Men were gone out this Morning to Rang the Woods towards Fort Allen, the Cap^{tn} was at Philad^a since the 16th for the peoples pay, and the Other Serjant was Absent at Easton on Furlough Since the 20th. This Fort Stands in a Valley ab^t Mid way between the North Mountain and the Tuscorory 6 Miles from Each on the high Road towards the Menisink, it is a Square Ab^t 80 ft Each way with 4 half Bastions all very Compleatly Staccaded and finish'd and very Defencable, the Woods are Clear 400 Y^{ds} Round it. on the Bastions are two Sweevle Guns Mountd within is a Good Barrack, a Guard Room, Store Room, and Kitchin also a Good Well.— at 1 P:M: the Ensign with 12 Men return'd from Ranging they had seen nothing of any Indians I Musterd the Whole 34 in Number Stout able Men, the Ensⁿ has no Certificates of inlistments the Arms Loaded and Clean the Cartootch Boxes filld with 12 Rounds p^r Man Provisions at Fort Noris, A Large Quantity of Beef Very ill Cured Standing in Tubs A Quantity of Biscut and flower, & Ab^t 50 Gallons Rum,—

³² Parsons Journal, Loudoun Papers, Box 26, No. 1189.

Marginally Young listed the Provincial stores at the Post: "13 G^d Muskets 3 burst D^o 16 very bad D^o 32 Cartooch boxes 100 lb Powder 300 lb Lead 112 Blankets 39 Axes 3 Broad D^o 80 Tamhaukes 6 Shovels 2 Grub^g Hoes 5 Spades 5 drawing knives 9 Chisles 3 Adses 3 hand Saws 2 Augers 2 Splitting knives." On the following day Young, then at "Hyndshaw Fort," wrote to "Cap^{tn} Arrend at Fort Norris . . . , desiring he would deliver to this Fort 30 lb Pouder and 90 lb Lead."³³

At this time the balance of Orndt's company, Lieutenant Miller and fifteen men, was garrisoned at Fort Hamilton. A few weeks later, however, this detachment was removed, and Lieutenant Miller was posted at Trucker's Mill. The following August was a time of trouble for Captain Orndt. On August 14 he had to inform Major Parsons that Miller had refused to obey orders and had subsequently refused to turn over the post to Ensign Nicholas Conrad, who had been sent to relieve him. The affair was settled by Captain Wetterholt, who was sent from Fort Hamilton to Fort Allen to arrest Lieutenant Allen, and on his way stopped at Trucker's on August 15 to deal with Lieutenant Miller. On the following day Wetterholt took Allen to Fort Norris, where Orndt placed him under arrest; Orndt's own lieutenant proved more stubborn, but later also surrendered.³⁴

Mutiny, fostered by problems of pay, supply, and discipline, seemed contagious. Hardly were the troubles at Trucker's and Fort Allen dealt with than Orndt had to inform Weiser on August 26 of mutiny at Fort Norris, where a man who refused to serve his turn at sentry duty was supported by the men of the company. And on the same date Orndt's company addressed to Weiser and Parsons a petition complaining about their food and pay.³⁵ Consequent upon these troubles, the garrison of Fort Norris was ordered to exchange places with that of Fort Allen. Captain Orndt and his company arrived at Fort Allen on October 8; and in his place Captain George Reynolds assumed command at Fort Norris. On October 10 Major Parsons wrote to

³³ PPC, July 2, 1756; printed in *PAI*, II, 678-79.

³⁴ Orndt's letter to Parsons, August 14, 1756, has not been found, but it is referred to in Parson's endorsement of Orndt to Parsons, August 12, 1756, Northampton County Papers, Bethlehem and Vicinity, 1741-1849, I, 47; in Parsons to Orndt, August 15, 1756, *PAI*, II, 742; in *id.* to Morris, August 15-16, 1756, *ibid.*, 748-49; and in Orndt to Parsons, August 17, 1756, Northampton County Papers, 1727 to 1758.

³⁵ Orndt to Weiser, Northampton County Papers, Bethlehem and Vicinity, 1741-1849, I, 49; petition, in German, to Obersten Collonell Weiszer and Obersten Major Bersen, Northampton County Papers, 1727 to 1758, p. 223.

Provincial Secretary Richard Peters: "You will please to acquaint His Honour that Lieut^s Allen and Miller have made their Submissions agreeable to His Honour's Commands of the 22d last past. And Captain Orndt is just moved with his Company to Fort Allen, & Capt. Reynolds is gone to Fort Norris, &c., to supply his Place. . . ." ³⁶ In the following month Captain Reynolds and some of his men were among the troops who guarded Easton during the Indian treaty of November 8-17. ³⁷

With Lieutenant Allen restored to grace, Reynolds' company was assigned as reported in a return dated November 26: Reynolds and thirty-two men at Fort Norris, Allen and eight men at Uplinger's (Oblinger's), and Ensign Jacob Schneider and twelve men at Trucker's Mill. The return reports "Fort Norris in good Order; but in Want of Boards, for Scaffolding and Partitions." ³⁸

It appears that the exchange of garrisons intended to solve troubles may have given rise to another difficulty. On January 28, 1757, Major Parsons wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Weiser about the ill feelings between the men of Reynolds' and Orndt's companies and suggested that Reynolds trade places with Wetterholt at Fort Hamilton. ³⁹ These difficulties were settled in a different fashion, however, when detachments from Weiser's battalion were ordered to Cumberland County in February to oppose an expected enemy attack. Captain Reynolds, with the men from his own, Captain Wetterholt's, and Lieutenant Engel's companies, arrived at Reading on February 4. During the time these reinforcements remained in Cumberland County, until late April, the time of many of the men expired, and Reynolds himself later resigned. ⁴⁰

In Reynolds' absence, Ensign Jacob Schneider of his company, who had been posted at Trucker's Mill, took command at Fort Norris. Writing to Weiser on February 15, Schneider complained that:

Cap^t Reynolds has Taken With him almost all the Inlistments and all the Testations With him of The men that are at Fort Norris with me . . . I Being Stationed at Truckers so that I Did not know any thing of his affairs at the fort; and the

³⁶ PPC; printed in *PA1*, III, 7.

³⁷ *CR*, VII, 313.

³⁸ PPC; printed in *PA5*, I, 73. A second notation, evidently later, advises that this fort is "to be destroyed."

³⁹ Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 30.

⁴⁰ Reynolds to Weiser, February 5, 1757, Northampton County Papers, Miscellaneous, 1749 to 1838; Weiser to Peters, November 17, 1757, Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 101.

Captain Did not Inform me that he had them with him untill
I Came to the fort and found he had Taken them With
him. . . .⁴¹

A comical picture of garrison discipline appears in a letter of March 3 in which Ensign Schneider informs Major Parsons "that I have Discharged Heroneymus Taxlor for his Great abuse to me in Cursing Me, and all the Soldiers In the Fort; So I thought Proper to Give him his Discharge . . . for Cursing and Swearing I thinck I Never heard one to Compare with him." Taxlor, we are told, went off still cursing, taking potshots at the fort, and threatening to complain to the Major of his ill treatment.⁴²

It appears that in late April Captain Reynolds returned from Cumberland County and resumed command briefly. Weiser on April 21 received Governor Denny's orders that some of the detachments that had been serving in Cumberland County were to be sent to Fort Augusta; however, Schmitt and Reynolds returned from Cumberland County that same day, and since Weiser had no money to pay them he "was oblidged therefore to permit them, to go to their Several old Station for a few days." It was about this time, apparently, that Reynolds resigned.⁴³

He was succeeded by Lieutenant Andreas Engel, the former commander at Fort Franklin, which had been since abandoned. Having conducted a detachment of thirty men to Fort Augusta, Engel and Captain Morgan left that place on May 10 in company with Commissary James Young, with whom, apparently, Engel arrived on May 22 at Easton. Writing from this place four days later, Major Parsons reported to Governor Denny that "Commissary Young came to Town last Sunday about noon, and on Tuesday about two, Afternoon, set out from hence for Fort Norris, Fort Allen, &c^a, escorted by Capt^s Busse and Reynolds; Lieut. Engell, who is going to take the Command of Fort Norris, and Ensign Biddle with about 50 men, all in good Spirits." Apparently, Reynolds then turned over his old command to Ensign Engel.⁴⁴

During the following month Lieutenant Engel and Fort Norris seem to have been the subject of conflicting orders from Governor

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, II, 33. On April 9, 1757, Van Etten received a copy of a letter "sent by Jacob Snyder, Insign, being then Commander at fort Norris." *PAI*, III, 226.

⁴² Horsfield Papers, II, 361.

⁴³ Weiser to Denny, April 22, 1757, Conrad Weiser Correspondence, I, 52.

⁴⁴ Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 783; Parsons to Denny, May 26, 1757, *PAI*, III, 163. See also Burd to "Lieut Andrew Ingle," June 1, 1757: "I Observe you are ordered to Fort Norris by the Governor." Shippen Family Papers, Burd Letter Book.

Denny and Lieutenant Colonel Weiser. On the Governor's orders Captain Van Etten on June 19 removed to Fort Hamilton, to be joined there by a detachment from Fort Norris. A week later, however, the men from Fort Norris had not arrived, and Major Parsons wrote with some concern: "How it has happened that Lieut Engell was not then arrived at Fort Hamilton I cant imagine unless it be for want of a Carriage to transport the Stores that are at Fort Norris. . . ." ⁴⁵

It is possible that Weiser's orders also provided for the evacuation of Fort Norris, but that they intended a different disposition of the garrison. Instead of moving to Fort Hamilton, Engel seems to have gone in the opposite direction to Allemangel. On June 18, the day before Van Etten removed to Fort Hamilton, there to be joined by Engel's men, Lieutenant Jacob Wetterholt wrote to Weiser from Allemangel that "I would like to know what Lieutenant Engel is to do here, whether he is ordered here to occupy my place, or what." ⁴⁶

On June 26, when Lieutenant Hyndshaw arrived at Fort Hamilton with ten men of Wetterholt's company and six of Engel's, Van Etten refused to surrender the command to him as Weiser ordered. Three days later Van Etten was advised by Major Parsons that "where as he Expected Cor^l Weiser to be here in a few days, to keep the fort untill he came, also Desir^d me to Endeavour to hasten Lieu^t Engels march to fort Hambleton." With Weiser's arrival at Fort Hamilton on July 1, the matter was settled, and Lieutenant Engel evidently remained at Fort Norris. ⁴⁷

Like other units of Weiser's battalion, this garrison contributed men for a guard at the Easton Indian conference on July 21-August 7, 1757. On July 15 Weiser wrote from Easton to the Governor: "I expect a Guard in Town of 110 men, but cannot say for positive whether they will arrive tomorrow or the next Day . . . Those from Fort Norris & Hamilton I have sent for to Day in all the Rain, by two of Captⁿ Orndt's men"; and three days later he reported that the guard consisted "of 105 Men, including Officers, who are as follows, Viz^t: Captain Busse, Lieut^s Wetherholt & Hyndshaw, Ensign Snyder & Biddle, the Bearer hereof, and Ensign Kern." Lieutenant Schneider may have commanded the detachment from Fort Norris. ⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Parsons to [], June 26, 1757, Northampton County Papers, Bethlehem and Vicinity, 1741-1849, I, 55.

⁴⁶ Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 29.

⁴⁷ Van Etten Journal, PPC, July 1, 1757; printed in *PAI*, III, 232.

⁴⁸ PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 218 and 221.

Not long after this Easton conference, Fort Norris was evacuated. Governor Denny on September 27, 1757, gave Lieutenant Colonel Weiser orders regarding the men under his command, including provision for "those at Fort Norris and Hamilton, which I would have stationed at Adam Deedt's Stockado near the Wind Gap."⁴⁹

The structure apparently then fell into decay; for the local settlers seem not to have returned for several years, according to the story told Samuel Preston, the surveyor, who visited the place on June 14, 1787:

The land is exceeding poor and I could obtain no provisions for myself or creature until I reached the place where Fort Norris formerly stood, where I got a cup of milk and bread and let my mare bate in the meadow. Here lives an old woman, the widow Serfass, who entertain'd me with an historical account of her family first migrating over the mountain, being the first settlers, the hardships they underwent for three or four years, and having no neighbours nearer than fifteen or twenty miles. In about five or six years they began to raise plenty of hay and grain, and had a good house and barn and plenty of cattle. The first Indian war broke out and they saw some few Indians but received no damage, until the soldiers came there to build a fort. The Commissary was scant of provision and took all they had for the soldiers, and sent them off empty handed to seek their fortunes. They were gone eight years, during which time all their buildings were burned as well as fences, and the fields and meadows overgrown with bush and as hard to clear as at first. Since then they were driven off by the Indians three times and met with like losses. She gave me this account part in Dutch and part in English, and I believe told the truth. Her husband had been dead about one year, and they had lived together fifty-five years, and raised a large family. She was about seventy-five years old.⁵⁰

FORT ALLEN

Built in January, 1756, under the immediate supervision of Benjamin Franklin, Fort Allen stood at the present Weissport, Carbon County. As Franklin's own sketch shows, it comprised a group of three buildings within a stockade of about 125 by 50 feet, with a bastion in each of the long sides and half bastions at two opposite corners. Considered by Governor Morris as one of the three most important posts east of the Susquehanna, it was garrisoned by Provincial troops until 1761; and a detachment was stationed here briefly in the

⁴⁹ Shippen Family Papers, II, 55.

⁵⁰ "Extracts from the Journal of Samuel Preston, Surveyor, 1787," in *PMHB*, XXII (1898), 352.

fall of 1763. The post was important in Indian negotiations; and one of the three trading posts maintained by the Province was operated here from the end of 1758 until 1760.

This fort, the best-known and longest occupied Provincial defense work in Northampton County, traces its origin from the Indian attack of November 24, 1755, upon the Moravian mission of Gnadenhütten, followed on November 29 by Bishop Spangenberg's offer of ten acres of land if the Province saw fit to build a fort at the place. In reply to this offer, Governor Morris wrote on December 4 to Timothy Horsfield at Bethlehem:

. . . I desire my thanks may be returned to M^r Spangenberg and the Brethren, and that they may be informed, that the Government has accepted of their Offer, and will order a Fort to be built there; it would be agreeable to me, if the Brethren would undertake the Superintendency of it, and if they encline to do it, the necessary Plan, Tools, Money and Instructions shall be immediately sent them. But if it be inconvenient to the Brethren, I desire You would recommend to me such of your Neighbours as you shall think may be safely entrusted with the Care and Management of such a Building.

The Fort intended to be built will be only a Wooden one, or a Stockado thrown round the Buildings there, as shall be found most convenient.⁵¹

Mr. Horsfield reported on December 8 that the Moravians preferred not to undertake the work and he recommended William Parsons as a competent person for it, but added that

I just now heard y^t . . . Hays is going up wth 30 Men to Gnadehutten it is y^e same Hays y^t was with your Honour the Other day applying for a Company & I don't know if he be not as fit for it as Any in our part. I under stand if the Buildings are not burnt he purposes to stay some Days.⁵²

Captain William Hays had returned to the county two days earlier with a hundred guns, which had been sent by a committee of the Assembly for the use of the Moravians and of settlers in Lehigh Township and elsewhere on the frontier.

Indian attacks on December 10 along the Northampton County frontier between the Lehigh and the Delaware intensified the demand for protection and hastened the visit of three of the Provincial Commissioners, Hamilton, Franklin, and Fox, who arrived at Easton on

⁵¹ Horsfield Papers, I, 79.

⁵² Horsfield to Morris, *ibid.*, II, 423.

December 20 and remained in the county until December 31, when they left for Reading, escorted by Captain James McLaughlin's company. By this last date guards were stationed among the frontier settlements, two companies had been sent to build forts between Gnadenhütten and the Delaware, and Hays and his men were at Gnadenhütten itself.

On January 1, 1756, the day after the commissioners' departure from the county, the Indians struck again. Hays himself and eighteen of his men were returning from Bethlehem with supplies; Lieutenant Brown and fifty-two men were at Gnadenhütten, but, the arms sent to the county having proved almost worthless, the men had only twenty-two guns. Setting fire to the town, the Indians drove the men from the church in which they had taken shelter and routed them before Hays's arrival. The lieutenant, who hid in the river bed, escaped with frozen feet; but about twenty men were lost. Desertion then further reduced the company to eighteen men, who took post "at a small Garrison, about eleven Miles from Bethlehem."⁵³

Such was the state of affairs when Franklin returned to Bethlehem on January 8, having on his way "met a Number of Waggon, and many People moving off with their Effects and Families from . . . Lehi Township." Franklin, who had been escorted from Reading by Lieutenant Patrick Davis and twenty men of Captain McLaughlin's company, immediately set about raising a force to reoccupy Gnadenhütten. By January 14 he had ordered Captain Isaac Wayne's company, which had come from Chester County, to join him;

And in order to execute more speedily the first Design of erecting a Fort near Gnadenhütten to compleat the Line and get the Rangers in Motion, I have rais'd another Company under Cap^t Charles Foulk, to join with Wayne in that Service; and as Hays I hear is not likely soon to recruit his Company, I have ordered Orndt to come up from Rockland in Bucks County. . . .⁵⁴

On January 15 Franklin set out from Bethlehem with Captain Folck's company. Wayne and Lieutenant Davis joined him on the road; Ensign Sterling and 23 of Captain Hays's company who joined them at Hays's Tavern (present Weaversville) and 20 men of Captain John Nicholas Wetterholt's company who met them at Oblinger's just

⁵³ Captain William Hayes [*sic*] to Morris and the Commissioners, Allen's Town, January 3, 1756, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 8, 1756. According to a later report, fourteen of Hays's company were killed. *PMHB*, XXXII (1908), 313.

⁵⁴ *PAL*, II, 548-50.

north of Lehigh Gap on the morning of January 17, increased their force to about 165 men. They then proceeded toward Gnadenhütten

conducted by Mr William Franklin wth great Order & Regularity in the following Manner first the Scouts rangd the Woods & Mountains in the Front in a Semi Circular line Lieut Davis of McLaughlins led the advanced Guard of 22 Men the van follow'd at about 200 Paces distance commanded by Wetherhold Cap^t Wayne led the Centre where marched the General [Benjamin Franklin] the Chaplain & all the Waggons Baggage &c which Cap^t Foulke with 47 Men followed & the Rear Guard was brought up by Ensign Sterling we had besides Scouts out on each Flank & Spies on every Hill in this Manner our line of March extended a full Mile & Made a pretty Appearance from the Hills. . . .⁵⁵

A letter written from Gnadenhütten on Tuesday, January 20, gives a vivid description of work on the fort:

We have been here since Sunday Afternoon: That Day we had only Time to get up some Shelter from the Weather and the Enemy. Yesterday all Day it rained, with so thick a Fog, that we could not see round us, so as either to chuse a Place for a Fort, or find Materials to build it. In the Night it cleared up, and this Morning we determined, marked out the Ground, and at Ten o'Clock set the Men to work, and they have worked with such Spirit, that now, at Half past Three in the Afternoon, all the Logs for the Stockade are cut, to the Number of 450, being most of them more than a foot in Diameter, and 15 Feet long. The Trench to set them in, being three feet deep, and two wide, is dug; 14 Pair of Wheels are drawing them together; some are erected, and we hope to have the whole up, and to be quite inclosed Tomorrow. The Fort will be about 125 Feet long, and 50 broad. The Reverend Mr. Beatty is with us, and we have regular Prayers Morning and Evening. We went to Prayer before we began to work, all the Men being drawn up to receive Orders and Tools.⁵⁶

Franklin's letter of Sunday, January 25, whose unknown recipient forwarded it to the Governor, continues the story:

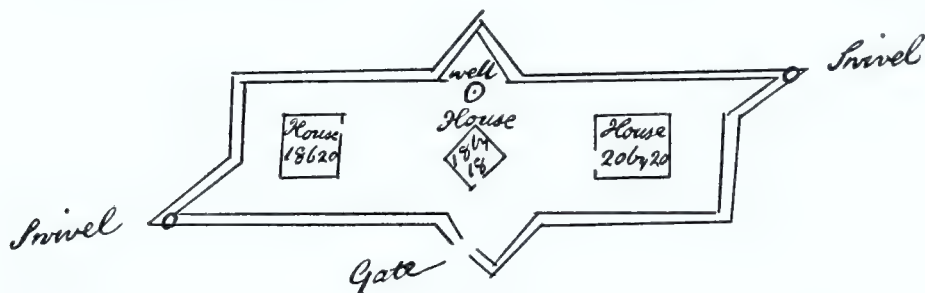
The next Day we were hinder'd by Rain most of the Day. Thursday we resum'd our Work and before night were pretty well enclosed, and Friday morning the Stockado was finished and part of the Plat form within erected, which was compleated the next morning, when we dismissed Foulk's and

⁵⁵ Thomas Lloyd to [], January 31, 1756, copy in Franklin Papers, Letters to Franklin, I, 1, No. 41.

⁵⁶ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 8, 1756.

Wetterholt's Companies, and sent Hays' down for a Convoy of Provisions. This Day [Sunday] we hoisted your Flag, made a general Discharge of our Pieces, which had been long loaded, and of our two Swivels, and named the Place *Fort Allen* in Honor of our old Friend. It is 125 Feet long, 50 wide, the Stockadoes most of them a Foot thick, they are 3 Foot in the Ground and 12 Feet out, pointed at the Top.

...⁵⁷



FRANKLIN'S PLAN OF FORT ALLEN

The plan was included in Franklin's letter of January 25, 1756, to an unidentified recipient, who forwarded it to Governor Morris. The letter and the plan are known only from the copy entered in the manuscript Provincial Record, Vol. O, p. 7, Division of Public Records, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

On January 26 Franklin wrote, "This present Monday we are erecting a third House in the Fort to accommodate the Garrison."⁵⁸

As the fort neared completion Franklin reduced his forces here; departure on January 24 of Folck (Foulk) and Wetterholt to build Fort Franklin and of Hays for supplies left about 125 men, and when the party left on February 1 to build Fort Norris, 75 remained, including Wayne's company and Lieutenant Davis' detachment. On February 4 Franklin, having finished his work, arrived at Bethlehem on his way to Philadelphia; and in a return made soon afterward he reported Fort Allen garrisoned by Captain Isaac Wayne and fifty men.⁵⁹ On March 1, however, Franklin wrote Horsfield that "Orders

⁵⁷ Preserved as copied into PR, O, 7-8; printed in CR, VII, 15-16. It is clear from internal evidence that this letter was not originally addressed to the Governor. It may be noted that Franklin had used the name a day earlier, January 24, when writing to Horsfield. Letter quoted in Horsfield to Parsons, January 25, 1756, Horsfield Papers, I, 99.

⁵⁸ CR, VII, 16.

⁵⁹ PPC [February, 1756]; printed out of order in PAI, III, 325. Since Franklin had on January 26 reported fifty-five men in Wayne's company, it is possible that the sergeant and five men at "Uplinger's" on the later date were a detachment of this company. Captain Isaac Wayne was the father of Anthony Wayne, the later general, then eleven years old.

are gone up to relieve Capt. Wayne's Company"; and this garrison shortly afterward was replaced by the company under Captain Carl Folck (Charles Foulk), brought back from Fort Franklin.⁶⁰

Folck's stay here was undistinguished. His presence seems to be first documented by a request to Horsfield, dated at "Forth Elnt" on March 31, for thirty gallons of rum (his men having been fourteen days without any), four pounds of sugar, and a pound of tobacco. An equally homely reference to his command appears in a note of April 15 from one of the Provincial Commissioners to the Governor; according to John Hughes: "the Bearers hereof John Mee & Joseph Leacock having Plantations within one Mile & a half of fort Allen Desire a Detachment of Men from the s^d fort to Protect them While they put up their fences & burn the Leaves Round their fields. . . ."⁶¹

In fact the most important event of Captain Folck's command was the arrival of the Six Nations messenger Captain Newcastle and his Indian companions, who on May 1 set out from Bethlehem with a message which prepared the way eventually for a series of Indian conferences which incidentally and in many ways affected the course of events at Fort Allen.⁶²

The report of Major Parsons' tour of inspection provides news of the next change of command at this post:

Fryday June the 4th 1756

Escorted by Lieut^t Engell and four of his Men I set out for Fort Allen; where we arrived about Noon; I found Capt^t Foulk at the Fort expecting me. I had sent an Express to him the 28th last past acquainting him that as he and his Men had desired the Governor to relieve them by sending another Garrison there; His Honour had given M^r George Reynolds Orders to raise a Company of 50 Men including 2 Serjeants to be stationed at Fort Allen and promised him that in Obedience to His Honour's Commands I would soon be with him and relieve him and such of his Men as were desirous to leave the Fort, by drawing small Detachments from the Neighbouring Forts. Capt. Foulk was well pleased to see me; but assured me he had no intentions of leaving the place until another Garrison was placed there. I had the Men then present mustered and enquired which of them were willing to stay till the other Garrison came. I found 9 Willing And as Lieut^t Mess was gone Home for a Day or two I desired the

⁶⁰ Horsfield Papers, I, 105.

⁶¹ Folck to Horsfield, Northampton County Papers, Bethlehem and Vicinity, 1741-1849, I, 23; Hughes to Morris, PPC, printed in *PAI*, II, 638.

⁶² *CR*, VII, 118-19.

Capt. to propose to him to stay in the Fort with as many of the Men as he could prevail with to remain with him 'till Capt. Reynolds came. And the Capt. promised to let me know by an Express, what his Mind was, time enough for me to place a Garrison there in Case the Lieut^t and Men should not be willing to stay.

Major Parsons then went to Easton, where

On Wednesday the 9th Capt Foulk sent me a Dutch Letter signifying that if the Governor would grant his Clerk, Charles Korn, a Captain's Commission to stay at the Fort & continue Lieut^t Mess & appoint Daniel Zoller Ensign they and 21 Men would stay and garrison the Fort, and that they would soon have a Company compleat. Which I sent the next Day Express to his Honour the Governor. . . .⁶³

Apparently the Governor did not bargain. On June 15 Parsons wrote him again from Easton: "Your Favour of the 12th Instant came safe to hand yesterday morning, and as you have not commanded me otherwise I purpose to let Cap^t Foulk's Lieut^t and Men remain in Fort Allen till Capt Reynolds comes to relieve them. . . ."⁶⁴

On June 22 Commissary James Young, in turn, traveled from Fort Franklin to Fort Allen:

At 8 A: M: We sett out for Fort Allen at Gnadenhutzen it is Ab^t 15 Miles from Alleminga. . . . This Fort Stands on the River Leahy in the Pass thro' Very high Hills & in my Oppinion in a Very important Place and may be of Great Service if the Officer does his Duty, it is very well Staccaded with four Good Bastions, on one is a Sweevle Gun, the Woods are Clear all Round it for a Considerable way and is Very Defencable, within is three Good Barracks and a Guard Room, I found here 15 Men without any Officer or Commander, they told me that Leiv^{tn} Jacob Meis and two Men from the Fort was Gone this Morning with two Gentlemen from Bethlehem and four Indians 15 Miles up the Country to Bring down some friendly Indians, and that the Serjant with 3 Men were gone to Cap^{tn} Foulks late Commander here to receive the Pay that was due to them and one was gone to Bethlehem with the Serjants Watch to Mend, which was the Reason I could not Muster those Present nor have any Acct^t of the Provisions, but saw a large Quantity of Beef very ill Cured,—I was inform'd that a Cap^{tn} with a New Comp^y was Expected there in a Day or two to take Post at this Fort, being Very uncertain When the Leiv^{tn} would return or the New Comp^y Come I resolv'd to Proceed to Leahy Gapp. . . .

⁶³ Parsons Journal, Loudoun Papers, Box 26, No. 1189.

⁶⁴ Entered in PR, O, 155; printed in CR, VII, 164.

In the margin of his report the Commissary listed the Provincial stores at this place: "27 Muskets 50 Cartooch Boxes 10 lb Powder
60 lb Lead and 20 Rounds fill'd for 25 men 19 Axes 4 broad D°
26 Hatchets 43 Tamhauks 3 Iron Wages 1 Sweevle Gun."⁶⁵

Commissary Young's allusion to "some friendly Indians" refers to Captain Newcastle's embassy; for this Indian and his escort, who had set out for Tioga with a message from the Governor, returned on June 24 to Bethlehem with two Delaware families who wished to renew their friendship with the white settlers.⁶⁶

When Newcastle set out again for Tioga, the new garrison had arrived at Fort Allen. George Reynolds, previously commissioned to command a guard on the Lancaster County frontier and recommissioned May 17, 1756, had by then raised his new company, with Samuel Allen as lieutenant and Jacob Schneider as ensign, and taken over the post.⁶⁷ The story of the change of command appears in Captain Reynolds' letter of July 10:

Most Loving Frend Major Persons I am arived Safe at Fort Allin and have been here Since the 23th of June and I Could not get Captain Folk to Come and Deliver Up the Fort, Arms or Amanition untill the 8th of July Neither is there Enough of arms or amanition. In the Fort for to Defend it there being but 16^{lb} pd of Pouder; and about 30^{lb} of Lead. In it when I Came To it. . . .⁶⁸

On June 28 the Indian messenger advised Captain Reynolds of the probable time and circumstances of his return so that the garrison might recognize him and his party as friends. On July 6 four more Indians desirous to renew their friendship arrived with a letter from Captain Newcastle to "the Captain at Fort Allen"; and on July 18 Newcastle himself returned, bringing with him to Bethlehem the Delaware "King" Teedyuscung.⁶⁹

The Governor's conference with Teedyuscung on July 26-31, 1756, at Easton, although not part of the story of Fort Allen, had unfortunate consequences for that post. When the Indians stopped there on their return home from Easton, Captain Reynolds was absent at

⁶⁵ PPC, July 2, 1756; printed in *PAI*, II, 677-78.

⁶⁶ *CR*, VII, 173-77.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, VI, 755; *PA5*, I, 73.

⁶⁸ Horsfield Papers, I, 205.

⁶⁹ Directions from Captⁿ Newcastle, *PAI*, II, 683; *CR*, VII, 188-91, 198-201.

Philadelphia, leaving in command Lieutenant Allen, "that little impertinent Body which Your Honour saw at the Tavern on Quit-topohela Spring," as Parsons later described him to Governor Morris.⁷⁰ No separate accommodations having been provided for them, the Indians loitered about the fort; discipline suffered, and the Lieutenant did little to remedy the situation.

Teedyuscung had a present of sixteen deerskins for Governor Morris, "to make him a pair of Gloves, as he said." Lieutenant Allen bought these skins, however, for £3, which Teedyuscung then spent for rum, apparently from the garrison's supply.⁷¹

Hearing on August 8 that the Indians were still at Fort Allen, Major Parsons "wrote to Capt. Reynolds or other commanding Officer at Fort Allen immediately to set about making a convenient place, of Green Boughs, without the Fort, for the Indians . . . And that y^e should keep the Door of the Fort shut Night & Day and Sentries placed there to prevent any from going in or out without Leave."⁷² Unfortunately, on the night of August 5 trouble already had broken out; and Captain Reynolds, returned from Philadelphia, had to write to Lieutenant Colonel Weiser

of y^e truth of y^e bad affair that hapned in y^e fort at my absence. Y^e Indian King was in y^e fort with 3 Squas & one of them he kept as his own y^e other being Running about y^e Lieutenant & one Cillian Long & forgin Hylands begun to Goke [joke] with them & wirick [Corporal Christian Weyrick] was for turning the Squas out of y^e fort & y^e Leutenant would not alow of it as there was no place made out of y^e fort at that time now y^e Soldiors Says y^t y^e Leutenant & y^e other 2 Should a have taken Rum & water & washed their yards with it for fear of Getting Sum Distemper of y^e Squas & y^e Leutenant Says he Can prove to y^e Contrary by Evedence & So about that y^e Soldiers Got a Goking, and at Last Got in Earnest & Wrich began to treten to Shoot & y^e Rest began to Lay on him with Stiks & then atlast no Comander being Present y^e Leutenant being a Sleep Wirick Gumpt into y^e Winder weakned him & Got 2 Guns & Snapt them but y^e Leutenant Still Sriving to take them from him But was not able Wirik Being in Lickor & in a reage Got a Gun & fired her against a Stone wall & broke her Stock & tore y^e Leutenants Jaikit this is what y^e Leutenant Says & y^e Leutenant Says that he Cried for assistan but none would Cum & y^e Soldiers Says y^e would have tied

⁷⁰ PPC, August 16, 1756; printed in *PA1*, II, 748.

⁷¹ Parsons to Morris, August 14, 1756, *ibid.*, 746.

⁷² *Id.* to [], August 8, 1756, draft in Northampton County Papers, 1727-1758, p. 219.

Wirich but y^e Leiutenant would not alow of it & a Sargent & five men went out of y^e fort & Said y^e would Go to Cap^t Wetherholt & Get Releif But y^e Leiutenant Says he Called after y^e Sargent & five men. But no heed was given to him y^e would not Cum back y^e Sargent being Drunck & as bad as any of y^e Rest. . . .⁷³

"The 6th of Augt," Captain Wetterholt reported, "the Ensign returned to the Fort and put things in better order." Wetterholt, who had reported the affair to Major Parsons, received orders to arrest "Christian Weyrick and bind him fast & send him to the County Goal at Easton for exciting a Mutiny," and "to put the Lieut. under an Arrest for not endeavouring to suppress a Mutiny," and to send him to Fort Norris.⁷⁴

"I am very doubtful" wrote Major Parsons to the Governor, "that Capt. Reynolds is rather too young for that Station where the Indians are and will be continually passing and repassing and may require the Care and Conduct of a more experienced Officer." Next day, on August 16, when Wetterholt brought Weyrick to jail, Parsons heard "That Capt. Reynolds is gone again from the Fort, with his Ensign, who as far as I can learn is the best Officer of the 3 at Fort Allen. And that Teedyuscung is return'd again to the Fort. To Morrow Morning I will go and enquire into the Reason of his unaccountable Behaviour and endeavour to send him away."⁷⁵

Parsons reported to the Governor on August 21 that on Teedyuscung's request he had recovered the deerskins for Morris' gloves and that the Indians had left the fort on August 19. In conversation Teedyuscung had told of two white prisoners held by himself and his brother Captain Harris; and learning that one of these, Leonard Weeser, was only about eighteen miles away, Parsons sent two soldiers with the Indians to get him. As for affairs at the fort:

Capt. Reynolds has not been at the Fort more than 2 or 3 Days these three Weeks & the last time he left it he took his Ensign with him, and his Lieut. Being in Arrest for not suppressing the Munity [*sic*] & for selling & embezzelling the publick Stores. The Fort is now commanded by Ensign Geiger of Capt. Wetherholds Comp. a sober prudent Person. I am very apprehensive that no good is to be expected from Capt.

⁷³ Northampton County Papers, Miscellaneous, 1749-1838, I, 53.

⁷⁴ Translation of Wetterholt to Parsons, [August 11, 1756], and copy of Parsons to Orndt, August 15, 1756, both enclosed with *id.* to Morris, August 15-16, 1756, PPC, August 16, 1756; printed in *PAI*, II, 754 and 742, respectively.

⁷⁵ *Id.* to *id.*, August 15-16, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 747-49.

Reynolds or his Lieut. & indeed the men of the Comp^y seem to follow the careless Example of their Officers. And this Fort seems naturally to require as good Officers & Men as that are in the pay of the province. From the Information I could get they have made a Tipping House of the Fort & several of the Men (after a Deduction of all their pay) remain 14 or 15^s indebted to their Capt. for Liquor. Phaps the Countrys Liquor. . . .⁷⁶

Under these circumstances it was decided to make an exchange of garrisons. Reynolds and his company were assigned to Fort Norris, and Captain Jacob Orndt was brought from that place to Fort Allen, from which he wrote on October 9 to Major Parsons:

Yeadsderday I arrifid here with my whole Compay att the fort and Captin Raynolds hath Suplyd with his men my Place and these Day arrifid one fraindly Indins here with one wite Presoner his name is hanry hass the Indin in forms me that there is teen Indins more a Comen which are about a Copley mils of from here and that the King [Teedyuscung] with more Indins layes att Waywamok [Wyoming] and is afraid to Come in. . . .⁷⁷

Another Indian conference was approaching, and Fort Allen prepared for a new invasion of friendly Indians. On October 11 the ten Indians, escorted by four of Orndt's men, arrived at Easton bringing four prisoners (Henry Hess, William Weeser, George Fox, and Samuel Clifford) and a message from Teedyuscung, who had been alarmed, they said, by some threatening messages. Orndt wrote on October 24 that Teedyuscung himself had arrived, but that he "had with him no more than Thirty Indians, a hundred of the Company that sat out with him from Diahogo staying behind at a little distance from Fort Allen, with design to see what reception their Chief wou'd meet with."⁷⁸

Governor Denny, who had succeeded Morris, conferred with Teedyuscung at Easton on November 8-17, 1756, at a conference which was overshadowed in its opening days by reports of the parties of loitering and hostile Indians. On November 5 Lieutenant Colonel Weiser recorded that:

This Afternoon Mr. Horsfield from Bethlehem came to Eston and informed Major parsons and my self that the Night before an Indian went privately from Easton to Bethlehem and

⁷⁶ Horsfield Papers, II, 285.

⁷⁷ Enclosed with Parsons to Peters, October 10, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 5-6.

⁷⁸ *CR*, VII, 284, 305.

informed . . . that there were about 40 Indians at and about Fort Allen that at Trout Creek were about 100 Men, their number increasing, who were of Minisink Tribe and who were averse to a Peace with the English. . . .

Weiser reported this to a few Six Nations Indians, who told him "that two of their Indians would be here this Night; they had sent them to Fort Allen two Days ago." These on their return assured Weiser that the stories of the loiterers' bad intentions were false. Governor Denny also received Justice Horsfield's report while he was on his way to Easton, and he delayed his arrival until reassured.⁷⁹

Weiser informed Captain Orndt on November 10 "that Moses Tittamy and two other Indians on the part of Teedyuscung and Serjeant Holler on y^e part of y^e Gov. accompanied wth Daniel Stanton & John Pemberton" were sent to invite these Indians down to the treaty. In two letters written next day, however, Orndt reported to Major Parsons that the messages had arrived at Fort Allen that morning, "and att four a Clock in the afternoon these Day the Came back again and the advised me that the Indians is not Intentid to Come to Eston the Would Stay Where they are Til King Ditiuscus Comes back to these fort. . . ."⁸⁰

On November 16 Richard Peters wrote Orndt that steps were being taken to pursue the hostile Indians "who have lately committed Murders on the Inhabitants near Fort Henry, Fort Lebanon & Fort Franklin," and asked that he caution the friendly Indians regarding these measures.⁸¹

At the conclusion of this Easton conference Weiser traveled as far as Fort Allen to escort Teedyuscung and his party toward the Susquehanna; and from there twenty of Captain Orndt's men accompanied Weiser as far as Fort Franklin on his way to Reading. According to a return dated November 26, 1756, the garrison consisted at this time of fifty men, including two sergeants and two corporals, under the command of Captain Orndt, Lieutenant Miller, and Ensign Nicholas Conrad. An appended note reports that "The Well is sinking deeper on Acco^t of the very dry season, & Boards are wanting for the Houses & Scaffolds"; and it is suggested that "perhaps 10 men may be added" to the garrison.⁸²

⁷⁹ Weiser Journal, enclosed with Weiser and Parsons to Denny, November 6, 1756, PPC; printed in *PA1*, III, 32.

⁸⁰ Draft of Weiser's orders to Orndt, and original letters, Orndt to Parsons, November 10 and 11, 1756, PPC.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, November 16; printed in *PA1*, III, 51.

⁸² PPC; printed in *PA1*, III, 66-68, and *PA5*, I, 73-74.

March, 1757, brought signs of spring and of another Indian conference. On March 31 Captain Orndt wrote to Major Parsons that fifty Indians had arrived, among whom were two of "King" Teedyuscung's sons and one of his brothers; "they behave very civil here, they have made Cabbins about 60 Perches from the Fort, where they live, and intend to tarry here till the King comes." On April 3 four more Indians arrived, bringing a white man, Nicholas Ramston, who had been captured January 17 at the site of Fort Norris. In the letter reporting this last incident, Orndt inopportunately asked Major Parsons for a week's furlough beginning April 18, in reply to which Governor Denny informed the Major that "Neither Captain Orndt, nor any of his Officers nor Men are to be suffer'd to be absent from their Garrison On any Account whatever"; and he ordered that Orndt provide Teedyuscung with an escort to Easton.⁸³

The "King" drew near with regal deliberation. On May 28, more than six weeks later, Captain Orndt wrote to the Governor:

I am Wery much Consernid about the Indins fore they hath been most Constandly att the fort and hath Carried Provisions up to Wayomock as the hath Informid me and the Time is exepired that Ditiuskum Should Come in and Several morders hath been Comitid on the fronters and I quistion if Sum of them murderirs have not allso been att the fort fore Provision I Desier if it Pleges your houner to let me no if Ditiuskom Doth not Come in Wather I Should let them have any mor Provision or not—

Comisary young hath been att the fort the 26th Instand and hath musterd my Compeny and Paid them of til the feirst of June next except lievtienend meller his Pay he hath Stopt fore he Could not Shoa his Comision fore he hath lost it and he is intendit to go to Philadelphia to your houner fore an other Comision but I hope your houner Well Consider of these matter fore Lievtienend meller hath behaved hem Selfe Wery unmanirly and Disorderly in the Time as the Indins hath been att the fort Comisary young Will give your houner Information of the Perticelers Which I have against the Lievtienent meller and of his bad Cunduct.⁸⁴

These references to Lieutenant Miller are reminiscent of Captain Reynolds' troubles with Lieutenant Allen at this same fort. Unfortunately, Miller's bad conduct, which had begun at Trucker's Mill the year before, had not yet run its course. On July 5 Orndt wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Weiser:

⁸³ *CR*, VII, 474-77.

⁸⁴ Original in PPC, May 28, 1757.

I am inform'd that Lieut. Miller is run away with another man's wife, and hope you will inform his Honour the Governor how necessary it is that I have another Lieutenant. If you would be pleas'd to recommend Ensign Conrad in his stead, who, I think, will be a man very fit for a Lieutenant.⁸⁵

This last letter also reported the arrival of Teedyuscung the evening before; and on July 9 the Governor wrote Weiser that

Since my last of the 7th instant I received by Express a Letter from Captⁿ Orndt copy of which is inclosed, informing me that he has conducted to Easton 130 Indians & stays there to guard them. . . . It is absolutely necessary you should hasten to Easton; and at all adventures take wth you a Detachment sufficient to reinforce Fort Allen as well as to guard the Town. . . . On your Arrival, order Capt Orndt to Fort Allen there to remain till further orders.⁸⁶

The conference—the one at which the Province proclaimed peace with the Indians on the Susquehanna—lasted some two weeks, from July 21 to August 7, 1757. Orndt apparently was at Easton until the beginning of August, when he made a "Report of the Indians that came to Easton, & way of Fort Allen." Then, on August 5 the Shawnee chief man Paxinosa, the Mahican Abraham, and fifty-seven of their followers arrived at Fort Allen on their tardy way to Easton; and Orndt had to escort them to that place, where the Governor waited to confer with them.⁸⁷ Teedyuscung left Easton August 12, escorted by Captain Orndt to Fort Allen, where they arrived next day. To make a favorable impression on the Indians, the Province had agreed to build Teedyuscung a new town at Wyoming to replace the old town which had been burned; and Teedyuscung requested, as Orndt reported to Governor Denny on August 19, that

. . . the Governor might be pleased to send People to Wyomink this Fall, or early in the Spring, and that a little Fort might be built there, that they might put their Wives and Children in Safety, if there should come any Danger; and that they would move from Diahoga to Wyomink in the Beginning of May next.

The Indians began to return [home] from Fort Allen the 15th & 16th Instant, Teedyuscung went from thence the

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*; printed in *PAI*, III, 207. Miller's name appears in full in the original manuscript.

⁸⁶ Draft of letter in PPC.

⁸⁷ Report of Indians, July 8-August 5, 1757; Orndt to Denny, [August 6, 1757]; *id.* to Weiser, August 6, 1757, PPC.

17th, very glad and joyful; several Families staid at the Fort, being sick.⁸⁸

At the beginning of the year 1758, reorganization of the Provincial forces, intimations of a conciliatory attitude on the part of the Ohio Indians, and preparations for General Forbes' campaign brought stir and a breath of change to the frontier; and all these movements were felt in some degree at Fort Allen. The military reorganization put into effect in late January assigned Captain Orndt's company to the new 2d Battalion commanded by Lieutenant Colonel James Burd. Orndt was recommissioned as of December 10, 1757, with Lieutenant James Hays (December 3) and Ensign Joseph Quicksell (December 9) as his new subordinates; and Lieutenant Conrad was transferred to another company.⁸⁹

About this same time, in consequence of the report "that a small Party of French were expected next month from Niagara to join a Muncy Captain & some of his Warriours; & their Intention is to go towards the Settlements near Delaware, and to take an English Fort, situated at a place called by the Indians the Bending Hill, which we suppose to be Fort Allen" (so Captain Shippen wrote Burd on January 20), the Governor ordered half of Captain Wetterholt's company to Fort Allen. "I would have sent a full Company to Reinforce Fort Allen," the Governor wrote Colonel Burd on February 3, "but Mr Young informs me there is not Room in the Fort for more than I have Ordered."⁹⁰

The changes are reflected in returns of this date. One by Captain Joseph Shippen, dated May 10, 1758, but based upon Adjutant Jacob Kern's return of February 5, reports at "Fort Allen Capt^t Orndt, Lt Conrad 53 [men]"; on the other hand, Commissary Young's return dated February 9 lists "At Fort Allen, one and a half Comp^y 78 [men]"⁹¹

Adjutant Jacob Kern, ordered by Lieutenant Colonel Burd on January 21 to visit the posts east of the Susquehanna, says in his report that on January 26 "I arrived at fort Allen I Delivered Capt Arnd & Liut Conrardt there Commissions and mustered the Comp^a them men are in good order this fort is of no Service to the Country," an observation that may help account for the reports current a month or so later that the Fort Allen garrison would be moved below the mountain.

⁸⁸ Entered in PR, Q, 87; printed in CR, VII, 723-24.

⁸⁹ PAI, III, 336.

⁹⁰ Shippen to Burd, *ibid.*, 333; Denny to *id.*, Shippen Family Papers, III, 119.

⁹¹ PPC; printed in PAI, III, 339-41.

Traveling from east to west, Kern completed his tour and arrived at Lancaster on February 5, when he drew up his report.⁹² On February 27-28, Lieutenant Colonel Burd himself visited this fort, traveling eastward along the line of defenses:

Arrived at Fort Allen at 1½ after 2 P:M a prodigious Hilly place and poor land 15 miles from M^r Everitts ordered a review of this Garrison tomorrow at 8 A:M

28 Tuesday

At 8 A:M reviewed this Garrison doing duty Captⁿ Orndt, Lieu^{ts} Hays & Laughery & Ensigne Quixell & 75 men, this is a very good Garrison, stores 2 Months Provisions 225 pound poudder 300^{lb} lead 500 flints 2 sweevel Guns 26 Province arms bad, no Drum, kittles, nor blanketts, 1 spade 1 shovell 1 Grubing how & 14 bad axes

This is a very poor stockade surrounded with Hills Situated on a barron plain through which the River Lechy runs distance ab^t 70 yards from the Fort, there is scarce room here for 40 men.

Ordered Captⁿ Orndt to Regulate his Ranging by his Intelligence from time to time as he informed me 5 Indians from Bethlahem has promis'd faithfully to Captⁿ Orndt to come here & reconnoitre the woods Constantly round & to furnish him with Intelligence—likewise to put a Targett 6 Inches thick to learn the soldiers to shout.⁹³

Lieutenant James Laughrey, it must be observed, headed the detachment of Wetterholt's men then posted here.

Soon after this date news arrived of the Ohio Indians' overtures. Of ten Indian messengers who had arrived at Fort Augusta on February 14-15, five set out two weeks later for Bethlehem to see Teedyuscung. On March 7 Captain Orndt wrote from Fort Allen to Timothy Horsfield: "The bearer whereof, escordis five Indians to Bethlahem, the arrived here yesderday, in 45 Days from Tioko, and from Fort Augusta they have a Pertikuler meassige to Titiuskon, but I can not learn what it might bee. . . ."⁹⁴ From Bethlehem Teedyuscung and three of the five went to Philadelphia, arriving there March 11 for a conference with Governor Denny. When the conference ended on March 25 Denny directed one of the newcomers (Willemaghikink or James) to carry to the Ohio the peace belt given Teedyuscung the previous August. At the same conference Teedyuscung informed the Governor

⁹² Kern, "Journal of my Journey from Reading to forks of Delaware and back to fort Hunter," Gratz Collections. Cited hereafter as Kern Journal.

⁹³ Burd Journal, PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 355.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 350.

"that upon intelligence received that the French were coming against Fort Allen, I sent Captain Harrison [Teedyuscung's brother] and three other Indians to the Assistance of that Place, they were there on Service Ranging in the Woods two Weeks. I desire they may be rewarded for their Service."⁹⁵

Between rumors of attack and of peace, the situation of Fort Allen remained unsettled. On March 29, 1758, Captain Orndt reported that "The 25th Cur^t arrived here twenty Indians from Diahoga with several Strings of white Wampum assuring the English that they would keep their Young Men at home, & would do no more harm to the Inhabitants"; but he added, "I have almost finished the Trench about the Fort, and intends setting up Saplins to hinder the Enemy from breaking over the Trench."⁹⁶

On April 10 Teedyuscung appeared again in Philadelphia with a messenger from the Delaware Indians settled at Canisteo; and again the government arranged for messengers to be sent to the Indians. At the close of the conference, "as Teedyuscung was in haste to dispatch the Messenger, and sent out some of his Young Men to scour our Frontiers, he sat out next morning for Bethlehem"; on April 23 Timothy Horsfield, coming to Philadelphia, duly reported "that, Teedyuscung, a Day or two after he had Dispatch'd his Two Sons &c^a to the Alleghena, Sent Five other Indians to range on our Frontiers in Company with some of Cap^t Orndts' Men." On this same day, however, John Edwin wrote from Bethlehem:

This Morning a Soldier came from Fort Allen with a letter from Cap^t Orndt, . . . in which the Captain gives you an account of the Trouble he had with Teedyuscungs Messengers and that he could not get them from the Fort, Sooner, than Yesterday Morning, and that they came back again towards Evening, telling the Captain they would not carry the Message. . . . The Captain complains also that those Indians who were to range, did Nothing but Drink and were continually Drunk, they having brought whole Casks of Rum from Easton. . . .⁹⁷

Since the fall of 1757 Fort Allen had been the only Northampton County fort north of the Blue Mountain; and it is not surprising that there should have been talk of removing its garrison, too, to a post

⁹⁵ *CR*, VIII, 51.

⁹⁶ PPC, copy apparently in Joseph Shippen's handwriting; printed in *PAI*, III, 367.

⁹⁷ Letter entered in PR, Q, 247-48; printed in *CR*, VIII, 98-99. "John Edwin" probably is John Ettwein, who was then at Bethlehem but left two months later on a trip to North Carolina.

below the mountain. Adjutant Kern's remark in January on the uselessness of Fort Allen to the settlers seems to be reflected in Commissary Young's proposed disposition of garrisons (probably drawn up in February, 1758), which omits Fort Allen.⁹⁸ In a petition dated March 1, 1758, and bearing some sixty names, the Governor was urged to abandon this fort and was advised

That if a Fort was to be built on this Side of the blue Mountains it would be of the most Service on this Side of Lechai on Daniel Schneiders Land from whence it would command up the Lechai so far as beyond the Mountain and across the River to the other Shore Or if our Superiors should not like this Place then on the other Side of Druckers Mill on the blue Mountains There being a good Spring and an Eminence which commands on all its Sides a large Extent of Land⁹⁹

But in opposition to this, "The Humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the Other Side and this Side the Blue Mountain on the West Branch, in Towamensing and Lehigh Townships," dated March 9 and bearing some ninety names, protested that "we are informed, that Fort Allen Shall be taken away from the Place where the Fort Stationed at present, and Shall be Build an other this Side the mountains, which would be verry Hart for us. . . ."¹⁰⁰

The fort was not moved, but the garrison was replaced. On May 11 Governor Denny ordered "that the Companies of Captains Morgan, Wetherholt, Davis, Orndt and Garraway do immediately march to Reading, there to receive their Pay. Capt^a Orndt is directed to leave an Officer and Twenty Men at Fort Allen till further orders."¹⁰¹

This mobilization of men for General Forbes' army left Northampton County almost destitute of troops; only Ensign Joseph Quicksell and the twenty men were left. Isaac Zane, who with Christian Frederick Post traveled from Bethlehem to Wyoming, where the workmen were building Teedyuscung's new town, recorded that on May 24 "we got to Fort Allin before night and we were Exceeding kindly treated there by ye Ensign, he being the Cheaf Command (ye Captain being gone to Ohio)."¹⁰²

⁹⁸ PPC [February, 1758], unsigned document in Young's handwriting; printed in *PA5*, I, 362.

⁹⁹ PPC, appended to the petition printed in *PA1*, III, 347. Daniel Schneider's land lay on the west side of the Lehigh between Trucker's Mill and the mountain.

¹⁰⁰ PPC; printed in *PA1*, III, 359-60.

¹⁰¹ Berks and Montgomery County Papers, 63, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁰² Joseph H. Coates (ed.), "Journal of Isaac Zane to Wyoming, 1758," *PMHB* XXX (1906), 419.

Orndt later returned, but this time as major and with General Forbes' orders to supervise the garrisons east of the Susquehanna. During his absence a company of the new levies, raised for the duration of the campaign, arrived at Fort Allen. Twenty-three of these companies had been formed, sixteen of which, with their officers' commissions arbitrarily dated May 1 to 18, composed Colonel Mercer's new 3d Battalion. A return made by Major Joseph Shippen in May reported that one of these companies had marched from Philadelphia to Fort Allen; and the Moravian Bethlehem Diary records under date of May 29 that "About 60 new recruits, who arrived yesterday from Philadelphia and stayed at our inn, marched towards evening from here toward Fort Allen."¹⁰³ The officers, commissioned as of May 12, were Captain John Bull, Lieutenant Samuel Price, and Ensign Andrew Wackerberg (not Ensign Charles Van Warnsdorff, named by error in the official lists).¹⁰⁴

The new commander had the immediate task of repairing the fort; for the reports showed that the place which Commissary Young had found "very well Staccaded" in June, 1756, had deteriorated to "a very poor stockade" by the time of Major Burd's visit in February, 1758. That this matter was emphasized in subsequent instructions to the commanding officer is apparent in Captain Bull's reply of July 1 to a letter from Richard Peters:

You have Informed me there has Been Frequent orders for Clearing the Wood Round the Fort which was within near too Hundred yards or as far as Ever it was Done Fifteen days Before I Recived the First orders for that work. But Never the Less Being Willing to do all In my Power Agreeable to orders I Set to Clearing the large Timber which has Never Been Done Before. I am Verry Sorry that I Should be Blamed in this Accompt,

While I Can Prove the Work was Done the very next Week after I Came to the fort and also Provided Split Timber and Lined the Stockades Repaired the Ramparts This Done without orders to that Purpose But Thought it was my duty to do For my Country In his Honours Service,¹⁰⁵

Like his predecessors, Captain Bull found himself much concerned also with Indians. On June 6 "two Indians, Aquelin & John Philips,

¹⁰³ *PA5*, I, 174; Moravian Diarium Bethlehem, 1758, XVIII.

¹⁰⁴ *PA5*, I, 185; PPC, July 16, 1758, James Young to Richard Peters: "by mistake of your Clerk . . . Vanwarinsdorf Stands in the list to Capt Bulls Compy whereas it should be Andrew Wekerberg." See also Mercer to Denny, December 3, 1758, *PA1*, III, 571.

¹⁰⁵ PPC, July 1, 1758.

came to the Fort express from Teedyuscung, at Wyoming, to let them know that on Sunday last [June 4] were seen a party of Enemy Indians about 78 in number, directing their course towards the Minisinks." On June 9 Charles Thomson and Christian Frederick Post arrived at the fort on their way from Philadelphia to Wyoming with a message for Teedyuscung; and on June 14 they appeared again on their return trip. Captain Bull, who on June 12 had written to assure Richard Peters that he would look out for the safety of the inhabitants, now sent to warn Samuel Dupui of news brought by Thomson and Post "that there pas'd by Wioming a party of Indians, in number 25, Being part of too hundred French Indians, on their way to the frontiers or Minisinks"; and on the same day he addressed Peters on a homelier but troublesome matter: "These is to let you know that there is dayly Indians Passing and Repassing, and they want Supplys from us, . . . be pleas'd to send me a line leting me know whether I must see them Suply'd or not. . . ." ¹⁰⁶

Post arrived again at the fort on June 24, carrying another message to Teedyuscung; and on June 29 Lieutenant Price wrote from Fort Allen to inform Governor Denny "that King Teadeyscunk is arrived here with Three Nations of Indians and Tis a Comming to hold a Treaty with your honour and Council, and expects to be there in five days, and Desires your Honour to meet him at Gearmantown"; and he added that "I have to Inform your Honour that Captian Bull and Ensign Quicksell set out on a Scout with 40 men towards the Mime-sinks and up to the Mountains, and has not Returnd as yet." ¹⁰⁷

This arrival of Teedyuscung at Fort Allen at the end of June was a matter of importance. At Wyoming Post had found two of the Ohio Delawares come to make inquiries about peace; and he had persuaded these men and some other Indians who had come with them from Canisteo to talk with the Governor. In consequence of a conference held at Philadelphia July 7-12, Post was requested to return home with the two Ohio Indians. General Forbes had begun his westward march; and the situation seemed opportune to win the western Delawares to a more benevolent attitude. More immediately, Forbes' advance occasioned the departure from Fort Allen of Ensign Quicksell and the detachment of Orndt's men. Colonel Bouquet at Carlisle on June 7 had written General Forbes that "There are 30 good men at Fort Allen and a good officer, whom Colonel Burd wishes you would send to him, having them relieved by new recruits, who would be enough

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*; printed in *PAI*, III, 413, 422-23.

¹⁰⁷ Post Journal, *CR*, VIII, 143; Price to Denny, PPC, printed in *PAI*, III, 429.

in this unimportant post." On July 19, accordingly, Quicksell and his men set out for Reading on their way to join the army at Raystown.¹⁰⁸

Post and his Indian companions arrived at Fort Allen on July 20 and found Teedyuscung jealous of their errand. One of his sons had just returned to Wyoming from the Ohio; and Teedyuscung argued that this young man could supply all the information needed. On July 22, Post relates, "I desired my companions to prepare to set out, upon which *Teedyuscung* called them all together in the fort, and protested against my going. His reasons were, that he was afraid the *Indians* would kill me, or the *French* get me. . . ." To avoid further obstacles of this sort, Post turned aside from the road to Wyoming and chose a route along the south side of the Blue Mountain and up to Fort Augusta. Writing to Governor Denny on July 24, Major Orndt reported that Teedyuscung's son had arrived the same day and delivered a friendly message (which Orndt enclosed) from the Ohio Delawares. "Teedyuscung and his men," he concluded, "are Just now going to March from Fort Allen."¹⁰⁹

Evidently there were other Indian interviews at the fort, for on July 30 Captain Bull wrote an odd little note, apparently to the Governor:

An additional Mesage from the Mohake Chief By a Mohake Indian Named John Hutson Which Came after I Had Sent the Other Disiring that I Might Let Your Honour Know that there is too Nations of Mohaks Ready and Wiling to Come for Peace As Soon as he Returns to his own Country & that 1500 Is Gone to War Against the french Sir Please Your honour Not to Take these Lines Amiss They Being Done to Satisfy the Indians¹¹⁰

The status of the eastern garrisons, much reduced in strength, was uncertain. On June 12 Captain Bull had asked Richard Peters "if you can give me in some measure notice when we shall march, or whether I shall march shortly or not"; and a week later Major Joseph Shippen had reported to Governor Denny that, of the new levies, "Cap^{ts} Blackwood & Bull being stationed at Reading & Fort Allen, I am at a loss to know whether they should be immediately ordered from these Posts to Carlisle."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Bouquet to Forbes, *Bouquet Papers*, II, 46, 51; Blackwood to Richard Peters, July 19, 1758, Pennsylvania Miscellaneous, New York Public Library.

¹⁰⁹ Post Journal, Thwaites (ed.), *Early Western Travels*, I, 187; Orndt to Denny, PPC, printed in *PAI*, III, 490-91.

¹¹⁰ Unsigned letter in Captain Bull's handwriting, PPC.

¹¹¹ Bull to Peters, PPC, printed in *PAI*, III, 422-23; Shippen to Denny, printed in *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 460.

The matter was settled in consultations with General Forbes' subordinate, Colonel Bouquet; and on July 9 Shippen wrote from Carlisle to report the arrangements to the Governor. The forces in Northampton County were reduced to two companies of new levies: Captain Bull and thirty men were to remain at Fort Allen; Captain Neilson and twenty men were to be posted at "Teedts' Block House and Depu's"; and three detachments, each consisting of an officer and twenty men drawn from these two companies, were to be stationed "At three of the most convenient Posts for the immediate defence of the Inhabitants between Schuylkill and Delaware."¹¹² However, neither of these two captains remained long in the county; both left, one without his company, at the end of the Easton conference of October 8-26, 1758.

This conference was held upon the return of Post with two of the Ohio Indians, and at it was concluded a treaty designed as a basis for peace between the Province and all the western Indians. Post having gone as an express to General Forbes, Captain John Bull and William Hays volunteered to accompany the Indians and deliver a message inviting the western Indian nations to Philadelphia; and the party set out from Easton on October 21. Post, who returned next day from General Forbes' camp, joined the others at Reading on October 27; and the entire delegation went by way of the military road to Loyalhanna, where they overtook General Forbes; and from here they went on to the Indian towns at Kuskusky (present New Castle), arriving there on November 16. Before Captain Bull returned to Philadelphia on December 18, the time of the new levies had expired and his company had been paid off.¹¹³

In the meanwhile preparations were underway to make Fort Allen more of a trading post. After long delay the Province had enacted on April 18, 1758, "An Act for Preventing Abuses in the Indian Trade, for supplying the Indians, Friends and Allies of Great Britain, with Goods at more easy Rates, and for securing and strengthening the Peace and Friendship lately concluded with the Indians inhabiting the Northern and Western Frontiers of this Province." The Commissioners for Indian Affairs named in this act had established a trading post at

¹¹² PPC; printed in *PA5*, I, 241.

¹¹³ Denny, passport for Indians, October 19, 1758, *PAI*, III, 554-55; Denny, message to Indians [October 20, 1758], *CR*, VIII, 206-208; Peters to Pemberton and Pemberton to Peters, October 21, 1758, *PAI*, III, 555; Denny, instructions to Captain Bull and William Hayes, October 21, 1758, *ibid.*, 556-57. There is a report of Captain Bull's return to Philadelphia in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 21, 1758.

Fort Augusta; and on December 11, 1758, Governor Denny approved their nomination of Robert Tuckness as agent of a second post at Fort Allen.¹¹⁴

What troops (if any) garrisoned this fort in the winter of 1758 after the reduction of the new levies is not clear; possibly a detachment of Captain Wetterholt's men was stationed here. However this may have been, Ensign Henry Orndt, commissioned in Wetterholt's company as of March 21, 1759, wrote from Fort Allen on July 12, 1759, to inform the Governor that in Heidelberg Township, Northampton County, a boy had been captured by Indians from whom he had escaped ten days later.¹¹⁵ The same year saw a change of agents at the Provincial trading post. On September 25 the Indian Commissioners made new nominations, and the Governor appointed James Irvine to the post. The surviving Fort Allen Day Book for the period from October 8, 1759, to April 30, 1760, records in detail the Indian trade carried on here through the ensuing months.¹¹⁶

In anticipation of the dismissal of the new levies at the end of the 1759 campaign, Colonel Burd drew up a plan for assignment of the old companies of his own 2d Battalion; and in this list "Ens Wauykenburg," a sergeant, and twenty men are assigned to Fort Allen. This undoubtedly is the Andrew Wackerberg who had served at Fort Allen under Captain John Bull in the summer of 1758, and he may have been there when Burd drew up his list; certainly he was there later.¹¹⁷

When the Assembly decided to reduce most of the old troops as well as the new levies and to retain only 150 men in pay, Governor Hamilton wrote Burd that the troops of the 2d Battalion then in garrison at Fort Augusta and Fort Allen would compose two of the three companies into which these men would be formed: Burd and Hugh Mercer were placed in command of these companies, "each to consist of Forty four Privates, Two Serjeants a Drum, and Three Commission'd Officers." Burd's company was made up from the garrison at Fort Augusta; Mercer's was divided, half at Fort Augusta, the remainder, "twenty one privates a Captain a Lieutenant and two Serjeants for the Garrison of Fort Allen." Of the two officers assigned

¹¹⁴ CR, VIII, 74, 234. The Indian Commissioners' cash book records the payment on December 6, 1758, of £37 2s. 6d. to "John Hays in full of Jacob Orndts Accot for Building a Store." Gratz Collections, Indian Commissioners Papers.

¹¹⁵ PPC; printed in PAI, III, 670. In PA5, I, 179, the ensign's name appears as Jacob Orndt.

¹¹⁶ Indian Commissioners to Denny, September 25, 1758, PPC; Fort Allen Day Book, Gratz Collections, Indian Commissioners Papers.

¹¹⁷ Shippen Family Papers, IX, Pt. 1, 267; see also *ibid.*, 257.

here, Mercer, of course, was the captain, and Samuel J. Attlee the lieutenant.¹¹⁸

During Burd's absence from Fort Augusta, Mercer was in command there during March and April, 1760. On March 16 Mercer reported to Burd that "I have Receivd two Letters from Attlee at Fort Allen Six of his Garrison have deserted, and his Circumstances are bad enough to oblige him & all the Rest to follow—" The nature of the difficulty was unfortunately not explained.¹¹⁹

At the end of this time Burd and Mercer set off on the western campaign of 1760 in command of the 1st and 2d Battalions of troops raised for this season. Among the fourteen companies (each of one hundred men) of Burd's new 1st Battalion was one officered by Captain Thomas Price (commissioned as of April 18), Lieutenant Andrew Wackerberg (April 28), and Ensign Samuel Sullivan, part of which, under Lieutenant Wackerberg, replaced some of the Fort Allen garrison.¹²⁰

The new commander was not a success, as numerous reports indicate. The Governor having encouraged Teedyuscung to attend an Indian council to be held near present Sandusky, Ohio, the Province sent to Fort Allen supplies for Teedyuscung and the Indians of his party. Christian Frederick Post, appointed to accompany Teedyuscung, arrived at the fort on May 9 on his way to Wyoming and found that the supplies had been mishandled. He wrote:

In the Evening I reach'd Fort Allen. Here they related to me how badly the Goods had been managed, that were sent up for the Indians, they having divided them amongst them & already squander'd away a good many of them, which I was much grieved to hear. I thought to have procured here what I yet wanted for my journey, but was disappointed. . . .¹²¹

Wackerberg made an equally bad impression on Lieutenant Graydon, who was sent to Fort Allen by Captain Francis Johnston, the new commandant at Fort Augusta. Johnston reported on Graydon's journey in a letter to Colonel Burd dated August 1, 1760:

. . . Lt Graydon is returned fm Ft Allen and has settled with & p^d off that Garrison up to the 1st July, leaving the

¹¹⁸ Hamilton to Burd, January 7, 1760, *ibid.*, V, 3.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 19.

¹²⁰ PA5, I, 312.

¹²¹ Christian Frederick Post Journal, 1760, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Post and a white companion, turned back by the Senecas at Canisteo, were unable to attend the western conference, and on June 29 they returned to Fort Allen on their homeward journey.

rem^r in M^r Wackerbergs hands—ab^t £ 92 . 10—which we have reason to imagine M^r Wackerberg is gone off wth—And to mend the Matter, Poor Graydon . . . at Hunter's on his way home, had taken out or lost out of his Pockett Boock with £ 30— in it which I had sent wth him to inlist Col^o Mercer's Men at F^t Allen—. . .

L^t Graydon begs you'l inform Col^o Mercer that there is one Man to be paid at F^t Allen for w^{ch} there was no Money sent—M^r Wackenbergs insisted upon his Return being right and M^r Graydon saw seventeen Men there—¹²²

Richard Peters was likewise aware of Wackerberg's incompetence. Replying on September 11 to an inquiry from General Robert Monckton, he assured the British commander that "No Indians are supported at Fort Augusta nor at Fort Allen. The Officer at this last place is a German one Wackerberg a poor creature who keeps no Authority and as M^r Post says gives Quantities of Provisions to a parcel of Indians y^t are perpetually passing to and fro for Rum. . . ." ¹²³ And indeed Post had reported to Peters on August 6 that "I hoerd to day that above 100 indeans ar araift at pfort allen to com Daun to a triti to philadelphia I tanck de hounger brings dam Daun. . . ." ¹²⁴

Lieutenant Wackerberg seems to have been the last commanding officer at Fort Allen. The Assembly had made no provision for continuing any Pennsylvania troops in service; so, as the time approached for disbanding those enlisted for the duration of the campaign, Governor Hamilton on December 5 ordered Burd to resume command of the Fort Augusta garrison and added that "Fort Allen is also to be continued with ten Men and an Officer until further Order." In a letter transmitting these orders to Burd, Paymaster James Young included the Governor's instruction, "Weckerber also to Remain at F^t Allen till the 5th Jan^y when the Assembly meets." ¹²⁵

On January 8, 1761, the Governor urged the Assembly to provide for about 150 men still in service, half of them still at the western posts, and added: "With respect to the remainder, who are Still in Garrison at the Forts, Augusta and Allen, I thought it would be most agreeable to you, as Well as beneficial to the publick that They should not be disbanded before the time of your meeting. . . ." The Assembly declined to support these garrisons, however; and although the

¹²² Shippen Family Papers, V, 75.

¹²³ Chalmers Collection, Pennsylvania Miscellaneous, New York Public Library; printed in Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, Fourth Series, IX, 319.

¹²⁴ PPC.

¹²⁵ Hamilton to Burd, Shippen Family Papers, V, 113; Young to *id.*, *ibid.*, 119.

Governor refused to evacuate Fort Augusta, he informed the Assembly on January 28 that he had "paid off and discharged the Garrison at Fort Allen."¹²⁶ The story as contained in the Moravian Bethlehem Diary has been summarized by Bishop Levering as follows:

On January 20, the last troops at Fort Allen were paid off and discharged. Justice Horsfield and William Edmonds went up from Bethlehem, under Government Instructions, to take an inventory of the ammunition. On April 27, Horsfield, by appointment, regularly declared its evacuation on the spot and officially turned the property back into possession of the Brethren through the hand of Gottlieb Pezold who was commissioned to accompany him and formally receive it.¹²⁷

Officially evacuated, the fort remained, nevertheless, a place name and a shelter for settlers—and a scene of trouble with the Indians. Following a conference between the Governor and the Indians at Easton on August 3-12, 1761, a messenger reported to Timothy Horsfield on September 1 that "He Enquired on this Side Fort Allen the Circumstances of that Fort, the People told him that Fort was abandoned, that the people had left it for fear of the Indians." The Indians—some of those who had attended the conference—had ransacked the fort, it appears, for the sake of the provisions they assumed were still to be found there; and among the residents whom they had put to flight Horsfield mentions a certain John Gets and his wife and Lieutenant Wackerberg.¹²⁸

Nor was the military history of the post quite at an end. In the early part of Pontiac's War, a detachment of Captain John Nicholas Wetterholt's company "took possession of the fort" on August 12, 1763, and used it as headquarters until September 28.¹²⁹

When Samuel Preston visited the place in 1787 the fort had disappeared. On June 14, the surveyor wrote, he visited "Col. Weiss', whose house stands on or very near the spot where Fort Allen formerly stood."¹³⁰ As the structure was replaced, so too was the name,

¹²⁶ CR, VIII, 514-15, 522.

¹²⁷ Joseph Mortimer Levering, *History of Bethlehem*, 370. The evacuation is reported in the Moravian Diarium Bethlehem, 1761, XXIII, January 20. See also PA8, VII, 5659, under date of May 21, 1761.

¹²⁸ Horsfield to Hamilton, September 3-4, 1761, copy in Horsfield Papers, II, 441-44. According to Horsfield's informants, "the Indians yt Rifled Gets at Fort Allen, where [*sic*] Tutelars."

¹²⁹ Wetterholt Journal, Northampton County Papers, Bethlehem and Vicinity, 1741-1849.

¹³⁰ "Extracts from the Journal of Samuel Preston, Surveyor, 1787," *PMHB*, XXII (1898), 351.

and Fort Allen, which had superseded Gnadenhütten as a place name, was replaced in its turn by Weissport.

FORT FRANKLIN

Fort Franklin, which stood south of present Snyders, Schuylkill County, was begun in late January, 1756, and was garrisoned until November, 1756. It was the smallest of the four original forts in Northampton County and was poorly constructed. Of its three buildings, two stood at opposite corners of the stockade, which was only forty feet square, and served as bastions. It was named, apparently unofficially, for Benjamin Franklin, then a member of the Assembly and a Provincial Commissioner. The fact that this was one of the four forts built under Franklin's general supervision, and the only one left unnamed by him, of course accounts for the name it later carried and for the slow appearance of this name in the records.

The fort was built by Captain Carl Folck (Charles Foulk), whose company had assisted at Fort Allen until January 24, 1756. Writing from that fort on January 24, Franklin reported that "Foulk with his Company March this Day to build another Fort between this and Fort Lebanon in the Forks of Schuylkill. He is to be assisted by Trexlers Company and a Detachment of Wetterhold's, which also leaves this day."¹³¹

In his return of early February, Franklin reported "Capt. Foulk at the new Fort not named between Fort Allen & Fort Lebanon," with sixty-three men, probably including Wetterholt's detachment, but "Capt. Trexler (has posted himself contrary to orders within the Mountain)" with fifty-three men.¹³² The explanation for Trexler's behavior appears in a letter of January 18 from David Shultze of Upper Hanover, who says:

That it partly happened by a Mistake in the Language. Jeremiah Trexler was asked by them [the Provincial Commissioners], wether he intended to serve as a Captain of Militia or Soldiers, who answered as free Parthy, which was understood a Militia and therefore such a Commission was given and no further orders.¹³³

The misunderstanding having been corrected, Captain Folck was assigned in March to Fort Allen, and Trexler took command of "the

¹³¹ Quoted in Horsfield to Parsons, January 26, 1756, Horsfield Papers, I, 99.

¹³² Unsigned document in Franklin's handwriting, PPC [February, 1756]; printed out of order in *PA1*, III, 325. Compare the return printed in *CR*, VII, 17.

¹³³ Shultze to Robert Greenaway, *PMHB*, XIX (1895), 403-404.

new Fort not named." On Monday, April 5, however, Colonel Clapham informed Governor Morris that "Captain Trexler informs me that the Time of his men's Inlistment expires on Saturday next, and that he has no Reason to believe they will engage again. . . .";¹³⁴ and accordingly the Governor on the same day ordered Clapham:

that you immediately detach thirty of the men of your Regiment, under a Commission officer, to take post at the fort where Capⁿ Trexlers Company are at Present garrisoned, . . . and to keep as many of his men scouting between the forts Allen and Lebanon, as is consistent with the safety of the fort.¹³⁵

Colonel Clapham was at the point of removing his new battalion to the Susquehanna to prepare for the march to Shamokin; but, "being obliged to go to White Marsh to send of a complete detachment to relieve Trexler," he assigned Lieutenant Levi Trump to command at the fort.¹³⁶

About a month later there was another change of command. Lieutenant Trump rejoined Colonel Clapham's forces; and to replace him Lieutenant Andreas Engel of Captain Busse's company was ordered here from Fort Henry. Samuel Weiser was commissioned lieutenant on May 17 to fill the vacancy in Busse's company; and Engel's detachment became a separate but uncaptured company.

Traveling eastward from Fort Lebanon, Major Parsons visited this fort on June 3 during a tour of inspection and reported as follows:

Escorted by Serjant Mathews and 3 Men I set out for the Fort at Allemengle, now commanded by Lieut^t Andreas Engle; who I am in great hopes will prove a good Officer.

This Fort is not so commodiously built as the others are; the Buildings within and adjoining to it are rather cumbersome than convenient; the Pallisado's of the Fort in many places stand so far from one another, that [it] is as safe for an Enemy without to fire into, as it is for the Garrison to fire out of, it. And in some places I am persuaded I could have thrown down the Palisadoes with my Hands without the help of any Tool. The Houses, being 3 in all, are so large they require a great Number of Boards to make them any thing Tolerable in Winter, and they are so high, that they require a great Quantity of Stone to the Chymneys, and as there are no Farmer's near that have Teems Carting will come high as all the Teems must be procured from this Side of the Mountains. The Lieut^t complains heavily that he has not so much

¹³⁴ PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 615.

¹³⁵ PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 612.

¹³⁶ Morris to the Commissioners, April 8, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 617.

as a Serjeant or other Officer allowed him that he might trust to send a broad as Occasion may require; or to leave in the Fort when it may be necessary for him to go out himself. There is but one Ax belonging to the Fort and that serves for the Kitchin as well as for other Uses.—

It seems as if the Officers, formerly stationed here, had been something remiss in their Duty. And the Lieut^t assures me that he had been obliged to carry several Cart Loads of Horse Dung & Litter out of the Fort before he could get it tolerably clean, that he found most of the Men full of Vermin and was obliged to discharge two of the nastiest of them and to get all the Blankets wash'd and scoured upon that Accot. Upon the whole he seems much dejected upon coming from a Fort so very well ordered as Fort Henry is, to one that he thinks so much inferior to it in every respect.— M^r Engell assured me that he had none of the Mens Inlistments, that Lieut^t Levy Trump, who commanded there before him, did not deliver him any. And that the Account of Stores w^{ch} he did deliver are erroneous. I mustered the Men and found them as in the Return.

Fryday June the 4th 1756

Escorted by Lieut^t Engell and four of his Men I set out for Fort Allen. . . .¹³⁷

In a letter of June 19 to Benjamin Franklin to accompany a copy of this journal, Parsons wrote: "Soem People have grac'd the Fort at Allemengel with your Name, and I don't blame them for it; but I am sure it will not grace your Name, till it is put in a much better Condition than it is at present." In a rough draft, Parsons added a sentence omitted from the final letter: "I think at present it suits Trexler's Name much better than Yours."¹³⁸ Even the battalion commander did not know what to call the fort; writing to Timothy Horsfield, Lieutenant Colonel Weiser referred to papers of which "I have sent to fort libanon, on Scullkill one. and another to the fort in Allimengel where one Tromp had Comanded but is under the Comand of lieutenant Andreas Engel, the fort name I dont Know."¹³⁹ William Edmonds, writing from Bethlehem to Richard Peters on June 14, calls the fort by Franklin's name.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Parsons Journal, Loudoun Papers, Box 26, No. 1189.

¹³⁸ Parsons to Franklin, copy, *ibid.*, Box 27, No. 1225; draft in Horsfield Papers, I, 129.

¹³⁹ Undated letter, *ibid.*, II, 113-15. The papers referred to may have been copies of Governor Morris' suspension of hostilities against the Indians dated May 23, 1756; see *CR*, VII, 134.

¹⁴⁰ *PAI*, II, 669.

Commissary Young found conditions at the fort bad when he visited it in June. On the afternoon of June 21 he set out from Fort Lebanon

. . . for the Fort Above Alleminga Commanded by Leiv^t Ingle, At 1½ past 7 we got there it is Ab^t 19 Miles NE. from Fort Lebanon the Road a Narrow Path very Hilly and Swampy, . . . ½ a Mile to the Westward of this Fort is good Plantation, the people retires to the Fort every Night This Fort stands Ab^t a Mile from the North Mountain only two Plantations Near it. This Fort is a Square Ab^t 40 foot very ill Staccaded with 2 Logg houses at Opposite Corners for Bastions all very unfit for Defence, the Staccades are very Open in Many Places it Stands on the Bank of a Creek the Woods Clear for 120 Yards, the Leiv^t Ranges Towards Fort Lebanon and Fort Allen Ab^t 4 times a Week. . . .

22d June at 6 A:M: I orderd the People to fire at a Mark not above 4 in 25 hit the tree at the Distance of 85 Yards, at 7 Musterd them found 25 Present 2 Seck, 2 Absent on Furlough, 2 Sent to Reading with a Prisoner, and 5 at Fort Allen on Duty Provisions, One Cask of Beef Exceeding bad Flower and Rum for 3 Weeks;—

The list of Provincial stores in the margin of Young's journal indicates that the fort was fairly well supplied: "28 G^d Muskets 8 Want Repair 16 Cartooch boxes 8 lb Powder 24 lb Lead & 12 Rounds for 36 Men 36 Blankets 1 Axe 1 Adse 1 Augre 2 Plains 1 Hammer 2 Shovels 9 Small Tin Kettles."¹⁴¹

Along with other companies of Weiser's battalion, the garrison of this fort furnished men for the Indian conferences of this year at Easton. For the meeting with Teedyuscung on July 26-31, Weiser records on July 27 at Bethlehem, "At this Place Lieutenant Engel joined us with 13 of his Men. . . . Lieutenant Engel traveled yesterday about 37 Miles with his Men, they being lost in the Woods because for the Rainy Weather." And before the later meeting of November 8-17, Weiser, hearing of Indians assembling near Fort Allen, "sent an Express to Lieut. Engell, at Fort Franklin, to come with a Detachment of 20 Men, including a Sergeant with all possible speed, to re-inforce the Town Guard, during the time His Honor, the Governor, should stay in Easton."¹⁴²

In the absence of these detachments the forts were more open to hostile attack. On November 16 Richard Peters wrote from Easton to inform Captain Orndt at Fort Allen "that measures are taking,

¹⁴¹ Young Journal, PPC, July 2, 1756; printed in *PAI*, II, 677.

¹⁴² Conrad Weiser Correspondence, I, 77; Weiser Journal, enclosed with Weiser and Parsons to Denny, November 6, 1756, PPC, printed in *PAI*, III, 32.

as well at Shamokin as in the Forts in Berks County, to persue the Enemy Indians who have lately committed Murders on the Inhabitants near Fort Henry, Fort Lebanon & Fort Franklin. . . ."¹⁴³

In consequence probably of unfavorable reports, Weiser set out to inspect the fort on November 22.

. . . Cap^t Arnd sent an Escort with me of twenty men to Fort Franklin, where we arrived at three o'Clock in the afternoon, it being about fourteen miles distant from Fort Allen. I saw that the Fort was not Teanable, and the House not finished for the Soldiers, and that it could not be of any Service to the Inhabitant Part, there being a great Mountain between them. I ordred Lieut^t Engel to Evacuate it, and come to the South side of the Hills himself with Nineteen men, at John Eberets, Esq^r, and the Rest being Sixteen men more, at John Eckenroad, both places being about three Miles distant from each other, and both in the Township of Linn, Northampton County, untill otherways ordered.

23^d—Left Fort Franklin. The Lieut, with Ten men, escorted me as far as Probst's about Eight mile, where I discharged him, and arrived at Reading that Evening.¹⁴⁴

In the letter of November 24 with which he transmitted this report to Governor Denny, Weiser had to explain a misunderstood petition from Lieutenant Engel: "Lieutenant Engel is not at all inclinable to throw up his Commission. He got an English Clerk to write a petition for him to your Honour, and by mistake, or otherways, the words were chanced [changed]. I must beg that your Honour will Continue him; he is a good officer, in my Judgment."¹⁴⁵

The evacuation of Fort Franklin took place very soon after Weiser's visit; and in a letter of November 27 Lieutenant Engel identifies himself as "Commander in Allen-Mangel."¹⁴⁶ The return of the 1st Battalion dated November 26, 1756, but actually representing a somewhat earlier time, records the last garrison of Fort Franklin as consisting of "Lieut. Andrew Engell" and thirty-six men. A notation, "Fort Franklin In a very bad condition," and the recommendation, "the garrison to be removed within the mountain," are crossed out and replaced by "the Garrison to be sent to Fort William" (Fort Lebanon). Actually, the men went to John Everett's (Ebert's) on Weiser's orders.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴³ PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 68.

¹⁴⁴ Weiser Journal, PPC, November 24, 1756; printed in *PAI*, III, 68.

¹⁴⁵ *PA2*, VII, 253 (1878 ed.).

¹⁴⁶ Engel to Weiser, Berks and Montgomery County Papers, 61; printed in Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 466-67.

¹⁴⁷ PPC. As printed in *PA5*, I, 73-74, the observations on this fort are omitted.

Two petitions read in the Provincial Council on May 7, 1757, seem to reflect some talk of regarrisoning Fort Franklin. The first of these documents was presented on behalf of "Inhabitants of Berks County, within four Miles of and about Fort Franklin, over the Blue Mountains . . . informed that Fort Franklin aforesaid is to be removed to this Side of the said Mountains and a considerable way into Albany Township." More accurately, of course, the inhabitants had heard that a fort was to be built south of the mountain to replace the abandoned Fort Franklin north of the mountain; whereas they preferred "to have the said Fort [Franklin] continued & rebuilt, as it is very much out of order and Repair."¹⁴⁸

The other petition, from Lynn Township, Northampton County, protested that forts north of the mountain were of no value to the settlers:

the Peapel in Generel is Removed from the other Sid of the Mountain and Dayre Not goo to Live one theaire Plantations til Better Times Excepting 2 Or 3 famelyes Round Each Fort and from the outsid Setlers one this Side of the Mountaine to the Forts is Sum 5 Sum 10 Sum 16 Miles to Fort Franklen 5 to Fort Allen 10 to Fort Norres 16 to Fort Hambelton 16 Miles So that in Case of Nesety the Sodiers Cant Com to oure Assistance nor Wee to Theairs. . . .

The petition refers again to "Fort Franklen Which is Now Empty of Soldiers."¹⁴⁹ Nor was it regarrisoned afterward. Rather, Fort Hamilton and Fort Norris were also evacuated later, and the garrisons were stationed below the mountain, as the Lynn Township petitioners recommended.

Badly constructed and briefly occupied, Fort Franklin was the weakest link in the chain of frontier defense, but its weakness was only a part of a larger picture. The Northampton County defense line, however carefully planned by the Provincial Commissioners, proved unsatisfactory in practice and was almost wholly replaced by lesser posts closer to the settlements. Aside from Fort Allen, it was these secondary posts which constituted the final line of defense in Northampton County.

SECONDARY POSTS IN NORTHAMPTON COUNTY

In December, 1755, and January, 1756, the Provincial Commissioners found it necessary not only to plan and build a chain of forts

¹⁴⁸ PPC; printed in *PAL*, III, 153-54.

¹⁴⁹ PPC; printed in *PAL*, III, 151-53.

in Northampton County but also to post garrisons among the settlements until the regular defenses were completed. Franklin made it clear that he regarded these "internal Guards" as only temporary. To Governor Morris he wrote on January 14: "I imagine 'tis absolutely necessary to get the Ranging Line of Forts compleated that the People may be secur'd as soon as possible in their Habitations, and the internal Guards and Companies dismissed, otherwise the Expence & Loss to the Province will be intolerable."¹⁵⁰ And writing again to the Governor on January 26, he hoped soon to have "the Line of Forts compleated and garrisoned, the Rangers in Motion, and the internal Guards and Watches disbanded, as well as some other companies, unless they are permitted and encouraged to go after the Enemy to Sasquehannah. At present the Expence in this County is prodigious. . . ." ¹⁵¹

Circumstances not anticipated by Franklin perpetuated these secondary posts, however. Defects in the planning and execution of the forts in this county and a revaluation of Northampton County's defensive requirements in consequence of the peace concluded with the Indians in August, 1757, led to withdrawal of the troops from all the major forts except Fort Allen. In their place, detachments at a series of guard posts patrolled a line south of the mountains for the protection of the settlers.

Neither physical structure nor length of occupation warrants designation of most of these posts as forts. The majority of them were merely such structures as could provide temporary shelter for small groups of men; and it is not surprising that their histories are sketchily recorded and poorly known. In some instances it is apparent that the accounts do not deal with a fort at all, but rather with a detachment of men without fixed or permanent quarters.

Nevertheless, these minor posts did in fact replace the planned forts as the county's line of defense, and they are included here for the simple reason that the story cannot be told without them. Like the accounts of the four forts originally planned, those of the eight lesser posts are arranged in a generally geographical sequence, from Hyndshaw's Fort at the northeastern extremity of the line to John Everett's at the southwestern edge of this county.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 549-50.

¹⁵¹ PR, O, 8; printed in CR, VII, 17.

Hyndshaw's Fort (Fort Hyndshaw)

Hyndshaw's Fort, which stood south of present Bushkill, Monroe County, was from January, 1756, to July, 1757, the extreme north-eastern post garrisoned by Pennsylvania troops during the French and Indian War. It consisted apparently of a mediocre stockade about seventy feet square surrounding the home of James Hyndshaw, from whom the post took its name. Since the first detachment assigned here numbered only eight men, it is possible that local settlers had a hand in preparing the defenses.

The story of this post, like that of Fort Hamilton, may be traced from the Indian attacks of December 10, 1755, and particularly to that upon the Brodhead home at present East Stroudsburg. Writing on December 18 from Philadelphia of the effects of these raids, James Hamilton informed Governor Morris, then absent at New York, that

This general panick . . . has Compelld Mr. Franklin, Mr. Fox, & myself to make a Journey thither, to See & Judge for Our Selves of Condition of the Country and of the most proper methods for defending it. And we are this moment setting out for Minisikk, at which place the Cruellest ravages have been made, of which I presume you have reced accounts from Justice Horsefield. . . .¹⁵²

The Minisinks, it should be noted, was the name applied to the lands along the Delaware River above the Water Gap, the original home of a division of the Delaware Indians, the Munsees or Minisinks.¹⁵³

The Provincial defense chain, as planned by the commissioners in December, did not include this region, though it may have been hoped that the proximity of Fort Hamilton would provide adequate protection. Franklin, however, upon his return to Northampton County in January, 1756, decided to provide, temporarily at least, additional protection for the settlers; reporting to the Governor on January 14, Franklin related that "I have also allow'd 30 Men to secure the Township of Upper Smithfield, and commission'd Van Etten and Hinshaw as Captain and Lieutenant."¹⁵⁴

John Van Etten and James Hyndshaw were commissioned on January 12. The company had no ensign; the men, including two sergeants, agreed to serve for one month and were stationed according to Franklin's orders: "2. For the better Security of the Inhabitants of that

¹⁵² *PAI*, II, 537-38.

¹⁵³ For the synonymity of these terms, see, for example, *CR*, VII, 726; VIII, 176.

¹⁵⁴ *PAI*, II, 549. The original is in the Society Miscellaneous Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

District [Upper Smithfield], you are to post your Men as follows: Eight at your own House, Eight at Lieutenant Henshaw's, Six with a Serjeant at Tishhock—, and Six with another Serjeant, at or near Henry Cortracht's. . . ."¹⁵⁵

Only a few days afterward, apparently, the Captain's own home suffered attack: "Mr. Van Etten's own Barn, Barracks, and all his Wheat, are likewise burnt, and three of his best Horses, with Gears, carried off by the Enemy. . . ."¹⁵⁶ The losses were not all on one side, however, as appears from a letter written at Easton on Friday, January 30:

Last Friday a Party of Capt. John Van Etten's Men fell in with a Party of Indians in Upper Smithfield, and killed and scalped two of them, and have good Reason to believe they wounded four or five more mortally. They got a Booty of two Guns, one of which a Rifle, the other a smooth bored French Gun; a fine Pipe Hatchet, and three Match-coats. One of the slain Indians is thought to be the famous Captain Jacobs. None of our People received any Hurt.¹⁵⁷

One detail must be corrected. "The famous Captain Jacobs," an Indian leader known and feared especially for his attacks on Cumberland County, was several times reported killed, but did not actually die until the attack on Kittanning in September, 1756.

In early February Benjamin Franklin reported Captain Van Etten, his lieutenant, and thirty men stationed "at Minissinks."¹⁵⁸ When Governor Morris sent the Provincial Commissioners a report of the troops on April 20, he assured them he would "give the necessary orders to Van Etten, and to the men posted at Broadhead's."¹⁵⁹ Both these references suggest that Van Etten was then at the post he later occupied; and Major Parsons, writing on Friday, June 18, assured the Governor that "I propose to go to the Fort at Hyndshaw's as soon as our [court] is over (it begins next Tuesday) if your Hon^r does not command me otherways."¹⁶⁰

Commissary Young visited on June 24 the "Fort 10 Miles Above Depues Commonly Call'd Hyndshaw Fort":

At 8 A:M: I sett out from Fort Hamilton for Sam^l Depues where Cap^{tn} Weatherholt's Leiv^t and 26 Men are Station'd, when I came there his Muster Roll was not ready, I therefor

¹⁵⁵ *PAI*, II, 546.

¹⁵⁶ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 29, 1756.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, February 5, 1756.

¹⁵⁸ PPC [February, 1756]; printed out of order in *PAI*, III, 325.

¹⁵⁹ PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 637.

¹⁶⁰ Parsons Journal, Loudoun Papers, Box 26, No. 1189.

proceeded to the next Fort 10 Miles higher up the River at 1 P M Came there it is a good Plain road from Depues, many Plantations this way but all Deserted and the houses Chiefly burnt, Found at this Fort Leiv^t Ja^s Hyndshaw wth 25 Men he told me the Cap^{tn} with 5 Men was gone up the River Yesterday and did not Expect him back these two days, they had been inform'd from the Jerseys that 6 Indians had been seen and fired at the night before 18 Miles up the River.

This Fort is a Square ab^t 70 ft Each way, very Slightly Staccaded, I gave some directions to alter the Bastions which at present are of very little use, it is Clear all round for 300 yards, and stands on the Banks of a Large Creek, and ab^t 1/4 mile from the River Delaware, and I think in a very important Place for the Defence of this Frontier. . . .

The modest Provincial stores at this post are listed in the margin of Young's journal: "11 Good Muskets 14 Rounds of Powder & Lead for 30 Men 4 lb Powder 30 Blankets."¹⁶¹

While the Governor was in conference with Teedyuscung at Easton on July 29, he received a letter dated July 24 at Fort Hyndshaw in which Captain Van Etten reported "What has Happened the 22^d of this Instant in this township, about fifteen miles above our Fort": Sergeant Cole and four men, sent to guard harvesters, had encountered three Indians, one of whom they killed. In this instance there was some danger that the unpleasant incident might endanger the success of the conference; but in general the rather isolated position of this garrison placed it somewhat aside from the main current of events, though Captain Van Etten and probably some of his company were in Easton for the Indian conference of November 8-17.¹⁶²

A return of the 1st Battalion dated November 26, reporting Captain Van Etten, Lieutenant Hyndshaw, and thirty men at "Hyndshaw's Fort," shows the state of this company unchanged; and the only appended observation reports "Fort at Hyndshaws Cap^t Vanetten's. No well." Similarly, Captain Van Etten's journal from December 1, 1756, through March, 1757, contains little more than a record of routine garrison and scouting duty except the report that on January 30, 1757, he received Lieutenant Colonel Weiser's orders "to Inlist men to fill up my Company to consist of fifty men, Encluding 2 Serj^{ts}, 2 Corporals and a Drummer."¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ Young Journal, PPC, July 2, 1756; printed in *PA1*, II, 679-80.

¹⁶² Van Etten to Morris, PPC; printed in *PA1*, II, 720-21; *CR*, VII, 313: "Cap. Vanellen."

¹⁶³ Return in PPC; printed in *PA5*, I, 74. Van Etten Journal, PPC, July 1, 1756; printed in *PA1*, III, 222-25.

Toward the end of the period covered by this journal, Major Parsons, writing from Easton on March 26, mentioned to Lieutenant Colonel Weiser the "unpl[easantness] between the Captain & his Lieut^t Hyndshaw," which Parsons attributed in part to "the general Disposition of the [People of th]at Neighbourhood to undermine each other."¹⁶⁴ In April, however, changes took place, which for the time at least relieved the strain between the two officers. As recorded by Van Etten in his journal:

7 Rec^d an Order Dated March 28th from the Hon^{bl} Cor^{ll} Wizer Commanding me immediatly to Send an Atachment of men 16 in Number to Relieve the Company Station^d at fort Hambleton.—

8 Took possession of s^d fort according to my orders and the Company March^d of Leaving the fort in my Care.—

Immediately after relieving Captain Wetterholt's men at Fort Hamilton, Van Etten received Major Parsons' orders to send Lieutenant Hyndshaw and twenty-five men to Reading. This detachment, destined like Wetterholt's men to reinforce Fort Augusta, set out from Fort Hyndshaw on April 13 and went on from Fort Hamilton next day.¹⁶⁵ Their departure left Van Etten with two forts and half a company. "Pray sir Consider my affairs," the Captain wrote from Fort Hamilton to Major Parsons on April 21, "as I am but Weake Now & all the Neighbours about the fort is mofed in the fort Which I Compeld to Stan Santriey Next the soldiers tel forther orders."¹⁶⁶

The immediate cause of this alarm was the death of Andreas Gundryman, a boy of seventeen, killed by Indians near Fort Hamilton on April 20. Five days later Sergeant Leonard Dean of Van Etten's company was killed on his way from Fort Hyndshaw to Samuel Dupui's.¹⁶⁷

On June 14 Van Etten received Governor Denny's order to evacuate Fort Hyndshaw and remove all his men to Fort Hamilton; and, accordingly, on June 19, "about 9 O^c in the Morning we all March^d from fort Hyndshaw with all the Baggage and all Ariv^d Safe at Fort Hambleton and mett with no Opposition, and found all things in Good order there."¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁴ Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 47.

¹⁶⁵ PPC, July 1, 1756; printed in *PAI*, III, 225-26.

¹⁶⁶ PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 139.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 226. The report printed in *PMHB*, XXXII (1908), 315, places the death of "andrew Countrymen" in June.

¹⁶⁸ PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 229.

This left Fort Hyndshaw for a time ungarrisoned. Lieutenant Hyndshaw returned from Fort Augusta on June 26 with ten of Wetterholt's men and six of Lieutenant Engel's men from Fort Norris and with Weiser's orders to assume command at Fort Hamilton. Captain Van Etten was "to abide with a Small Number of men at Fort Hyndshaw"; but Van Etten refused to comply on the ground that these conflicted with the Governor's orders. Hyndshaw then offered to take post at Hyndshaw's Fort with Wetterholt's ten men and six of Van Etten's company, but Van Etten refused this too. Hyndshaw then went off, to return July 1 with Weiser's repeated order; but Weiser himself arrived the same day and concluded to leave Van Etten in command at Fort Hamilton. Apparently Lieutenant Hyndshaw and Wetterholt's ten men then took station at Fort Hyndshaw; for Van Etten records that on July 16 he received notice of Weiser's orders of July 14, 1757, for Lieutenant Hyndshaw and these ten men to attend the Indian conference at Easton. Weiser ordered Van Etten to supply ten men to replace those, "whome," says Van Etten, "I Sent off to the Lieut the Same day, . . . with Orders to the Lieut to Station them as he thought fit the which he posted at Sam^l Depues."¹⁶⁹

There is no record of a garrison at Fort Hyndshaw after this date. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported on November 10, 1757, that "We hear from Northampton County, that on the 27th of Last Month a Girl was carried off by the Indians from Hyndshaw's Fort . . ."; and Lieutenant Hyndshaw's journal reports under date of December 2 that he "Patrolled from Dupui's to Fort Hyndshaw & back to Dupui's." However, by this date Van Etten had resigned, and his company, under Hyndshaw's command, was stationed at Dietz's (Teedt's) below the Wind Gap.¹⁷⁰

Probably this fort, like some others, became a shelter for local residents. Possibly it is the place of which Samuel Dupui wrote on June 15, 1758:

this morning we heard the Disagreeable news of a Fort being taken at the upper end of the minisinks by a party of Indians supposed to be 40 in number the whitemen it's said belonging to that Garrison were Farmers and were out in their plantations when the Indians fired on them and killed them whereupon the Indians marched up to the Fort and took all the weomen and Children Captive and Carried them away. . . .¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ PPC, July 1 and 21, 1757; printed in *PAI*, III, 231-34.

¹⁷⁰ James Hyndshaw Journal, Northampton County Papers, 1758-1767. See *PA5*, I, 62: "John Vanetten, Resigned."

¹⁷¹ Dupui to [Charles] Swaine, PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 424.

Samuel Dupui's

Samuel Dupui's house stood below present Shawnee, Monroe County. The settlers themselves seem to have taken the initiative in erecting around it a roomy stockade, apparently without bastions but with a swivel gun at each of the four corners. Never a strong post, it sheltered a succession of troop detachments between December, 1755, and May, 1758.

While the post at Hyndshaw's guarded the upper part of the Minisink settlement, that at Dupui's defended the lower part of this region. The Indian attacks of December 10, 1755, and especially the attack on nearby Brodhead's, isolated the settlers of this area. Writing from Easton on December 25, the Provincial Commissioners reported that "*The Country all above this Town, for 50 Miles, is mostly evacuated and ruined, excepting only the Neighbourhood of the Dupuy's, five Families, which stand their Ground. . . .*"¹⁷²

It appears that Captain Isaac Wayne's company, ordered up from Chester County in December, 1755, was sent by the Provincial Commissioners to this neighborhood; for on January 3, 1756, Governor Morris ordered this officer "upon your return from Dupui's to Halt with your Company at Nazareth, and there to remain till further orders"; and he was at Nazareth when Franklin returned to Northampton County a few days later. However, Wayne, after escorting supplies from Nazareth to Fort Hamilton, which was then under construction, joined Franklin on January 15 on his march to Gnadenhütten and did not return to Dupui's. Instead, Franklin stationed a detachment consisting of Lieutenant Wetterholt and twenty-six men at nearby Brodhead's, as appears in his return of early February.¹⁷³

Completion of Fort Hamilton removed any need for such concentration of forces, and Lieutenant Wetterholt and his men were removed to Dupui's. Governor Morris' letter of April 20 to the Provincial Commissioners apparently refers to this reassignment: "agreeable to your request, by Mr. Mifflin," writes the Governor, "I shall give the necessary orders to Van Etten, and to the men posted at Broadhead's."¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 1, 1756.

¹⁷³ Franklin to Parsons, December 15, 1755, Horsfield Papers, I, 95; [Morris,] orders to Wayne, *PAI*, II, 542; [Franklin,] return of garrisons, PPC, [February, 1756], printed out of order in *PAI*, III, 325.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 637.

Major Parsons on his tour of inspection of the eastern forts visited this detachment on June 13; and his journal contains the first description of the post:

Saturday June 12: 1756.

. . . I intended to have gone forward that Afternoon to Samuel Dupui's where Lieutenant Jacob Wetterhold with a Detachment of 26 of Captain Wetterhold's Men, are posted, but being informed that the Captⁿ had been up himself the Day before and had taken most or all of his Men, posted at Dupui's, to Justice Martin's to get them sworn; I mustered the Men at the Fort [Hamilton] & went next Morning to Dupui's. . . .

Sunday June the 12th [13th] 1756.

Being inform'd that Capt. Wetterhold was return'd to Dupui's I went there and mustered the Detachment of Men posted there; and then the Capt. took all the rest of his Men who had not before been duly inlisted and sworn, as far as Tiet's in Order to take them on Monday Morning to Justice Martin's to be sworn. So that now I suppose all his Men are regularly inlisted. The Capt. appears to be a careful industrious Man. He has got the 2nd & 6th Articles of War and the Oath and Certificate all put into Dutch, that his Men may the better understand them.

Samuel Dupui has a large commodious Stockado Fort round his House with 4 Swivels Viz^t one at each Corner; but the Fort is much exposed to a high Hill on the Land Side. About 12 at Night I return'd to Easton—¹⁷⁵

An interesting contrast with this report is that of Commissary Young, who visited the post a short time later. It is obvious that this officer and the young men at Dupui's were not at ease with one another; and the fact that Dupui supplied the nearby forts under Young's supervision affected their relations:

24th June. At 7:P:M: Came to Sam^l Depues, Musterd that Part of Cap^{tn} Weatherholts Comp^y that are Stationd here, a Leiv^t and 26 men all regularly Inlisted for 6 Months as are the rest of his Comp^y, Round Depue's house, is a Large but very Slight, and ill Contriv'd Staccade with a Sweevle Gun Mounted on Each Corner, M^r Depue was not at home, his Son with a Son of M^r Broadheads keeping house. They Expresst themselves as if they thought the Province was Oblig'd to them for allowing this Party to be in their house, allso made use of very arrogant Expressions of the Commissioners

¹⁷⁵ Parsons Journal, Loudoun Papers, Box 26, No. 1189.

and the People of Phil^d in General they seem to Make a Mere Merchadize of the People Station'd here Selling Rum at 8^d p^r Gill.—

Young found only a small store of Provincial supplies at this place: "13 G^d Muskets 3 Cartootch Boxes 13 lb Powder 22 lb Lead."¹⁷⁶

That Wetterholt's detachment was later withdrawn temporarily, or at least much reduced, is indicated by Lieutenant Colonel Weiser's orders to Captain Wetterholt on September 21: "By virtue of the order of the H^{ble} Will denny . . . you are hereby required to reinforce the fort of M^r Samuel depuis with Eighteen men drafted out of your Company now in garrison at fort Hamilton, including your lieutenant one Serjant one Corporal. . . ."¹⁷⁷

According to the 1st Battalion return dated November 26, 1756, Lieutenant Jacob Wetterholt and fifteen men of the company were at Dupui's, Captain Wetterholt and twenty-seven men were then at Fort Hamilton, and Ensign Geiger and eight men at "Teet's" (Dietz's).¹⁷⁸ However, a recommendation added to this return advises that the detachment at Dupui's be withdrawn to Fort Hamilton; and it appears probable that such an evacuation took place, possibly at the beginning of February, 1757, when Wetterholt's men and others were sent to reinforce the western defenses. In June Aaron Dupui is listed among the twenty-one signers of a "Petition of the few remaining Inhabitants of the Township of Lower Smithfield" appealing for help against renewed Indian attacks. On July 16 Lieutenant Hyndshaw, summoned to attend the Indian conference at Easton, posted ten men of Van Etten's company at Samuel Dupui's.¹⁷⁹

The subsequent resignation of Van Etten left Lieutenant Hyndshaw in command of this company, which on September 27, 1757, was ordered to remove from Fort Hamilton to Dietz's (Teedts') below the Wind Gap. Lieutenant Hyndshaw's journal for December shows that he sent patrols regularly to Dupui's, but does not indicate that any garrison was stationed there until December 19: "Sent Ensign Hughes with 12 Men from Teets's to Dupui's here being no Conveniency for so many Men, Myself and Men almost continually Sick

¹⁷⁶ Young Journal, PPC, July 2, 1756; printed in *PAI*, II, 680. The stores are listed in the right margin of the manuscript.

¹⁷⁷ Conrad Weiser Correspondence, I, 85. The orders are dated at Philadelphia.

¹⁷⁸ PPC; printed in *PA5*, I, 73-74.

¹⁷⁹ Lower Smithfield petition, PPC, printed in *PAI*, III, 174-75; Van Etten Journal, PPC, July 21, printed in *PAI*, III, 234.

by reason of the Stoves, and other bad Conveniency's especially the want of Room, so that we almost ly in Heaps—"180

In the military reorganization effected in January, 1758, this company was assigned to Colonel Armstrong's 1st Battalion, with Charles Garraway (commissioned as of December 23, 1757) as captain, Hyndshaw (December 10) as lieutenant, and John Kennedy (December 13) as ensign. Ensign James Hughes, commissioned as of December 4 and assigned to Dupui's, was transferred to Governor Denny's company, commanded by Captain Lieutenant Samuel Allen.¹⁸¹ Adjutant Jacob Kern's return of February 5, 1758, shows twenty-seven men of Garraway's company at "Deedt's (or Teads's) Block House" under Lieutenant Hyndshaw, and the other twenty-three at "Depews House" under Ensign Hughes.¹⁸² Similarly, Commissary Young on February 9 reported that "In Northampton County, at Trisback's Mill, Chesnut Hill, the Wind Gapp, and Depues, are two Companies" with a total of 106 men.¹⁸³

Colonel James Burd, who arrived at Dupui's from "Teads's" on March 2, 1758, made the following report:

Marched from home at 9 A.M. for Mr. Samuel Depews, went by the way of Fort Hamilton to Vew that place. . . . This is 15 miles from Teads's.

Arrived at Mr. Depews at 4 P.M., 6 miles, snowed much & prodigious cold, ordered a Review to-morrow morning at 9 A.M.

This is a very fine Plantation, Situate upon the River Delaware, 21 miles from Teads's & 100 miles from Phila'a, they go in Boats from hence to Phila¹ by the River Delaware, which carrys about 22 Ton. This place is 35 miles from Easton & 38 from Bethlahem. There is a pretty good Stockade here & 4 Sweevells mounted & good accommodation for soldiers.

3^d, Friday.

Reviewed this Garrison and found here 22 good men, 50lb. of powder, 125 lb. of lead, no flints, a great Quantity of Beaff, I suppose 8 mo. Provisions for a Comp^y, but no flour, plenty of flour at the Mill, about 300 yards from the Fort. My horses being tyred I'm obliged to halt here to-day. Extream cold. The Country apply for a Company to be stationed here. Ordered Ensign Hughes to his Post at Swettarrow.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Denny, orders to Weiser, Shippen Family Papers, II, 55; James Hyndshaw Journal, Northampton County Papers, 1758-1767.

¹⁸¹ *PAI*, III, 336-37.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, 339-40.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, 341.

¹⁸⁴ Burd Journal, PPC, March 10, 1758; printed in *PAI*, III, 356-57.

The application Colonel Burd mentions probably is the petition signed by Aaron and Samuel Dupui among others and presented to Governor Denny on March 11, in which "the Distressed Inhabitants of Lower Smithfield Township" report themselves

under some apprehensions that the Company of Soldiers Commanded by James Hyndshaw are to be removed from their present Station and of our being left in a Defenceless posture, That your Petitioners Have had Intelligence of a Body of upwards of Three Hundred French and Indians that are coming Down to Distress the Frontiers of this province . . . That your petitioners Have at present but 12 men allowed by the province. . . .¹⁸⁵

The rumor of this garrison's departure, while it may have been premature, rested upon the obvious fact of preparations for General Forbes' campaign. On May 8, 1758, Governor Denny issued orders to Brigade Major Joseph Shippen:

Ordered that the Captains of the several Companies East of Susquehanna do immediately prepare their Muster & Pay Rolls to the 1st of June; That Cap^t Garraway's Company now at Depews and at Deedts march directly to Bethlehem, & there wait for the Pay Master, and that all the Companies hold themselves in readiness to march towards Carlisle on the first Notice. . . .¹⁸⁶

Garraway's company was replaced in part by one of the new companies of the 3d Battalion under Captain Samuel Neilson (commissioned as of May 5), who was assigned by Shippen's instructions of July 9 to "Teedt's Block House and Depu's."¹⁸⁷ The former place seems to have been his headquarters, however, and Dupui's to have served as a ranging station; so the story of this garrison belongs more properly with the following account of Adam Dietz's at Wind Gap.

Adam Dietz's

Adam Dietz's place, which stood about two miles southeast of the present borough of Wind Gap, Northampton County, is referred to as a stockade or as a blockhouse, not as a fort. Although Provincial detachments were stationed here from February, 1756, until October, 1758, it seems that the stockade was not erected before the summer

¹⁸⁵ PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 357-58.

¹⁸⁶ Shippen Family Papers, III, 133.

¹⁸⁷ *PA5*, I, 241.

of 1756. The area enclosed was small, and the stockade did not surround the house, which must therefore have stood on one side or at one corner of the enclosure.

The story of the first garrison at this place begins with the defeat of Captain William Hays's men at Gnadenhütten on January 1, 1756. In an account of this disaster written two days later to Governor Morris and the Provincial Commissioners, Hays reported of the survivors that "We are at a small Garrison, about eleven Miles from Bethlehem." Franklin, returning to Bethlehem, reported to the Governor on January 14 that "Hays' Company was reduc'd to 18 Men, . . . partly by the Loss at Gnadenhutten, and partly by Desertion. . . . the Ensign with the 18 Men is posted among the present Frontier Inhabitants to give some Satisfaction to the [Irish] Settlement People, as I refus'd to increase Craig's Company." Although the name of this garrisoned place is not given, it apparently was John Hays's tavern (present Weaversville, near Northampton), where on January 15, according to Thomas Lloyd, "Ensign Sterling attended our Coming with 23 Men" and accompanied Franklin's party to Gnadenhütten.¹⁸⁸

Hays's men, who during the construction of Fort Allen were employed to escort provisions, later were assigned specific posts; in early February Franklin reported a lieutenant and fifteen men in Allen Township, and Ensign Sterling and eleven men "at Wind Gap, Teet's House." However, Hays's men were paid off a month later.¹⁸⁹

They were replaced at Dietz's by a detachment of Captain Nicholas Wetterholt's company, whose presence here as early as March 7 is documented by a receipt for supplies "for the Use of the Soldiers posted at Deets's Near the Wind Gap . . . being a Party of Wetherholt's Company." Subsequently on April 19 stores were sent "to Geo: Deets for the use of y^e Soldiers there Under the Comand of Lieutenant Wetherhold"; and in a note remarkable linguistically as well as historically, "*Johan Heinrich Geiger Fenrich Ins Teissen auss Von der Companie Wetterhold*" (Ensign Geiger in Dietz's House, of Wetterholt's company) wrote to "*Herr Hassfilt*" (Mr. Horsfield) on May 14 for provisions.¹⁹⁰ Finally, Major Parsons, who inspected the post on June 11, mentions it briefly in his report: "I set out from

¹⁸⁸ Hayes [sic] to Morris, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 8, 1756; Franklin to *id.*, *PAI*, II, 548-49; Lloyd to [], January 31, 1756, Franklin Papers, Letters to Franklin, I, 1, No. 41.

¹⁸⁹ [Franklin,] return of garrisons, PPC [February, 1756], printed out of order in *PAI*, III, 325; list of Provincial stores received "of Capt Heys Company," February 19-March 23, 1756, Northampton County Papers, Bethlehem and Vicinity, 1741-1849.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*



Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa

FRENCH MAP OF THE UPPER OHIO REGION, 1755

The above is a section of a 1755 map by the French engineer Bellin, who noted that "The Part between Fort de la Presque-Isle and the Riviere de Chiningué, with the Environs of the Riviere de Malenquélé, have been drawn from Plans and Memoirs of M. le Chevalier le Mercier."

O A T H to be administred to all such Persons as enter into the KING's Service, in the Pay of the Government of Pennsylvania.

I *Salathiel Henry* acknowledge myself to be a Protestant, and swear to be true to our Sovereign Lord King GEORGE, and to serve him honestly and faithfully within the Province of *Pennsylvania*, and the Provinces bordering upon it, in Defence of his Person, Crown and Dignity, against all his Enemies and Opposers whatsoever, for the Space of *Three Months*; and to observe and to obey his Majesty's Orders, and the Orders of the Governor and Commander in Chief of the said Province, and the Officers set over me by his Majesty. *So help me God.*

To wit. **T H E S E** are to certify That *Salathiel Henry* came before me, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County, and acknowledged to have voluntarily enlisted himself to serve his Majesty King GEORGE, in Defence of the Province of Pennsylvania, for the Space of *Twelve Months*; and took the Oath of Fidelity to his Majesty, and heard the Second and Sixth Sections of the Articles of War against Mutiny and Desertion read.

Done at the County of York in the City of Philadelphia the 17th day of July 1756 at the Camp of the said Province of Pennsylvania

Breast	Arms	Legs	High	Complexion
<i>Front</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>Dark</i>

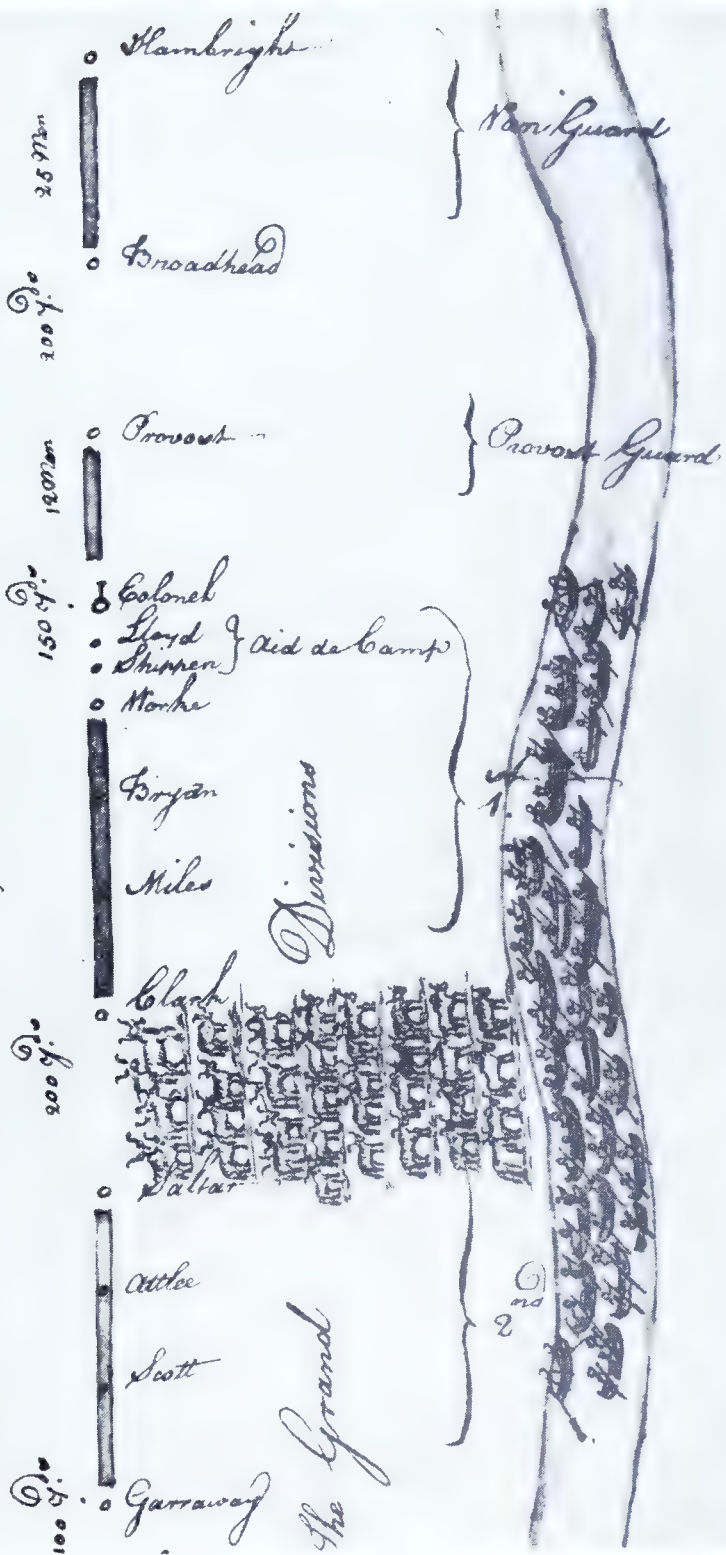
O A T H to be administred to all such Persons as enter into the KING's Service, in the Pay of the Government of Pennsylvania.

I *Alexander Perryhill* acknowledge myself to be a Protestant, and swear to be true to our Sovereign Lord King GEORGE, and to serve him honestly and faithfully within the Province of Pennsylvania, and the Provinces bordering upon it, in Defence of his Person, Crown and Dignity, against all his Enemies and Opposers whatsoever, for the Space of *Three years*; and to observe and to obey his Majesty's Orders, and the Orders of the Governor and Commander in Chief of the said Province, and the Officers set over me by his Majesty. *So help me God.*

To wit. **T H E S E** are to certify That *Alexander Perryhill* came before me, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said County, and acknowledged to have voluntarily enlisted himself to serve his Majesty King GEORGE, in Defence of the Province of Pennsylvania, for the Space of *Three years*; and took the Oath of Fidelity to his Majesty, and heard the Second and Sixth Sections of the Articles of War against Mutiny & Desertion read.

ENLISTMENT CERTIFICATES OF PENNSYLVANIA SOLDIERS

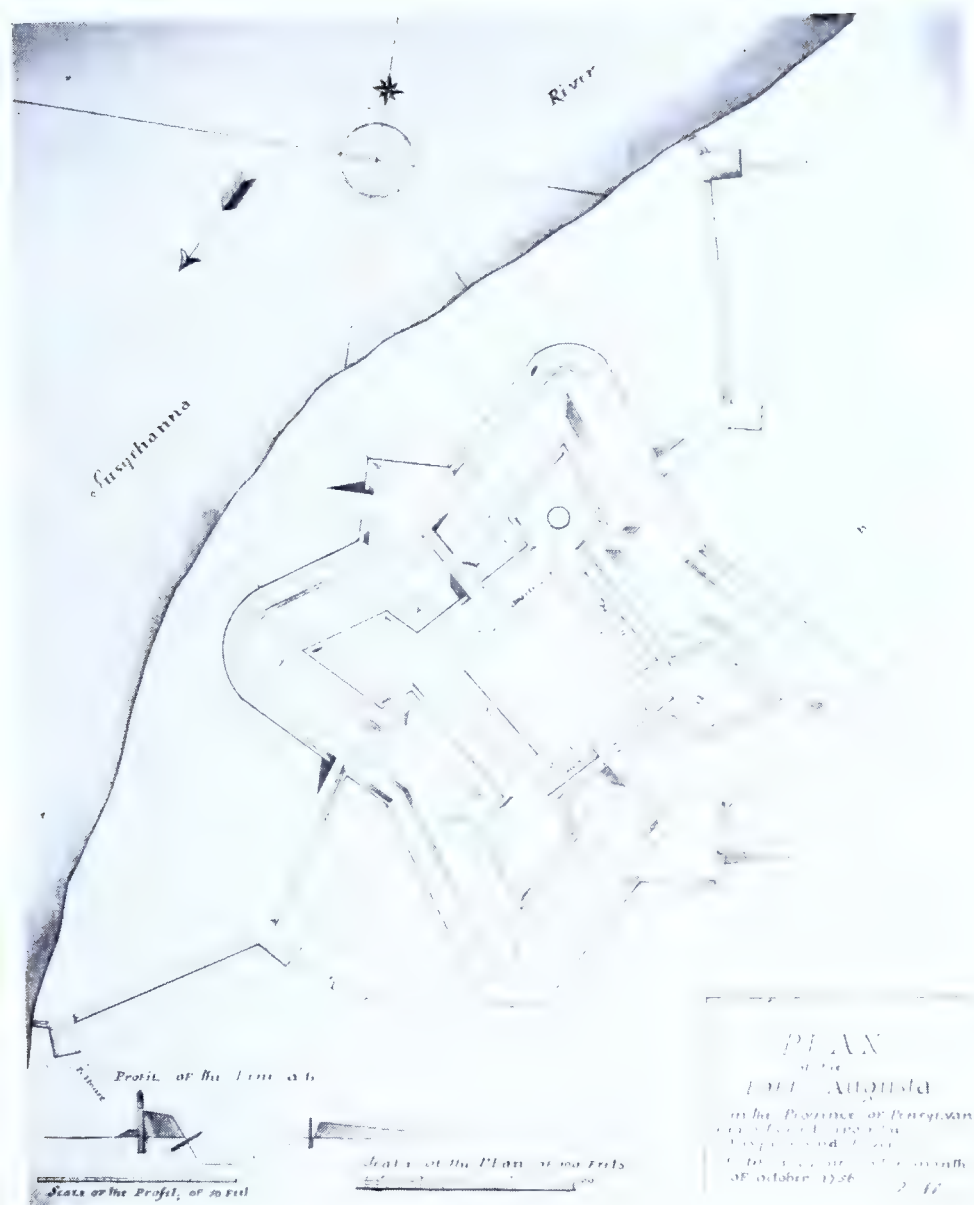
These certificates from the E. S. Thompson Collection in the Division of Public Records of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission show the forms used for a twelve-month and a three-year enlistment.



Historical Society of Pennsylvania

THE LINE OF MARCH TO SHAMOKIN, 1756

Section of a larger diagram in Gratz Collections. Note bateaux and herd of cattle.



MEYER'S PLAN OF FORT AUGUSTA

Note that Meyer has placed the well in the north bastion; other plans place it in the west corner of the fort. Meyer's plan was used as the basis for building the replica at Sunbury, a photograph of which is reproduced on the following page. This replica and the associated museum are administered as a historic site by the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.



MODEL OF FORT AUGUSTA AT SUNBURY ON SITE OF ORIGINAL FORT

Easton for Fort Norris; escorted by a Serjeant & some of Capt. Insley's Men. In my Way I mustered a small Detachment of 7 of Captain Wetterhold's Men posted there under the Command of Ensign Henry Geiger and arrived at Fort Norris about 6 Afternoon—"191

Commissary Young, who visited the post two weeks later, describes it more at length:

25th June. At 5 A:M: sett out from Depues for the Wind Gapp where part of Cap^t Weatherholts Comp^y is Station'd, Stopt at Bosarts Plantation to feed our horses, was inform'd that this Morning 2 Miles from the house in the Woods they had found the Body of Peter Hiss who had been Murdered and Scalp'd Ab^t the Month of Feb^{ry}, at 11 A:M: Came to the Wind Gapp where I found Cap^{tn} Weatherholts Ensign who is Station'd here with 7 Men at a Farm house, 4 only were present, one was gone to Bethlehem with a Letter from the Jerseys on Indian Affairs, one was at a Farm house on Duty, and one Absent on Furlough from the 15th to the 22^d but not yet return'd I told the Officer he ought to Esteem him a Deserter as [he] did, found here 6 Provincial Muskets all good and 6 Rounds of Pouder and Lead for Each, I told Cap^{tn} Weatherholt to send a Supply as soon as Possible.

25th June. At 3 P:M: Set out from the Wind Gapp for Easton. . . .¹⁹²

On October 11, 1756, Major Parsons learned that Teedyuscung was on his way to Easton to meet Governor Morris, to whom Parsons wrote in a letter of October 15 that: "As soon as I heard the Indians were coming I ordered Lieutenant Witterhold with the small Detachment of eight Men who were posted at Teet's to come and take post in this Town. These with four of Capⁿ Orndt's Men that Escorted the Indians from Fort Allen to this place serve as a Guard at present to Easton. . . ."¹⁹³

A return of the 1st Battalion dated November 26 reports "Teet's" still garrisoned by Ensign Geiger and eight of Wetterholt's men; the captain and twenty-seven men were at Fort Hamilton, and the lieutenant and fifteen at Dupui's. An appended query asks "Q. if the detachment at Teet's can defend it self? a description of the house & post."¹⁹⁴ It is not known how long Wetterholt's men remained at Dietz's, and it is likely enough that during this period some of the

¹⁹¹ Parsons Journal, Loudoun Papers, Box 26, No. 1189.

¹⁹² Young Journal, PPC, July 2, 1756; printed in *PAI*, II, 680-81. For accounts of the murder of Peter Hess, see *ibid.*, III, 45, 46.

¹⁹³ PR, P, 58; printed in *CR*, VII, 288.

¹⁹⁴ PPC; printed in *PA5*, I, 73-74.

lesser posts were left for a time ungarrisoned. Some of his men were sent to Cumberland County at the beginning of February, 1757, and Captain Wetterholt commanded detachments of Weiser's battalion which were sent to Fort Augusta in April. On June 7 Weiser wrote to Major Burd that he was sending fresh detachments to relieve those serving at that place, but that he could not then relieve Wetterholt's men. Weiser complained to Governor Denny of the long absence of these reinforcements from his battalion.

To this time, perhaps, belong the petitions from the "Inhabitants of Mount Bethel, Plainfield and Forks of Delaware," who, "hearing that the Company which has been stationed above us is going to be Removed over the Blew Mountain, which has put us to the utmost Confusion, we Being Sensible by Experience that the Company has been of Little or no Benefitt unto us while over the Mountain," advise the Governor "That a Station for a Number of Men, somewhere near the Wind Gapp, under the Blew Mountain on the East side thereof, might have the best Tendency to Secure the Inhabitants of These parts."¹⁹⁵

On September 27 the Governor authorized the return of Wetterholt and fifty of the hundred men serving at Fort Augusta; but on the same date the Governor gave Weiser further instructions. The Fort at Northkill was to be abandoned, but

I order that the Men now on Duty in the other Garrisons under your Command remain at their respective Posts, except those at Fort Norris and Hamilton, which I would have stationed at Adam Deedt's Stockado near the Wind Gap, and that they patrol constantly between that Place and Samuel Depuis, sometime marching on one Side and sometimes on the other Side of the Mountains as will best suit the Protection of the Inhabitants settled along the River Delaware and on both Sides those Mountains; and if the Quarters at Deedt's Stoccadoes are not sufficient from the whole Number of Men ordered to be taken from Fort Norris and Hamilton, and posted there, the Men that can't be accomodated there may take Post at Aron Depuy's, Benjⁿ Shoemakers or Sam^l Depuy's. I expect Journalls of every Days proceedings will be kept carefully by every Officer.¹⁹⁶

Apparently this post was no longer merely the "Farm house" visited by Young in June, 1756, but now had some sort of stockade. The garrisons ordered here from the two forts were not large but the

¹⁹⁵ Undated petitions printed in *PAI*, III, 321-22, 358-59.

¹⁹⁶ Shippen Family Papers, II, 55.

accommodations were in fact inadequate, and although Lieutenant Hyndshaw and his men from Fort Hamilton were stationed here, other quarters had to be found for Lieutenant Engel and the men from Fort Norris. On December 2 Lieutenant Hyndshaw wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Weiser:

there is not one Company in Your Battalion Patrolles so much as mine. Lieut Engles Company none of them has yet been at Teetes's Since I have been there Stationed. Teetes's is not a fit place for so many Men, the Room but Smal, and the House not Stockaided round, and what there is but very poor. . . . Please to acquaint me, the Reason why His Honour our Governor is so long a filling up the Vacantees of Commissions in Your Battalion and if Benjamin Shoemaker is anywise likely of having the Lieu^{ts} Commission in my Company, on which through you He makes great dependence on. . . .¹⁹⁷

This complaint of overcrowding anticipates the December 19 entry in Hyndshaw's journal: "Sent Ensign Hughes with 12 Men from Teets's to Dupui's here being no Convenincy for so many Men, Myself and Men almost continually Sick by reason of the Stoves, and other bad Conveniency's especially the want of Room, so that we almost ly in Heaps—"198

Hyndshaw's questions about officers were occasioned by the fact that Captain John Van Etten of this company had resigned. The Governor's delay in filling the vacancy is to be explained in part at least by his plans for a reorganization of the Pennsylvania forces, which became effective in January, 1758. Under this revision Charles Garraway was commissioned as of December 23, 1757, to replace Van Etten; Hyndshaw was recommissioned as of December 10; and John Kennedy was commissioned as of December 13 to relieve Ensign Hughes, who was reassigned to Captain Lieutenant Allen's company at Fort Swatara. Garraway's company was assigned to the new 1st Battalion commanded by Colonel Armstrong.¹⁹⁹

Commanded on January 21, 1758, to visit the eastern garrisons, Ensign Jacob Kern made the following report on the garrison at Dietz's:

Jan^y 23 I left Reading and on y 24th I arrived at Deytz block house Le^t James Handshaw Commanded I muster

¹⁹⁷ Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 113.

¹⁹⁸ James Hyndshaw Journal, Northampton County Papers, 1758-1767.

¹⁹⁹ *PA1*, III, 337, 339.

the Company at the Same Place 23 men are Stationed at M^r Depoyes and 29 men at the block House they have 100 Weight Powder 200^{lb} Lead and 4 Months Provition M^r Depaue Commissary I delivered Liut Handshaw & Ensign Hughes there Commission the Companys are in Good order²⁰⁰

According to Kern's return, Ensign Hughes commanded the detachment at Dupui's.²⁰¹

Similarly, Commissary Young on February 9 reported "In Northampton County, at Trisback's Mill, Chesnut Hill, the Wind Gapp, and Depues, are two Companies" (Garraway's and Davis') of 106 men.²⁰² Young's recommendations for redistribution of the forces, apparently drawn up about this same time, proposed a company at "Chesnut Hill," another at "Depeus," and "Four Men to be Draughted from each of the above [9] Comp^{ys} and posted with an Officer at or near Deeds's the Wind Gap."²⁰³ However, this proposal for strengthening these three posts assumed the evacuation of Fort Allen; and the plan was not carried out.

Colonel Burd, having visited Captain Patrick Davis' detachments on March 1, 1758,

Marched from hence to Lieut Hyndshaw's Station at 10 A:M arrived at Nazareth at 1 P:M, here dined 8 miles set off again at 2 P:M arrived at Tead's at 3 P:M 6 miles here I found Ensigne Kennedy with 16 men who inform'd me that Lieut Hyndshaw & Ensigne Hughes would be here one hour hence at 1/2 after 5 P:M Mess^{rs} Hyndshaw & Hughes arrived with 14 men.

Ordered a Review & found here 30 good men stores 50 pounds of powder & 100 pound of lead, no flints, one Wall-piece 1 shovell, 13 axes good for nothing & 28 Tomhawks 56 blanketts 46 Guns & 46 Cartouch boxes little Provision here and no Conveniency to lay up a Store this is very bad Quarters the House is built in a swamp, bad water.²⁰⁴

As a result of the approaching campaign of General Forbes against Fort Duquesne, Governor Denny on May 8 ordered Captain Garraway's company to march to Bethlehem and wait for further orders to march to Carlisle. A company of new levies from Colonel Mercer's 3d Battalion was ordered to replace these men at Dietz's and Dupui's.

²⁰⁰ Kern Journal, Gratz Collections.

²⁰¹ *PA1*, III, 339-40.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 341.

²⁰³ Undated manuscript in Young's handwriting, PPC [February, 1758]; printed in *PA5*, I, 362.

²⁰⁴ Burd Journal, PPC, March 10, 1758; printed in *PA1*, III, 356.

The new company was commanded by Captain Samuel Neilson, with Lieutenant Nathaniel Patterson and Ensign John Neilson as his subordinates, all commissioned as of May 5, 1758. The unit was reported as being in Philadelphia during May and arrived in Bethlehem on June 14.²⁰⁵ On that day Charles Thomson and Christian Frederick Post, returning to Bethlehem after a conference with Teedyuscung, met Captain Neilson and reported that

At Mr Horsfields we met one Captain Neilson of the Provincials, who after expressing himself with great Bitterness against Teedyuscung declared that if he met Teedyuscung or any of his People in any of the Courses he should be ordered to take, let them come on what Occasion or with what Pre-
tence soever he would kill them without asking any Questions. He was also inquisitive to know in how many Days a Party of stout active Men would go to Wyoming & expressed himself as if he had a Desire to send out a Party to destroy that Town. . . .²⁰⁶

It should occasion no surprise that Captain Neilson's subsequent military career was a troubled one.

During June a report of Secretary Richard Peters listed four officers and seventy-three men at Fort Allen and three officers and fifty-three men at Dietz's and Everett's along the Northampton County frontier.²⁰⁷ A new disposition was ordered from Carlisle on July 9 by Brigade Major Shippen, however. Major Orndt was directed to take three officers and sixty men from the companies of Captain John Bull at Fort Allen and Captain Neilson and to station equal parties of them "At three of the most convenient Posts for the immediate defence of the Inhabitants between Schuylkill and Delaware. . . ." Captain Bull and thirty men were to remain at Fort Allen, and Captain Neilson with twenty men was to garrison Dupui's and Dietz's blockhouse.²⁰⁸ Major Orndt arrived at Fort Allen from Raystown on July 23.

²⁰⁵ Denny, orders for eastern companies, Shippen Family Papers, III, 133; Return of Twenty-three New Companies, *PA5*, I, 174; Moravian Diarium Bethlehem, 1758, XVIII.

²⁰⁶ Copy of journal, signed by Thomson, PPC, June 16, 1758; printed in *PA1*, III, 421.

²⁰⁷ Stations between Delaware & Susquahannah delivered to Mr Howell the 17 of June 1758, PPC, manuscript in Peters' handwriting. Cited hereafter as [Peters], Stations

²⁰⁸ Shippen to Denny, July 9, 1758, enclosing disposition of troops, PPC; printed in *PA1*, III, 449, and *PA5*, I, 241. Compare *Bouquet Papers*, II, 689-90. A copy of the disposition in Shippen Family Papers, IX, Part 2, gives Neilson's assignment as "Teedt's Blockhouse at the wind gap & Depuis fort Hamilton—."

Governor Denny meantime had received a petition from John McMichael and other inhabitants of Lower Smithfield who "lived near Fort Hamilton until about the time that the Provincial Soldiers were ordered away, at which time they were obliged to move to Aron Depuys, Samuel Depuys and Benjamin Shoemaker's houses for fear of the Enemy Indians" and who now appealed for protection while harvesting their crops. On July 13, accordingly, the Governor had the following orders drawn up for Captain Neilson:

Having receivd several Petitions from the Inhabitants of Northampton for Guards to cover the men whilst reaping you are hereby ordered to send twent[y] men for the use of Long & the other Inhabitants living between the Waggon Road that passes thro y^e Blue Mountains & the Water Gap on the River Delaware and from thence along the Plantations of Aaron Depuy, Rev Shoemaker Sam^l Depuy Dan^l Shoemaker Jn^o McMichal Jn^o Hellman &c

You are to begin where you think proper and to press the Country People to assist all they can for their own Sakes.²⁰⁹

That Captain Neilson's men did in fact range rather widely from Dietz's is shown by Post's report of a second trip to Wyoming starting on July 23: "Set off from Bethlehem, and met with Lieutenant Peterson with a scouting party from Allemingel, who informed us that Levan's Servant had been fired at by seven Indians near the place we must pass by. . . ."²¹⁰ This officer apparently was Lieutenant Patterson of Neilson's company with the detachment stationed at Everett's near Allemangel.

However, the company was not to remain here long. On October 8-26 the government concluded the Indian treaty at Easton; and the conclusion of Captain Neilson's services in this region may be learned from his memorial presented to the Provincial Assembly on January 30, 1761:

that the Memorialist being ordered, in the Year 1758, to the back Parts of the County of *Northampton*, to range on the Frontiers, he continued in that Duty till called away to guard the Treaty at *Easton*, when he received the most extraordinary Command that perhaps ever was given under an *English* Government for impressing Waggon, which he was obliged to execute with great Fatigue, Odium and Expence. . . .²¹¹

²⁰⁹ Undated petition, PPC, printed in *PAI*, III, 405; draft of orders in Peters' handwriting, PPC, July 13, 1758.

²¹⁰ Post Journal, PR, Q, 297; printed in *CR*, VIII, 143.

²¹¹ *PA8*, VI, 5183-85. The Assembly rejected Neilson's appeal for compensation.

With Captain Neilson's departure upon this service of fatigue, odium, and expense, the history of Dietz's post comes to an end.

Peter Doll's Blockhouse

Unlike almost all the other posts in Northampton County, this was of late origin. Peter Doll's place, which was about a mile and a half north-northwest of present Klecknersville, Northampton County, was garrisoned in January, 1758, and for a few months afterward, and was in effect an outpost of Fort Lehigh. The post included two barracks, but had no stockade and is nowhere referred to as a fort.

There are references to the place preceding the establishment of a garrison. On December 14, 1755, William Craig reported to Governor Morris that "Yesterday Morning they, Viz, y^e Indians Attack a kind of A strength or Stockado at a Smal Gapp of y^e Mountain about Ten Miles Distance From My house Call'd Chesnut Hill Gapp"; and the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, recounting what "Mischief was done by the Indians on Thursday, the First Instant [of January, 1756], not far from Nazareth, in Northampton County," reported "Peter Doll's House and Barn burnt."²¹² However, the original line of defense lay north of the Blue Mountain, and until after the evacuation of Fort Hamilton and Fort Norris at the beginning of October, 1757, posts south of the mountain received little attention.

Originally from Fort Norris, the detachment stationed at Peter Doll's had an unusual and somewhat complicated history. The commanding officer at Fort Norris, Captain George Reynolds, and a large part of his company had been ordered away in February, 1757, to reinforce the western defenses, leaving Ensign Jacob Schneider and a small detachment in garrison. Then, in May Lieutenant Andreas Engel, formerly commanding officer of the captainless company at Fort Franklin, was assigned to command at Fort Norris in place of Reynolds; and it appears that following Reynolds' resignation the remainder of his company and Engel's unit were combined. On September 27, however, the Governor ordered both Fort Norris and Fort Hamilton evacuated and the garrisons stationed at Teads's (Dietz's). The accommodations here proving inadequate, other quarters had to be found for the men from Fort Norris, who were then placed at Doll's and at Fort Lehigh.

²¹² Craig to Morris, Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, VII, 181; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 22, 1756.

In the reorganization which became effective toward the end of January, 1758, Patrick Davis was commissioned captain of Reynolds' company (as of December 22, 1757), with Lieutenant Charles Brodhead and Ensign William Work as subalterns. Ensign Schneider, promoted to lieutenant (as of December 13), was transferred to another company.²¹³ These alterations had not become effective, however, at the time when Adjutant Jacob Kern, coming from Dietz's, visited Engel's company on January 25, 1758, and reported as follows: "I arrivaed at the block House where Liut Jacob Shnyder with 24 men of Liut Engels Company I musterd them and are in Good order and a good place for a Fortification I have Deliver Mr Shnyder his Comms^a the Same day I arrivaed at Fort Leachau. . . ." This same division of Engel's men appears in Commissary Young's return of February 9, 1758: "In Northampton County, at Trisbacks Mill, Chesnut Hill, the Wind Gapp, and Depues, are two Companies . . . 106 [men]." The second of these four places was Schneider's post.²¹⁴

The only other description of these two posts occupied by Davis' men appears in the journal of Colonel Burd, who inspected the eastern garrisons in February and March. On February 28 Burd and his party, marching down from Fort Allen, visited Captain Davis' detachments. Arriving at "Lieut Inglis post" at four o'clock in the afternoon, he reviewed the garrison there and then, continuing on his way,

Arrived at Lieut Snyders Station at 7 P:M 8 miles ordered a review tomorrow morning here I stay all night.

March 1st Wednesday

Reviewed this Morning & found here Lieut Snyder & 33 men undisciplin'd 15 lb powder 30 lb lead no blankets 8 Province Arms bad,

Lieut Humphrys releived Lieut Snyder this Morng. Ordered Lieut, Snyder to his post over Susquahanna

I am informed by the officers here Lieut^s Ingle & Snyder that [blank] Willson, Esq^r a Majestrate in this County has Acquainted the Farmers that they should not assist the Troops unless the Officers Immediately pay & that said Willson has likewise inform'd y^e soldiers they should not take their Regementalls as it only putts Money in their officers pocketts, I found a serj^t. Confin'd here on Acco^t of Mutiny and have ordered a Regementall Court Martiall this Morning, at this station there is two barricks no stockade

²¹³ *PAI*, III, 337.

²¹⁴ Kern Journal, Gratz Collections; Young's return, PPC, printed in *PAI*, III, 341.

March'd from hence to Lieu^t Hyndshaw's Station at 10 A:M arrived at Nazareth at 1 P:M, here dined 8 miles. . . .²¹⁵

How long Lieutenant Humphreys of Captain Morgan's company, who relieved Lieutenant Schneider on March 1, commanded here is not clear. Captain Morgan's journal for April, 1758, notes that on April 26 he sent "Corporal George Lindemood and a Smal Party on a Command to Lieu^t Samuel Humphrey's at his Stationed Garrison near Lehey Creek." And on April 29 the journal records that "Lieu^t Samuel Humphrys and George Moyer one of my Compa^y with Corp^l George Lindemood and the rest of the Men w^{ch} went with him returned to the Fort."²¹⁶

The description of Humphreys' post as near the Lehigh River fits Fort Lehigh better than it does Peter Doll's, and suggests that the Lieutenant may have moved to the more western and better of the two posts. Nor is it clear whether his return to Fort William on April 29 marks the end of his service at the outpost or represents only a brief absence from it. Humphreys may have served in the interim between the departure of Lieutenant Schneider and the expected arrival of Ensign William Work, commissioned as of March 15 and assigned to Captain Davis' company, or it may be that his removal to a post near the Lehigh followed abandonment of the one at Doll's.

Fort Lehigh

Fort Lehigh was near the present Petersville and about five miles northwest of present Bath, Northampton County. This post and Peter Doll's Blockhouse were established at the same time and were garrisoned by detachments of the same company for approximately the first five months of 1758. Evidently more of a formal fortification than Doll's (which may be considered as an outpost of this fort), Fort Lehigh is described as having included "a very good stockade."

East of "the West Branch" (Lehigh River) and south of the Blue Mountain, Lehigh Township originally had no Provincial garrisons, but depended for protection upon Fort Allen and before 1757 upon the small detachments at Oblinger's (Uplinger's) and at Trucker's Mill. The withdrawal of troops for use elsewhere left this area more

²¹⁵ Burd Journal, PPC, March 10, 1758; printed in *PAI*, III, 355-56. Captain Morgan's journal at Fort William, PPC, February 28, 1758, mentions Burd's departure on February 26, "with whom went Lieu^t Samuel Humphreys, Serjt Matthews, my Son Jacob and Three of my Men."

²¹⁶ Captain Morgan Journal, PPC, April 30, 1758; printed in *PMHB*, XXXIX (1915), 190-91.

exposed, however; and a German petition dated May 26, 1757, presented to Governor Denny by sixty-six settlers of this township and Allen Township, its neighbor to the south, states that during the previous year seven houses and other buildings had been burned, one man killed, another shot five times, and a girl taken captive. The townships had twenty-five men engaged in scouting, and the signers asked the Governor for "*Eine gutte Wacht diszeit dem blauenberg Von der wind Kaft bisz an der West bränsch Kaft Welches sich auf 23 meyl belauft*" (a good guard this side of the Blue Mountain, from Wind Gap to Lehigh Gap, about 23 miles); this, they said, would furnish more protection than all the forts on the opposite side of the mountain.²¹⁷

A very similar petition in English, dated May 30, recites the facts

That the said two Townships are now become the Frontiers of that Part of the Province. The Inhabitance beyond them towards the Mountains having all deserted their several Plantations.

That within this Week past divers small Parties of Indians have been discovered ranging the Woods which were supposed to be Spies and some of them assaulted a Man with an Intent to rob him, two of said Indians were apprehended but afterwards set to liberty.²¹⁸

Unpleasant though these incidents were, it is clear that during this time Northampton County was the scene of occasional minor attacks rather than of actual warfare. And because this was so, the government was the more willing to evacuate the forts and to give these settlers the guard they requested. So on September 27, 1757, the Governor ordered Fort Norris and Fort Hamilton evacuated and their garrisons stationed at Teads's (Dietz's). This post lay too far east of the Lehigh, however, and the Council minutes of October 15 record that:

The Petition of Inhabitants of Leheigh Township in Northampton County, was read, setting forth, that the Petitioners, having returned to their respective Places of Abode since the late Peace with the Indians, were obliged again to desert them, by means of the Late Murders—committed, and therefore pray the Governor will be pleased to grant them Protection. . . .²¹⁹

²¹⁷ PPC, May 26, 1757.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, May 30, 1757; printed in *PAI*, III, 164.

²¹⁹ PR, Q, 120; printed in *CR*, VII, 757.

As noted in the account of that post, the accommodations at Dietz's proved inadequate; so the former Fort Norris garrison under Lieutenant Andreas Engel was stationed farther west in Lehigh Township. Lieutenant Hyndshaw complained on December 2 that "Lieut Engles Company none of them has yet been at Teetes's Since I have been there Stationed." However, a "Journale of the Company under the Command of Lieut^t Engel Stationed in Lechay Township, for the Month of December 1757" names "ADam Dietses" among the places visited by patrols.²²⁰

Apparently, Engel's men were then stationed as reported by Adjutant Kern in February following, with Ensign Schneider at Peter Doll's and Engel himself at Fort Lehigh. The journal just mentioned speaks on December 5 of a patrol by "Ensign Schneider with 6 Men to the Post of Lieut^t Engel"; and on December 20 of a patrol by "Corporal Fon with 6 Men to the New Fort." Other parties patrolled to Fort Norris, "to the River Lechay to the House of William Best," "to the House of George Deetses," "along the Blue Mountain to the Gape," and, as noted, "to ADam Deetses." On the other hand, Lieutenant Hyndshaw's journal for the same month notes on December 5 that he "Patrolled from Teets's to Lieut^t Engles Station."²²¹

The commissioning of Captain Patrick Davis to command these troops has been noted in the account of Peter Doll's Blockhouse. Preliminary plans proposed to continue Engel as lieutenant of the company, but in the final arrangement he was not recommissioned. News of the alterations arrived with Adjutant Jacob Kern, who on January 25 came to "Fort Leachau where Liut^t Engel was stationed I muster that Comp^y and [he] was not Satisfied because I did not bring him a Cap^{ts} Commission his men are not in good order are 55 in number."²²² Of these fifty-five men, twenty-five were at Doll's and thirty at Fort Lehigh as Kern reported on February 5.²²³ Likewise, Commissary James Young, referring to Davis' and Garraway's companies, wrote on February 9 that "In Northampton County, at

²²⁰ Hyndshaw to Weiser, Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 113; Journal of Lieutenant A. Engel, Pennsylvania Counties, 1708-1882, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

²²¹ James Hyndshaw Journal, Northampton County Papers, 1758-1767.

²²² Kern Journal, Gratz Collections. This seems to be the earliest mention of the fort by name.

²²³ *PAI*, III, 339-40.

Trisbacks Mill, Chesnut Hill, the Wind Gapp, and Depues, are two Companies" with a total of 106 men.²²⁴

Traveling from Fort Allen on February 28, 1758, Colonel Burd also inspected this post and recorded the only description of it:

sett off from hence at 10 A:M for Lieut Ingle's post arrived at Lieut Ingle's at 4 P:M ordered a Review Immediately & found here Lieut Ingle and 30 good men in a very good stockade which he is just finishing 15 miles from Fort Allen stores, 10 lb powder 10 lb lead 12 Province Arm bad no blankitts 4 spades 3 shovels 2 Grubing hows & 4 axes- Arrived at Lieut Snyders Station at 7 P:M 8 miles. . . .²²⁵

Another reference to the building of this fort appears in the accounts of the Provincial Commissioners, who on November 1, 1758, paid to Levan and Deshler, "for supplying the Inhabitants during the Building a new Fort in Lehi Township," £41, 9s., 1 1/2d.²²⁶

Presumably, this fort was occupied until May, 1758. In the military reorganization effected in February, Lieutenant Engel was discontinued; and Lieutenant Charles Brodhead and Ensign William Work, commissioned as of December 8, 1757, and March 15, 1758, respectively, were then assigned to Captain Davis' company.²²⁷ Lieutenant Samuel Humphreys of Captain Morgan's company at Fort Lebanon (or William), who relieved Lieutenant Schneider at Peter Doll's on March 1, is referred to on April 26 as stationed "near Lehigh Creek." The phrase suggests that Humphreys, perhaps relieved at Doll's by Captain Davis' new ensign, had then replaced Engel at Fort Lehigh, but this is uncertain.²²⁸ The date when this fort was abandoned, however, is fixed by Governor Denny's orders of May 11, 1758, "that the Companies of Captains Morgan, Wetherholt, Davis, Orndt and Garraway do immediately march to Reading, there to receive their Pay."²²⁹ From Reading these companies marched to Carlisle to join General Forbes' army. With their departure Northampton County lost all its experienced troops, who were replaced by two companies

²²⁴ PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 341. Young's designation of this post as "Trisbacks Mill" identifies its site. See Matthew S. Henry's manuscript history, Northampton County Papers: "Jost Dreisback was the owner of the first Grist mill erected in the Township [of Lehigh] . . . on the Hockendoqua Creek a Short distance from Petersville on Moor Township Line."

²²⁵ Burd Journal, PPC, March 10, 1758; printed in *PAI*, III, 355-56.

²²⁶ *PA8*, VI, 5063.

²²⁷ *PAI*, III, 337.

²²⁸ Captain Morgan Journal, PPC, April 30, 1758; printed in *PMHB*, XXXIX (1915), 190.

²²⁹ Berks and Montgomery County Papers, 63.

of the new levies, stationed at Fort Allen and in a few small garrisons along the south side of the mountain.

Trucker's Mill

Trucker's (Drucker's, Drocker's) Mill stood at present Slatington, Lehigh County, on land owned by Nicholas Kern. Although garrisoned for about a year by Provincial troops, it was only a minor post and so far as is known was unfortified. The first military mention of this place is in Benjamin Franklin's letter of January 25, 1756, telling of his arrival at Gnadenhütten, the site of Fort Allen.

The next Day [January 18] being Sunday, we march'd hither where we arrived about 2 in the afternoon, and before 5 had inclosed our Camp with a Strong Breast work, Musquet Proof, and with the Boards brought here before by my Order from Drucker's Mill, got ourselves under some Shelter from the Weather.²³⁰

In Franklin's troop return of early February he reported that he had stationed "An Ensign of Wetterhold's at Drucker's Mill & 15 [men]," and this officer was presumably Ensign Henry Geiger, commissioned December 20, 1755, along with Lieutenant John Jacob Wetterholt in the company of Captain John Nicholas Wetterholt.²³¹

References to service by Wetterholt's men at this post appear in orders given by Governor Morris and in reports by Major Parsons and Commissary Young. Thus, on April 8, 1756, the Governor instructed Captain Wetterholt that,

As there are Eleven of your men Stationd at Truckers Mill I think it for the publick safety that they should be employd in ranging the woods when the people of that township are inclinable to Joyn them and assist in Such service I do therefore order that the said men stationd at Truckers mill when they are not employd in escorting Provisions or stores shall employ themselves in scouring and ranging the woods. . . .²³²

These orders clearly indicate the original purpose of this detachment.

Major Parsons, who visited Fort Allen on June 4, traveled from that place to "Upplinger's" (Nicklasz Oblinger's, present Palmerton), where he mustered a sergeant and seven men of Wetterholt's company;

²³⁰ Franklin to [], PR, O, 6; printed in CR, VII, 15.

²³¹ PPC [February, 1758]; printed out of order in PAI, III, 325.

²³² PPC; printed in PAI, II, 618.

. . . and thence I went to Trucker's Mill where Capt. Wetterhold was himself station'd with 12 Men, I staid at the Mill that Night & mustered the Men there.

Saturday June the 5th 1756

I set out from Trucker's Mill, by the way of Bethlehem for Easton; . . . being escorted by a Serjeant and three Men of Capt. Wetterhold's Company, as far as Bethlehem, where I gave them a Dinner and then discharg'd them.²³³

Commissary Young, who traveled this way later in the month, did not visit the post. Arriving on June 22 at "Leahy Gapp North Side" (Oblinger's), he found there a sergeant and eight men, part of Wetterholt's company; "he is Station'd on the Other side the Gapp 3 Miles from this with 12 Men." Learning next day that Wetterholt had left for Philadelphia, Young went on to Fort Norris.²³⁴

Sometime in July, apparently, there took place a transfer of garrisons, in which Captain Wetterholt took command at Fort Hamilton, exchanging places with a detachment of Captain Orndt's company. Orndt and most of his company were at Fort Norris; but his subaltern, Lieutenant Anthony Miller, who had been stationed at Fort Hamilton, now took command at Trucker's Mill. On August 12 Captain Orndt wrote from Fort Norris to Major Parsons: "I have been att Oblingers and at Drockers mill I have found no Pouter or let in ther Stores ther except 24^{lb} of lett att Drockers. . . ."²³⁵ And Parsons replied on August 15 that

This Morning early I received your 3 Letters of the 12th 13th & 14th Instant. That relating to Lieut. Miller I shall transmit immediately to his Honour the Governor, and in the mean time approve what you have done with regard to the Lieut. Capt. Reynolds [at Fort Allen] has Powder & Lead and can spare 6^{lb} of powder & 20^{lb} of Lead to the Forces at Trucker's Mill and if you order any Body for it they may shew him this Letter.²³⁶

The occasion for Orndt's pressing correspondence was the mutinous behavior of Lieutenant Miller. On August 17 the Captain wrote again to Major Parsons.

as I have informed you in my letter of the 14th inst. that my Lieut. Miller had refused to obey my orders which I have

²³³ Parsons Journal, Loudoun Papers, Box 26, No. 1189.

²³⁴ Young Journal, PPC, July 2, 1756; printed in *PAI*, II, 678.

²³⁵ Northampton County Papers, Bethlehem and Vicinity, I, 47.

²³⁶ Copy enclosed with Parsons to Morris, PPC, August 16, 1756; printed in *PAI*, II, 742.

sent him first, that I was obliged to have sent again my Ensign Conrad with 12 Men the 14th inst. to Trucker's Mill, with orders to take that place in his command, put Lieut. Miller under arrest, and to sent him with this detachment to me at the Fort. So yesterday my Detachment with a Sergeant arrived here, and informed me that [when] my Ensign Conrad showed the [orders] Lieut. Miller told them that he would not go absolutely, and the first man that would touch him, he would cut an Arm from his body, and if they would lay hands on him, he would not do one step out of his place, and he would see how they would bring him away And of his so threatening my Ensign marched on Sunday morning the 16th [15th] from Trucker's Mill to Opplinger's, there he met with Capt'n Nicholas Wetterholt, and they both went back again to Trucker's Mill, but Lieut. Miller was gone already from his post five miles off. They sent one for him, and Capt'n Wetterholt told him that he should be obedient to his Capt'n's Orders. Then he promised he should sent the Detachment back to the Fort, he would certainly appear here at the Fort the 16th inst. But I have not seen him here & my Ensign is at Trucker's Mill. . . . Lieut. Miller does what he pleases, and he does not care anything for me, according as he has told me. . . .²³⁷

Thanks to Captain Wetterholt (who on August 15 had been on his way to Fort Allen to arrest Lieutenant Samuel Allen for mutiny), Lieutenant Miller was subdued, for the time being at least; the remainder of his military career has been noted in the account of Fort Allen. This mutinous behavior of Orndt's and Reynolds' men led to another interchange of garrisons, effected about October 8, by which Orndt's company removed to Fort Allen and Captain George Reynolds' men relieved them at Fort Norris and the two minor posts attached to it. A return of Lieutenant Colonel Weiser's 1st Battalion dated November 26, 1756, shows the distribution of Reynolds' company subsequent to the exchange. Reynolds and thirty-two of his men were then at Fort Norris, Lieutenant Allen and eight of the company were at Uplinger's (Oblinger's), and Ensign Jacob Schneider commanded twelve men at Trucker's Mill.²³⁸

This arrangement continued until February, 1757, when Reynolds and many of his men were sent to reinforce the western defenses. Ensign Schneider was then stationed at Fort Norris, from which place he complained on February 15 to Weiser that "Cap^t Reynolds has Taken With him almost all the Inlistments and all the Testations

²³⁷ Copy in Northampton County Papers, 1727-1758, p. 183.

²³⁸ PPC; printed in *PA5*, I, 73.

With him of the men that are at Fort Norris with me . . . I Being Stationed at Truckers so that I Did not know any thing of his affairs at the fort. . . ."239

There is no record of a garrison at Trucker's Mill after this time; but the proposal in February, 1758, to abandon Fort Allen occasioned some further talk on this subject. Commissary Young, who on February 9 made a return of the nine companies east of Susquehanna, also made a tentative list of how the forces were to be posted between the Susquehanna and the Delaware. This plan included evacuation of Fort William and Fort Allen (the remaining posts north of the Blue Mountain) and the creation of a stronger line of garrisons below the mountain. Young proposed to have one company stationed at "Filliprots," one "Some Place near Truckers Mill," one at "Chesnut Hill" (Peter Doll's), and a fourth one at "Depuis"; and thirty-six men, drawn from the nine companies of the battalion, would be stationed "at or near Deeds's the Wind Gap."²⁴⁰

This proposal was taken up in a Northampton County petition dated March 1, 1758, urging that the garrisons be posted below the mountain. An attached note, written in German and accompanied by an English translation, advised the Governor

That if a Fort was to be built on this Side of the blue Mountains it would be of the most Service on this Side of Lechai on Daniel Schneiders Land from whence it would command up the Lechai so far as beyond the Mountain and across the River to the other Shore Or if our Superiors should not like this Place then on the other Side of Druckers Mill on the blue Mountains There being a good Spring and an Eminence which commands on all its Sides a large Extent of Land.²⁴¹

Fort Allen was not evacuated, however; and the establishment of Fort Lehigh late in the year probably satisfied the requests of the petitioners.

The history of the post at Trucker's Mill, it is apparent, was closely linked with that of the one at Nicklasz Oblinger's. They were garrisoned by detachments of the same companies and were regarded as stations for the support of Fort Allen rather than as distinct posts. Only the proposal to evacuate Fort Allen brought any suggestion to make Trucker's Mill a substantial post, and this plan was not adopted.

²³⁹ Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 33.

²⁴⁰ PPC [February, 1758]; printed in *PA5*, I, 362. Burd referred to the first of these stations as "Valantine Philteprot's," four miles west of Everett's. *PA1*, III, 355.

²⁴¹ PPC; printed incompletely in *PA1*, III, 347. Daniel Schneider's land lay on the west side of the Lehigh between Trucker's Mill and the mountain.

Nicklasz Oblinger's (Uplinger's)

The brief military history of Nicklasz Oblinger's, at the site of the present Palmerton, Carbon County, is closely linked with that of Trucker's Mill. Oblinger's, unlike Trucker's, is known to have been fortified; but even so it consisted merely of a stockaded farmhouse garrisoned by Provincial troops for a year ending about February, 1757.

Like Trucker's Mill, it is mentioned by Franklin in the account of his march to Gnadenhütten. Writing to Governor Morris on January 26, 1756, of the march from Hays's, Franklin said: "The next Day [January 16] we marched cautiously thro' the Gap of the [Blue] Mountain, a very dangerous Pass, and got to Uplinger's but twenty one Miles from Bethlehem, the Roads being bad, and the Waggons moving slowly." A letter of January 25 to another correspondent, who forwarded it to the Governor, continues the story:

Saturday morning [January 17] we began to march towards Gnadenhutten and proceeded near two miles; but it seeming to set in for a rainy day, the Men unprovided with great Coats, and many unable to secure effectually their Arms from the wet, we thought it most adviseable to face about, and return to our former Quarters, where the Men might dry themselves and lie warm; whereas had they proceeded they would have come in wet to Gnadenhutten, where Shelter and Opportunity of drying themselves that night was uncertain. In fact it rained all day and we were all pleased that we had not proceeded. . . .²⁴²

Franklin's return of Northampton County garrisons in early February lists "a Sergeant at Uplinger's and 5 [men]"; and although the company to whom they belonged is not named, it may be supposed to have been Wetterholt's, which garrisoned this place four months later.²⁴³

Major Parsons visited the post on June 4, riding down from Fort Allen, and reported that "The same Afternoon I went to Nicholas Uplinger's and mustered a Detachment consisting of a Serjeant and 7 Men posted there from Capt. Wetterholt's Company; and thence I went to Trucker's Mill. . . ."²⁴⁴

²⁴² PR, O, 6-7; printed in CR, VII, 16. Both tone and contents clearly indicate that the letter of January 25 was not originally addressed to the Governor.

²⁴³ PPC [February, 1756]; printed out of order in PAI, III, 325.

²⁴⁴ Parsons Journal, Loudoun Papers, Box 26, No. 1189.

Following the same route, Commissary Young arrived on June 22 at "Leahy Gapp North Side":

At 4 P:M: Sett out [from Fort Allen], at 6 Came to Leahy Gapp where I found a Serjant and 8 Men Station'd at a Farm house with a small Staccade Round it, from Fort Allen here the Road is very hilly and Swampy only one Plantation Ab^t a Mile from the Gapp, I found the People here were a Detachment from Cap^{tn} Weatherholts Comp^y, he is Station'd on the Other side the Gapp 3 Miles from this with 12 Men, . . . the People Stationed here and on the Other side the Gapp I think May be of great Service as it is a good road thro' the Mountain and very Steep & high on each side, so may in a Great Measure prevent any Indians to pass thro' undiscover'd if they keep a good Guard, here the River Leahy Passes thro' the Mountain in a very Rapid Stream.—²⁴⁵

Presumably, Wetterholt's detachment here, like the one at Trucker's, was replaced about July, 1756, by men of Orndt's company; and like that post it was garrisoned from October, 1756, to about February, 1757, by a detachment of Reynolds' company. The return of Lieutenant Colonel Weiser's battalion of November 26, 1756, listed Lieutenant Samuel Allen and eight men of Reynolds' company at "Uplingers."²⁴⁶

Here, as at Trucker's, there is no record of a later garrison. Nicklasz Oblinger appears among the petitioners from Towamensing Township ("Inhabitants of the other Side the Mountain") who, having heard that Fort Allen was to be moved, requested on March 1, 1758, "that said Fort might be Build of the Other [north] Side the Mountain, on the Place Called the Good Spring or well, which is a very Convenient Place."²⁴⁷

Like Trucker's Mill also, this place never was a separate post. Garrisoned by detachments of the same companies—first Wetterholt's, then Reynolds'—both served to safeguard the route to Fort Allen, and when this precaution seemed no longer necessary both Trucker's and Oblinger's were evacuated.

John Everett's

West of Lehigh River along the south side of the Blue Mountain lay the townships of Heidelberg and Lynn. To the latter of these and to neighboring Albany Township, Berks County, the German-speaking

²⁴⁵ Young Journal, PPC, July 2, 1756; printed in *PAL*, II, 678.

²⁴⁶ PPC; printed in *PA5*, I, 73-74.

²⁴⁷ PPC; printed in *PAL*, III, 359-60.

settlers gave the name of *Allemangel* (destitution). In the original plan of Provincial defense, this region was to be protected by Fort Franklin; but both before the erection of that fort in January, 1756, and after its evacuation toward the end of the same year, garrisons were posted among the settlers on the south side of the mountain.

In this area John Everett's, which stood a short distance northwest of the present Lynnport, Lehigh County, in effect replaced Fort Franklin and was garrisoned by Provincial troops from November, 1756, until July, 1758, and perhaps later. No account of the place mentions any fortifications.

Like other parts of the frontier, this was the scene of encounters in the early days of hostilities. Benjamin Franklin, returned from Reading to Bethlehem in January, 1756, wrote of an "Action at Allemangle" on January 4: Three settlers, returning to view their abandoned homes north of the mountain, found Indians at one of them and "went back, and alarmed the Watch of two Townships, who assembled the next Morning, to the Number of Sixty Men." In the ensuing encounter, "We got five Scalps, but they got nine of ours. Our Men are sure they killed eight at least. Two of our wounded are since dead."²⁴⁸

"To secure Lyn and Heidelberg Township, whose Inhabitants were just on the Wing," Franklin wrote on January 14, "I took Trexler's Company into Pay, (he had been before commission'd by Mr Hamilton)."²⁴⁹ The granting of this commission, when James Hamilton, Franklin, and Joseph Fox were in the county in December, 1755, involved some misunderstanding. As David Shultze explained in a letter of January 18, "Jeremiah Trexler was asked by them, wether he intended to serve as a Captain of Militia or Soldiers, who answered as free Parthy, which was understood a Militia and therefore such a Commission was given and no further orders." But now that Franklin had returned, he added, he hoped to see things in better order.²⁵⁰

By January 25 Franklin had ordered Captain Trexler to join Captain Folck in erecting the fort later called Fort Franklin; but in consequence probably of the confusion regarding his status, Trexler did not immediately leave Allemangel. In early February Franklin had to report that Trexler "has posted himself contrary to orders within

²⁴⁸ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 15, 1756.

²⁴⁹ *PAL*, II, 549.

²⁵⁰ Shultze to Robert Greenaway, *PMHB*, XIX (1895), 403-404.

the Mountain.”²⁵¹ This confusion was corrected, however; Trexler took command at Fort Franklin, and Allemangel was left ungarrisoned.

The quiet was broken on the morning of November 6, 1756, when, as Sebastian Zimmerman and Daniel Levan reported to Lieutenant Colonel Weiser, Indians took prisoner the wife and four children of Johannes Adam Busz in “*albahny daunschib oder so genante alle mengel*” (Albany Township or so-called Allemangel).²⁵² Ten days later Richard Peters, writing to Captain Orndt, referred to the trouble near Fort Franklin; and the incident probably encouraged the removal below the mountain of the garrison of that fort.²⁵³

The order to evacuate Fort Franklin was given by Lieutenant Colonel Weiser on November 22:

I ordred Lieut^t Engel to Evacuate it, and come to the South side of the Hills himself with Nineteen men, at John Eberets, Esq^r, and the Rest being Sixteen men more, at John Eckenroad, both places being about three Miles distant from each other, and both in the Township of Linn. . . .²⁵⁴

Within a week, on the night of November 28 there was another hostile attack. The following day Lieutenant Engel, “Commander in Allen-Mangel,” reported to Weiser that Indians had attacked the home of Balsar Jäger, five miles from Everett’s house, killed Jacob Steinbruch, and carried off Jäger’s eleven-year-old daughter. Worse yet, it was learned that the attack had been made by three “friendly” Six Nations Indians who had just come from the peace conference at Easton.²⁵⁵

Apparently, Engel’s men remained here until about the beginning of February, 1757, when they and others were sent to strengthen the defenses of Cumberland County. At this time or later their place was taken by a detachment of Captain Wetterholt’s company, some of whom remained stationed here until the spring of 1758.

John and Thomas Everett head the list of forty-one petitioners of Lynn Township who on May 4, 1757, having heard

that A Grat Body of French and Indians Was one there march from Ahio Fort Desined Against Som Parts of Pennsylvania

²⁵¹ Franklin to [], PR. O. 6-7, printed in *CR*, VII, 16; return of garrisons, PPC [February, 1756], printed out of order in *PAI*, III, 325.

²⁵² PPC [November 7, 1756].

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, November 16, 1756; printed in *PAI*, III, 51.

²⁵⁴ Weiser Journal, PPC, November 24; printed in *PAI*, III, 68.

²⁵⁵ Berks and Montgomery County Papers, 61; printed in Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 466-67. See also *PAI*, III, 77 (where the man’s occupation, *Schlosser*, locksmith, is mistaken for his name); *CR*, VII, 358; *PA8*, VII, 5883.

minesink menesenk [*sic*] Partealy . . . Do think that if the Garresens that is Now Lying over the Blewmountaine in the Forts Was all Removed to This Side of the Mountain and Laid 4 6 8 or 10 men in a Good Houce ate Not a grate Distance apart and A Road Cut from one Plantation to the other . . . that it twold Cause the Indians to be afraid to Com in Small Companies.

As the petitioners go on to explain,

from the outsid Settlers one this Side of the Mountaine to the Forts is Sum 5 Sum 10 Sum 16 Miles to Fort Franklen 5 to Fort Allen 10 To Fort Norres 16 to Fort Hambelton 16 Miles . . . at Present Leftennent Wetherhols Lyes in are Township With about 40 men Against Fort Franklen Which is Now Empty of Soldiers and he Expects Every Day to Re-seave order to March from us.²⁵⁶

The plan advocated by this petition, which was read in Council on May 7, was opposed by another petition read the same day from twenty-five "Inhabatants of Berks County within four Miles of and about Fort Franklin," who urged "to have the said Fort continu'd & rebuilt"; but the plan of small garrisons below the mountain was the one adopted.²⁵⁷

John Everett's place seems to have been involved in the contradictory orders given at this time to Lieutenant Engel at Fort Norris, mentioned in the account of that place. Accordingly, while Major Parsons wondered why Engel did not go to Fort Hamilton as ordered by the Governor, Lieutenant Jacob Wetterholt wrote to Weiser on June 18 that "I would like to know what Lieutenant Engel is to do here, whether he is ordered here to occupy my place, or what."²⁵⁸ Apparently, the confusion was settled with Lieutenant Wetterholt retaining command.

In October, 1757, the Governor undertook to build at Wyoming the town promised to Teedyuscung and ordered each of the battalions to provide detachments to guard the workmen. On October 31 Lieutenant Colonel Weiser sent "to Cap^t Wetherholts in Linn township North Hampton County ordering him to send Lieut Wetterholts with 14 private men with all possible Speed." On November 4 this detachment arrived at Reading to join those from Fort William and Fort Henry. Unfortunately, they fell into a quarrel with the British troops then stationed at Reading; and as a result Lieutenant Wetterholt left

²⁵⁶ PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 151-53.

²⁵⁷ PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 153-54.

²⁵⁸ Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 29 (in German).

three days later with only nine of his men.²⁵⁹ Weiser's detachments overtook the work party at Fort Augusta and escorted it to and from Wyoming. On November 23 the party had returned to Lancaster County and reported their partial success to the Governor.

Ordered on January 21, 1758, to inspect the eastern posts, Adjutant Jacob Kern visited Fort Allen on January 26 and on the following day,

27 I arrivaed at the blockhouse of allemengel Where Liut Henry Gayger Commands 13 men but he being absence the men are in good order the same day I arrivaed at Mr Ebretz where Cap^t Wetherholtz Commands 43 I musterd that Comp^y they are in Good order & fine Soldiers I give Leu^t Wetherholtz your order²⁶⁰

Aside from Kern's return dated February 5, this is the only known reference to the Allemangel blockhouse, which, according to the return, was twenty miles from Fort Allen and ten from "Fort Everit"; presumably it was in Heidelberg Township. It may also be noted that this return is the only record to call Everett's a fort and that Colonel Burd, who visited the place not long after this, made no mention of defensive structures.²⁶¹

In the military reorganization which became effective about this time, Wetterholt's company was assigned to Colonel Armstrong's 1st Battalion. Captain Wetterholt was recommissioned as of December 19, 1757; Lieutenant James Laughrey (December 20) and Ensign John Lyttle (December 11), later replaced by Ensign Joseph Armstrong (February 22, 1758), were his subordinates. However, these reassignments were not all effected immediately, as reports show.²⁶²

The situation reported by Adjutant Kern was soon altered, perhaps by the Governor's order which Kern delivered; for part of Wetterholt's company was sent to reinforce Fort Allen. Accordingly, Commissary Young's return dated February 9 reported one and one-half companies (seventy-eight men) at Fort Allen, and "In Allemingle Township half a Comp^y 28 [men]."²⁶³

This was also the state of affairs when Colonel Burd visited these posts in late February, traveling from Fort William to Everett's:

²⁵⁹ E. Shippen to Denny, October 26, 1757, *PAI*, III, 304; Weiser to *id.*, November 10, 1757, Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 103.

²⁶⁰ Kern Journal, Gratz Collections.

²⁶¹ Kern's return, *PAI*, III, 340; Burd Journal, *ibid.*, 355.

²⁶² *Ibid.*, 337.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, 341.

26th Sunday

Marched from hence at 10 A:M went over the Mountains to Mr Everitts where Captⁿ Weatherholt is stationed the snow Exceeding deep could make little way, at 3 P:M arrived at Valantine Philteprotts 20 miles here I stay all night

27th Munday

March'd this morning at 8 A:M for Mr Everitts arrived at 9 A:M 4 miles ordered a Review of that part of the Comp^y that is here, found Cap^{tn} Weatherholt, Lieu^t Gieger, & 24 men, 3 being sick & absent 3 months Provisions 5 pound powder, no lead, each man has a pound of powder in his Cartouch box & lead in proportion, no Kettles, nor blankets, 25 Province Arms

Ordered to Cap^{tn} Weatherholt 56 blanketts 25 lb of powder & 50 barrs of lead & 400 flints—Captⁿ Weatherholt to Scout to the Westward 10 miles, & to the eastward 10 miles Lieu^t Gieger from hence to his post in Coll: Armstrong's Battalion

Burd found Lieutenant Laughrey with the detachment at Fort Allen, where there were four officers and seventy-five men.²⁶⁴

John and Thomas Everett were among the sixty-three Northampton County signers of a petition of March 1, 1758, urging that "the other Garisons over the Mountains might be Removed & Posted in a range with them that is AlReady posted Amongst us."²⁶⁵ Only the garrisons of Fort William and Fort Allen were then north of the mountain; and the petition undoubtedly is related to Commissary Young's list of "How the Forces are to be Posted between Susquahana and Delaware," which proposed "The Comp^y Formerly at Fort Will^m to be remov'd near Rodalmels on this side of the Mountain Ab^t 18 miles from F. Henry."²⁶⁶

The continued presence of Captain Wetterholt's company in this region is documented by scattered references, including a muster roll for the months of March and April, 1758, which refers to the company as "Stationed in Heydelberg Town Ship Northampton County."²⁶⁷ About the end of April, "Captain Wetherholts, who is stationed about Allamingle," wrote to Governor Denny that "on Saturday last," April 29, some of his men on their return from escorting supplies to Fort Allen were fired at by Indians.²⁶⁸ However, Wetterholt's company,

²⁶⁴ Burd Journal, PPC, March 10, 1758; printed in *PA1*, III, 355.

²⁶⁵ PPC; printed in *PA1*, III, 347.

²⁶⁶ PPC [February, 1758]; printed in *PA5*, I, 362.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 118-19.

²⁶⁸ Hazard (ed.), *Register*, VIII (1831), 130. On May 5 Denny had the letter read to Teedyuscung, who "thought it a false report."

like the other old companies on this frontier, was withdrawn by Governor Denny's orders of May 11 to join General Forbes' forces.

In their place, two companies of new levies of Colonel Mercer's 3d Battalion were sent to Northampton County. Captain John Bull's company was stationed at Fort Allen, and Captain Samuel Neilson's at Dietz's and Dupui's. On July 9 Brigade Major Shippen gave further orders stationing "At three of the most convenient Posts for the immediate defence of the Inhabitants between Schuylkill and Delaware, an officer & 20 men at each to be detached by Major Orndt from Capt^s Bull & Nelson's Company."²⁶⁹

That such a detachment was stationed for a time at Everett's is indicated both by the fact that a list in Richard Peters' handwriting, dated June 17, places three officers and fifty-three men "at Deedt's & Everitts along the Frontiers of Northampton County" and also by Christian Frederick Post's statement that on June 23, as he went from Bethlehem toward Wyoming, he "met with Lieutenant Peterson [apparently Lieutenant Nathaniel Patterson of Neilson's company] with a scouting party from Allimingle."²⁷⁰

The withdrawal of Neilson's company to Easton in October must have marked the end of garrisons and scouting parties in this region. His departure left in Northampton County only Captain Bull's men stationed at Fort Allen. Until all the new levies were discharged toward the end of 1758, this detachment probably guarded the local frontier to the best of its ability, but it seems unlikely that it maintained permanent garrisons outside its headquarters.

²⁶⁹ PPC; printed in *PA5*, I, 241.

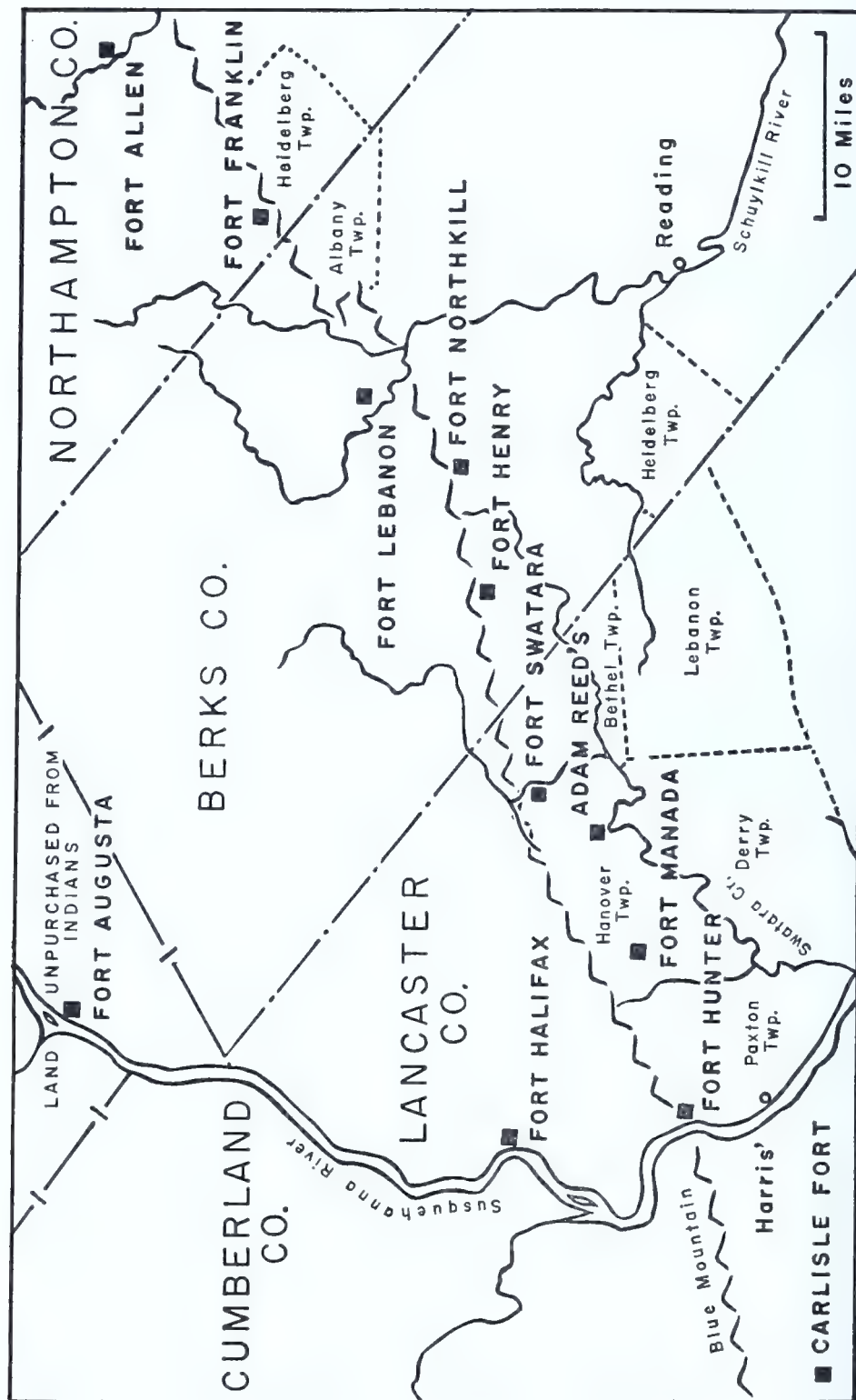
²⁷⁰ [Peters], *Stations . . .*, PPC; *Post Journal*, *CR*, VIII, 143.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Provincial Forts in Berks and Lancaster Counties

THE PROVINCIAL defense system in Berks and Lancaster counties, unlike that in Northampton, was based on a line of guard posts established by the people before passage of the militia and supply acts in late November, 1755. As the Indian attack on Gnadenhütten led to the first efforts at defense in Northampton, so the earlier massacre at Penns Creek on October 16, 1755, had provided the incentive for mobilization in Berks and Lancaster. Conrad Weiser, commissioned on October 31, 1755, as colonel of the militia raised in Berks County, supervised the local preparations; and final arrangements for Provincial defense in these counties were made by Governor Morris and some of the commissioners in January, 1756. Morris, lately returned from a trip to New York, arrived at Reading on January 1; and on the same day the commissioners who had been in Northampton County joined him. Franklin, as has been mentioned, returned to Northampton a few days later; but the other commissioners, James Hamilton and Joseph Fox, remained with Morris, who at this time made only slight alterations in the frontier guards. Final designation of the forts and disposition of garrisons were made on January 25-27, when, following the conferences at Carlisle, the Governor stopped again at Reading on his homeward journey: Fort Lebanon, with an outpost at Northkill (Captain Jacob Morgan); Fort Henry (Captain Christian Busse); Fort Swatara, with an outpost at Manada (Captain Friedrich Schmitt, or Smith); Fort Hunter (Captain Thomas McKee). At all of these, Northkill apparently excepted, defenses already existed or were under construction. In addition to these frontier posts, Reading was also provided with a guard.

In contrast with the defense line in Northampton, that in Berks and Lancaster was conspicuously stable; only the two outposts were abandoned before 1758. In large part this stability is explained by the fact that these counties, unlike their eastern and western neighbors,



FORTS IN BERKS AND LANCASTER COUNTIES

had a sharply defined mountain frontier which simplified the problem of locating and maintaining defenses. Furthermore, the frontier east of the Susquehanna suffered less severely from Indian attacks than did the lands west of the river; Berks and Lancaster lay more remote from the French posts, were shielded by Fort Augusta, and benefited in some measure by the reconciliation with the eastern Indians. Besides the evacuation of the two outposts, there were other changes, however. Fort Hunter was garrisoned by troops of the Augusta Regiment from May, 1756, until July, 1757, and thereafter by troops of the 1st Battalion. Fort Lebanon, renamed Fort William, and Fort Swatara were evacuated in May, 1758, and a new garrison was established at Adam Reed's below Manada Gap to provide a line of posts (Fort Hunter, Reed's, Fort Henry, and Everett's) at twenty-mile intervals.

The general organization of the troops has already been described. With the transfer of Fort Hunter to the Augusta Regiment in May, 1756, Captain McKee's company was disbanded, and the other companies east of the Susquehanna became the 1st Battalion, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Weiser of the Pennsylvania Regiment, a man then about sixty years old, experienced and trusted in Indian negotiations, and eminent among the German-speaking residents of the Province. In Berks and Lancaster counties this battalion included the companies of Colonel Weiser and Captains Morgan, Busse, and Schmitt. Weiser's company, under his son Captain Lieutenant Samuel Weiser, was stationed normally at Reading. In December, 1756, Captain James Patterson was recommissioned in this battalion, but actually served at Fort Augusta for a time before being assigned to Fort Hunter.

Heavy demands were made upon Weiser's battalion for troops to reinforce other posts. In the fall of 1756 Captain Busse took the equivalent of a company to Fort Augusta, where they served for a month. In February, 1757, Captains Reynolds, Morgan, and Schmitt went to Cumberland County with the equivalent of two companies, who remained there until April, when they were ordered to Fort Augusta; and it was not until October that all of them returned home. In November the equivalent of a company guarded the party sent to build a town for Teedyuscung at Wyoming. In addition to these assignments, Weiser's battalion furnished the detachments which guarded Easton at the time of the Indian treaties of 1756-1757. To compensate for the weakening of the garrisons on this part of the

frontier, the commissioners on May 18, 1757, approved the Governor's plan to relax the three-year term of service to the extent of enlisting 159 men (equivalent to three companies) for three months only as guards in the forts, while the regular troops were engaged in ranging; but these men were paid off in September, while part of Weiser's force was still absent.

Weiser protested vigorously against these reductions of his forces. Military considerations, it is true, did not justify the retention of nine companies along what was in effect a secondary line of defense subject only to small raids; but the reinforcements sent elsewhere served too often only to supply deficiencies which ought not to have existed, and not to support the aggressive action which might have reduced the danger of frontier attacks.¹

Plans for reorganization of the Pennsylvania troops into two instead of three battalions, which became effective in early 1758, had been drawn up as early as November, 1757. Governor Denny originally had designated Weiser and Armstrong as battalion commanders, but Weiser's resignation in January, 1758, altered the plan. Though his retirement was welcomed by some opponents, it probably was brought about as much by age and poor health as by unfriendly maneuvers, and it seems very unlikely that Weiser could have taken an active part in the campaign of 1758.² Under this reorganization Governor Denny's company (formerly Schmitt's) and Captain Patterson's were assigned to Colonel Armstrong's 1st Battalion, and Morgan's, Busse's, and Samuel Weiser's to Colonel Burd's 2d Battalion. On May 3 Burd assigned Major Thomas Lloyd to the command of the eastern defense line, but some two months later all these troops, except some at Fort Henry, were withdrawn for the western expedition. Their places were taken by parts of three companies of new levies: part of Captain David Hunter's company, attached to the 1st Battalion, was assigned

¹ For an account of the altercations preceding Weiser's resignation, see Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 488-506. The undated letter printed there on page 505 must be assigned to late September, 1757, however, and probably inspired the report (*ibid.*, 490) of Weiser's intention to resign.

² This is not to deny that animosity existed. James Read made an intemperate personal attack in a letter of September 4, 1757, to Edward Shippen: "Pray why don't you let Mr Allen know your Opinion of L. Col: Weis-r. . . . Why should that Gentleman conceive so high Opinion of an insincere, glozing, avaricious, deceitful, sling drinking, wh-ring, Fellow, that he can believe the Defence of Our most exposed Frontier should be committed to him?" Shippen Family Papers, III, 35. James Young, the Provincial paymaster, on November 1, 1757, wrote Major James Burd from Philadelphia that "Old Slingo did not resign when in town but he told me he is to do it in two months by the advice of his friends. . . . I really think him a Disgrace to the Service. . . . I have got his Son Philip to resign. . . ." *Ibid.*, 87.

to Fort Hunter; and Adam Reed's and John Blackwood's companies of the new 3d Battalion were stationed near Manada and at Reading and Fort Henry, all under the command of Major Jacob Orndt.

In summary, the original line of Provincial defenses included four forts in Berks and Lancaster counties—Fort Lebanon (later renamed Fort William), Fort Henry, Fort Swatara, and Fort Hunter, all placed to guard main routes across the Blue Mountain barrier. Lebanon, Henry, and Swatara, together with the forts in Northampton County, were garrisoned by Weiser's 1st Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment, after May, 1756, but Fort Hunter was garrisoned by the Augusta Regiment until July, 1757, after which it too was assigned to the 1st Battalion. Two minor posts were abandoned at early dates: Fort Manada, an outpost of Fort Swatara, was maintained only until November, 1756, and the Fort at Northkill, an outpost of Fort Lebanon, was vacated at the end of September, 1757. At the beginning of General Forbes' campaign in 1758, two of the four main posts, William (Lebanon) and Swatara, were evacuated, though the latter was partially replaced by a garrison maintained for a few months at Adam Reed's. Fort Henry and Fort Hunter were garrisoned until the close of the campaign, and their sites, if not the original structures, were among the stations maintained during Pontiac's War a few years later.

FORT LEBANON OR FORT WILLIAM

Fort Lebanon, east of the present site of Auburn, Schuylkill County, probably was begun in November, 1755, when local leaders established a line of guards along the Berks County frontier. Benjamin Franklin referred to it on January 24, 1756, as "Fort Lebanon in the Forks of Skuylkill";³ in 1757, however, the fort was renamed Fort William, perhaps in honor of William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, only living son of George II.⁴ Built of timber, this fort consisted of a stockade a hundred feet square, within which were a barracks and store for the garrison and also two buildings housing nearby settlers who had taken refuge within the fort.

³ Quoted in Horsfield to Parsons, January 25, 1756, Horsfield Papers, I, 99. In a letter of January 25 Franklin refers to this as "Schuylkill Fort," *CR*, VII, 16; Governor Morris in orders of January 25-26 calls it "fort Lebanon," *PAI*, II, 547, 555. The reason for the choice of name is not known; there is no apparent connection with Lebanon Township, Lancaster (now Lebanon) County.

⁴ Cumberland's success in crushing the Jacobite uprising of 1745-1746 is commemorated by several American place names, including Fort Cumberland, Maryland, and also by his designation as "Butcher" Cumberland.

Of three contemporary descriptions of this post, the earliest probably is an undated one apparently written in January, 1756, when Governor Morris and some of the Provincial Commissioners were at Reading:

Fort Lebanon

about 24 miles from Gnadenhutzen in the Line to Shamokin.

Fort 100 Foot Square.

Stockades 14 Foot high

House within built 30 by 20 with a large Store Room.

A Spring within

A Magazine 12 Foot Square

On a Barren not much Timber about it

100 Families protected by it, within the new Purchase.

No Township.

Built in Three Weeks. Something considerable given by the Neighbours towards it.⁵

The first and in fact the only commander at this fort was Captain Jacob Morgan. Originally head of a Berks County militia company, Morgan, commissioned as of December 5, 1755, was taken into the Provincial service. In early January, 1756, part of Captain Morgan's company was on guard at Reading, but was relieved here later in the month;⁶ and on January 26 Governor Morris, then at Reading, ordered "Capⁿ. Jacob Morgon, who is posted at a fort in the forks of Schuylkill, called fort Lebanon," to leave twenty men of his company there, and with the other thirty build a secondary post "about half way between fort Lebanon and Fort [], at the Gap of Tolehaio." This outpost, afterward known as the Fort at Northkill, was also to be under Morgan's command.⁷ At this same time Morgan's subalterns were named: Lieutenant Samuel Humphreys, commissioned as of January 25, and Ensign Daniel Harry, as of January 26.⁸ Writing

⁵ PPC [January, 1756]; printed in *PA1*, II, 665. The manuscript appears to belong with the drafts of orders issued by Morris at that time. *Ibid.*, 542 ff.

⁶ Morris, orders to Captain Jonas Seely, January 6, 1756, *ibid.*, 544-45. These orders seem to reflect a petition from Reading to the Assembly, asking "that a sufficient Guard may be put in pay in this Town." A copy of this appeal in the Louis Richards Collection, Historical Society of Berks County, is undated but appeals for action before "the Winter is too far advanced." The petitioners relate "That for a Month now last past this Town has been keeping a large Guard, often forty Men, at Nights, and have been frequently moving out in Parties to strengthen the People of Tulpehoccon Bern and the New Purchase on Schuylkill; in which last Part of the Countrey We have now Seventeen Men, under Captain Morgan, assisting the Settlers in building a Fortification—. . ."

⁷ Morris, orders to Weiser, January 25, 1756, *PA1*, II, 547; *id.* to Morgan, January 26, *ibid.*, 555.

⁸ *PA5*, I, 70-73.

on February 2 to Colonel George Washington, Governor Morris described Fort Lebanon, Fort Henry, and Fort Allen as "the most Considerable" east of the Susquehanna.⁹

Here, as elsewhere on the frontier in the early months of 1756, the settlers suffered from small-scale Indian attacks. "*A Letter from Capt. Jacob Morgan to Col. Weiser, dated at Fort Lebanon, the 6th February, 1756,*" may have dealt with such an incident, but although this letter was read in Council on February 10, it unfortunately is not entered in the minutes.¹⁰ The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, however, reports a raid made a month later, on March 6:

We hear from Berks County, that on Saturday Evening last the House and Barn of Barnabas Sittle, and the Mill of Peter Conrad, were burnt down, and the Wife of Balsar Neytong killed, and his Son, a Child of eight years old, taken Captive, by three Indians; and the next Morning Sittle's Servant informed Captain Morgan of the Mischief done at his Master's Plantation, whereupon he, with seven of his Men immediately went in Search of the Enemy, but did not meet with any: And that on his Return he overtook one David Howell in his Way to the Fort, who informed him, that three Indians had fired five times at him, and the last time shot him through the Arm.¹¹

This is fairly typical of the numerous "massacres" on the eastern frontiers: three buildings were burnt, a woman was killed, a man was wounded, and a child was taken captive. The child, Peter Neufang (Neytong), was more fortunate than some others as he was returned to Philadelphia on December 1, 1759.¹²

In May, 1756, Captain Morgan's company became part of the newly organized 1st Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment. Weiser, previously colonel of the Berks County militia companies, was on May 5 commissioned lieutenant colonel of the new battalion, and William Parsons, up to this time major in Northampton, was commissioned on May 12 to the same rank in the battalion.

Sent shortly afterward to inspect the forts and garrisons of Weiser's

⁹ *PA1*, II, 565.

¹⁰ *CR*, VII, 35. On February 3, 1756, John Dondur made a deposition before Weiser regarding an encounter with Indians on January 27; this incident, reported in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 12, may have been the subject of Morgan's letter.

¹¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 11, 1756. For Peter Conrad, see also *PA8*, V, 4244-45; and for Baltzer Neufang see *PMHB*, XXXII (1908), 311, 316.

¹² Names of 4 Prisoners delivered by Teedyuscung . . . , *PPC*, December 1, 1759.

command, Major Parsons visited Fort Lebanon on June 2 and described it in his journal.

When we came to Fort Lebanon I found that Capt. Morgan was set out that Morning for Philad^a and had taken the Inlistments with him; wherefore the Return is made from the Roll which the Lieut^t and Ensign shewed me and the Muster I made of the Men, stationed there, that Ev'ning.

The Fort is situate in a fine Plain in the Neighbourhood of several good plantations, which are now inhabited by their respective Owners. But it is rather too much crowded with Buildings which in Case of an Attack would much hinder the Garrison. Some of those Buildings were erected for the Accomodation of Several of the poor adjacent Inhabitants last Winter but some of them are proposed to be removed for the better Accomodating of the Garrison; and when this is done there will be convenient Room within the Fort to parade and exercise the Men; and the whole will be more light and airy.—Here is also great Complaint for want of Ammunition.¹³

And Commissary Young, who arrived here from Northkill on June 21, described the fort in similar terms:

all the way from Northkill to Lebanon is an Exceeding bad road very Stony and Mountanous, Ab^t 6 miles from Northkill we Cross'd the North Mountain where we met Cap^{tn} Morgans Leiv^t with 10 Men Ranging the Woods, between the Mountain and Fort Lebⁿ we past by two Plantations, the Rest of the Country is Cheifly Barran Hills, at noon we Came to Fort Lebanon which is Situated in a Plain, on one side is a Plantation, on the Other a Barran Pretty Clear of Woods all round, only a few Trees about 50 Yards from the Fort which I desired Might be Cut down: This Fort is a Square of Ab^t 100 ft well Staccaded with good Bastions, on one of which is a Good Wall Peice, within is a good Guard house for the People and two Other Large houses built by the Country people who have taken refuge here in all 6 Families, the Fort is a little too much Crouded on that acct; . . . by Cap^{tn} Morgans journal it appears he sends a Party to Range the Woods 4 or 5 times p^r Week and Guard the inhabitants at their Labour, At 1 P: M: I Muster'd the People and Examined the Certificates of Inlistments which appear in the Muster Roll, after which I orderd the Men to fire at a Mark, 15 of 28 hit within 2 foot of the Center at the Distance of 80 Yards. Provisions

¹³ Parsons Journal, Loudoun Papers, Box 26, No. 1189.

here, Flower and Rum for a Month, the Commissary sends them Money to purchase Meat as they want it. . . .¹⁴

In compliance with Governor Morris' orders, Lieutenant Colonel Weiser met the commanding officers of Fort Swatara, Fort Henry, and Fort Lebanon on July 9 to arrange protection for the people during harvest, and it was decided that Captain Morgan should order:

Six men to range from the little Fort on Northkill, westward to the Emericks, and stay there if the People unite to work together in their Harvest, Six men to stay in that Fort, fifteen men are to stay in Fort Libanon, Eight men to protect the People over the Hill in harvest Time, Ten men to range constantly Eastward or Westward, and if the People return to their Plantations thereabouts, to protect those first that join together to do their work.¹⁵

Later in the year men were drafted from these three forts to reinforce Fort Augusta. Captain Morgan's quota of eighteen men was led by Ensign Harry, and the whole force of fifty-four (the equivalent of a company) was commanded by Captain Busse from Fort Henry. These reinforcements arrived at Fort Augusta on October 18 and remained there until November.

In their absence there was more Indian trouble; on November 3 and 4 a child was carried off and two men were killed at Northkill, and three persons were killed and three carried away near Fort Lebanon. Lieutenant Humphreys at Northkill with nine men and Morgan at the fort with twenty-two could take no effective counteraction. Captain Morgan appealed to the Governor, who on November 8 ordered the reinforcements back from Fort Augusta, which they left on November 19.¹⁶

A return of the 1st Battalion, dated November 26 but actually showing the state of this company before the return of the detachment, reports Captain Morgan at Fort Lebanon and his lieutenant at Nicholas Long's, with a total of thirty-two men, and the ensign at Fort Augusta with eighteen men.¹⁷

¹⁴ Young Journal, PPC, July 2, 1756; printed in *PAI*, II, 676-77. In the margin of the manuscript Young listed the "Provincial Arms & Ammuns" at this place: "28 Gd Muskets 10 Wanting Repair 9 Rounds of Pouder & Lead 4 lb Powder 24 lb Lead 30 Cartooch boxes 40 Blankets 1 Axe 1 Wall Peice."

¹⁵ Weiser to Morris, July 11, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 696.

¹⁶ Morgan to Weiser, November 4, 1756, with enclosures; Read to Denny, November 7, 1756; Denny to Clapham, November 8, 1756; and *id.* to Morgan, November 8, 1756, PPC, printed in *PAI*, III, 28, 30-31, 36-37, 38, 39-40.

¹⁷ PPC; printed in *PA5*, I, 73-74.

In 1757 the 1st Battalion was called upon to aid Cumberland County. Detachments totaling the equivalent of two companies set out in early February under command of Captains Reynolds (Fort Norris), Morgan, and Schmitt (Fort Swatara), and they remained in Cumberland County until late in April, when they were ordered to Fort Augusta. Captain Morgan arrived at Fort Augusta with his detachment of thirty men on May 4 and left for home six days later.¹⁸ During his three-month absence Captain Busse at Fort Henry seems to have had general oversight of Fort Lebanon and its outpost. On May 1, for example, he wrote Conrad Weiser about the assignment of some of Morgan's and Weiser's men to the post at Northkill.¹⁹

Some of Morgan's men remained at Fort Augusta until October; but their absence was offset to some extent by the three-month men who served from about June to September. Some of these men and part of Weiser's company on June 16 relieved Morgan's detachment at Northkill and ended his responsibility for this outpost.²⁰

The nagging Indian attacks continued. On June 22, for example, Peter Geisinger was shot while plowing, west of Northkill; and at Allemangel a party of eight Indians killed Adam Drum and took his son captive; but the boy escaped next day.²¹

On July 14 Sergeant Matthews and nine men of this company left for Easton to stand guard at the Indian treaty; and almost a month passed before their return.²²

The precise date at which this fort was renamed Fort William is unknown. It is called "Fort Wm or Lebanon" in comments added to the November 26, 1756, return of the 1st Battalion; but the comments appear to be of later date. However, Lieutenant Colonel Weiser uses the name Fort Lebanon in a letter dated July 15, 1757, while James Read calls it Fort William in a letter of July 27; and since the

¹⁸ Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 782-83 (1876 ed.).

¹⁹ Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 53.

²⁰ [Samuel Weiser], Journal at Northkill, June 13-July 31, 1757, PPC; printed out of order in *PA1*, II, 159. The identity of this journal is readily established by comparison of the entries for July 23-24 (*ibid.*, 163) with those for the same date in Morgan's journal (*ibid.*, III, 254). The manuscript is in the handwriting of Weiser's subaltern, Ensign Edward Biddle.

²¹ For Geisinger, see *CR*, VII, 621; *PA1*, II, 160; *PMHB*, XXXII (1908), 312 (incorrectly dated in April, 1757). For Drum, or Trump, see *PA1*, III, 190; *PMHB* XXXII (1908), 317.

²² Weiser to Morgan, in Ensign Biddle's handwriting, July 10, 1757, Northampton County Papers, Miscellaneous, 1749-1838, I, 35; *id.* to Denny, July 15, 1757, *PA1* III, 218; Morgan Journal, *ibid.*, 252.

latter name seems to appear consistently thereafter, this may fix the approximate date of the change.²³

The evacuation of the post at Northkill at the end of September made it necessary for Captain Morgan to send out patrols to that place; and he also furnished a contingent to escort the commissioners to Wyoming in November.²⁴

The situation about Fort Lebanon during this time is described in a letter written at Reading on August 26:

I know of no News but what you are appriz'd of, except what I saw in a Letter from Cap^t Morgan dated the 22^d wherein he says That Serj^t Mathews Saw 5 Indians, about 4 Miles back of the Fort on the 19th that a Neagro saw 5 more the same day a different Course: that he detach^d parties divers times who always saw very many fresh Tracts:—That on Sunday Evening a number of Indians, suppos'd by their Tracts to be about 12 burnt the House, Barn Grain &c of a certain Peter Semelke about 2 Miles this side of the Fort & Captivated 3 of his Children (Himself and Wife and youngest Child being from Home.) That he (Captⁿ) did not know of it 'till next Morning. when he with a party of Men went to the Place, saw their fresh Tracts; but nothing of the Enemy, and having took a round in Quest of them returned to the Fort; and were scarce sat down before they were alarmed by the firing of a Number of Guns about a Mile from the Fort, at which He with a party repaired to the place where they saw about 20 Indians who ran off as soon as they saw him like Devils (as he expres'd himself.) That he thinks there is a large Body of them, but had not heard of any other Mischief, except that of their shooting several Horses. And that he had sent a detachment of 10 Men to Guard this side of the Mountain for the present.²⁵

As has been noted, the reorganization in 1758 placed this company in Colonel Burd's 2d Battalion, with no change in company officers. Inspecting the eastern garrisons in January, 1758, Adjutant Jacob Kern reported that

28 I arrivaed at fort Williams where Cap^t Jacob morgan Commands

²³ Weiser to Denny, *ibid.*, 218; Read to *id.*, *ibid.*, 246. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of September 1, 1757, uses the name Fort Lebanon, probably as the one most familiar.

²⁴ Weiser to Denny, November 10, 1757, Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 103.

²⁵ John Price to James Read, Am 12935, James Read's Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Jan^y 29 I musterd Cap^t Morgans Comp^a being 53 men and all in Good order this fort is of Little Service to the Country²⁶

Both Adjutant Kern on February 5 and Commissary Young February 9 reported "Capt. Morgan, Lt. Humphreys & Ens Harry at this fort with a full company of fifty men.²⁷ Colonel Burd himself visited the fort on February 25, riding up from Reading with Capt. Morgan:

24th, Friday.

This morning sett out for fort William arrived at Peter Rodermils at 2 P: M. 15 miles from Reading it snowed & blowed so prodigeously I stayed here all night

25th Saturday

March'd this morning the snow deep for fort William arrived at Fort William at 12 M: D here was Lieut Humphrys & Ensign Hary, ordered a Review of the Garrison at 2 P: M- at 2 P. M Reviewed the Garrison & found 53 good men but diffitient in Dissipline, stores, 3 Quarter Casks of poudder 150 lb of lead 400 flints & 56 blanketts no Arms fitt for use, no Kettles nor tools nor drum 2 months Provision

Here I found a targett erected, ordered the Comp^y to shout at the mark, sett them the Example myself by wheeling round & firing by the word of Command I shott a bullott into the Center of the mark the Size of a Doller distance 100 yards some of them shott tollarable bad most of their Arms are very bad

Ordered Cap^{tn} Morgan to Continue to pattroll to North-kill & Alemingle²⁸

The recommendations drawn up by Commissary Young, probab in February, "How the Forces are to be Posted between Susquaha and Delaware," propose "The Comp^y Formerly at Fort Will^m to remov'd near Rodalmels on this side the Mountain Ab^t 18 miles fro F. Henry.—"; and this plan, probably based on Kern's return, seem to anticipate preparations for the Forbes expedition.²⁹ On May the Governor issued orders to evacuate the eastern garrisons: "It the Governors Order that the Companies of Captains Morgan, Wetholt, Davis, Orndt and Garraway do immediately march to Reading there to receive their Pay. . . ." ³⁰

²⁶ Kern Journal, Gratz Collections.

²⁷ *PAI*, III, 339-41.

²⁸ Burd Journal, PPC, March 10, 1758; printed in *PAI*, III, 354.

²⁹ PPC [February, 1758]; printed in *PA5*, I, 362.

³⁰ Berks and Montgomery County Papers, 63.

A list dated June 17 in Richard Peters' handwriting of "Stations between Delaware & Susquahannah" lists no garrison between Everett's in Northampton County and Fort Henry. Indeed, part of Captain Morgan's company was by then west of the Susquehanna, where on June 19 Colonel Bouquet ordered "Capt. Morgan's Company to remain at Fort Lyttleton." Major Joseph Shippen's regulations of July 9 for "Disposition of the Provincial Troops" make no provision for a garrison at Fort William.³¹ Fort Swatara was abandoned at about the same time, and neither post appears in any subsequent list of troop assignments. British victory removed for a time the threat of Indian attack on this frontier, and by the outbreak of Pontiac's War in 1763 Fort William, if any of its structure survived, apparently was unusable.

FORT AT NORTHKILL

The Fort at Northkill, as has been noted, was established as an outpost of Fort Lebanon, and from its beginning in the spring of 1756 until June, 1757, it was garrisoned by part of the same company. It was garrisoned as a separate post for a brief time thereafter until it was abandoned about the end of September, 1757. This fort stood northwest of present Shartlesville, Berks County, near the stream from which it took its name. It consisted, it appears, only of a log house, not very well built, surrounded by an equally indifferent stockade about thirty-two feet square with half bastions at the four corners.

Governor Morris' orders for this fort were issued on January 26, 1756, to Captain Jacob Morgan, then stationed at Fort Lebanon:

1—You are as soon as possible to march with a detachment of thirty men of your Company to some convenient place about half way between fort Lebanon, and Fort []³² at the Gap of Tolehaio where you are to erect a Stuccado fort of the form and dimensions herewith given you—

2^d—In chusing the ground for that Stuccado you are to take care that there be no hill near it that over looks or commands it from whence an enemy may annoy the people within the walls and that there be a Spring or Running stream of water either in the fort or at least within the command of your guns³³

³¹ [Peters], Stations . . . , PPC, June 17, 1758; Bouquet's Orderly Book, *Bouquet Papers*, II, 657; Shippen, Return . . . , PPC, July 9, 1758, printed in *PA5*, I, 241.

³² The blank in the manuscript at this point indicates that Fort Henry had not yet been named. See also the orders to Weiser, *PA1*, III, 547.

³³ Rough draft in PPC; printed in *PA1*, II, 555.

These orders were not carried out immediately. On April 3 Captain Busse wrote from Fort Henry to Lieutenant Colonel Conrad Weiser that "On Wednesday [March 31] I scouted with a detachment to the place near Long's where the new fort is to be built."³⁴ Work must have begun soon after that date, for on June 6 the Provincial Commissioners paid £ 310 18s. 9d. "To Jacob Morgan, for his and Company's Pay, building Blockhouses at North-kill."³⁵

A few days earlier Major Parsons had inspected the new post on his way from Fort Henry to Fort Lebanon:

Wednesday June the 2nd 1756.

Escorted by Capt. Busse a Serjeant & Soldier of his Company I set out for Fort Lebanon; Jacob Morgan Esquire Capt.—In our Way I visited a small Fort near Nicholas Long's at the Head of the North Branch of Tulpchockon Creek.—

At this Fort is a Detachment of 13 Men from Capt. Morgan's Company under Command of Serjeant John Popekins. The Men of this Detachment were employed in clearing away the Timber and under wood from round about the Fort. They were in great want of Amunition, not having more than three Charges of Powder or Lead to a Man.—I mustered the Men and then pursued my Journey to Fort Lebanon, being joined by Serjeant Mathews, just arrived from that Fort.³⁶

Sergeant Popekins' command terminated soon after the visit of Commissary Young on June 20:

At 2 P:M: I sett out from Reading Escorted by 5 Men of the town on horseback, for the Fort at North Kill, at ½ past 6 we came to the Fort, it is Ab^t 19 Miles from Reading the Road very hilly and thick of Wood, the Fort is Ab^t 9 Miles to the West w^d of Scuylyll and Stand in a very thick Wood on a small Rising Ground, half a Mile from the Middle North-kill Creek, it is intended for a square Ab^t 32 ft Each way, at Each Corner is a half Bastion of very little Service to Flank the Curtains, the Staccades are very ill fixed in the Ground and Open in Many Places, within is a very bad Logg house for the People, it has no Chimney and can afford but little Shelter in bad Weather, when I came here the Serjant who is Commander was Absent and gone to the nixt Plantation half a Mile off but soon Came when he had intelligence I was there, he told me he had 14 Men Posted with him all

³⁴ Conrad Weiser Correspondence, I, 71, in German: "Ich war am Mittwoch bisz nach dem Platz nebst Langens mit einem Detachement gestreiffet woselbst das neue fort soll gebauet werden."

³⁵ *PA8*, V, 4367.

³⁶ Parsons Journal, Loudoun Papers, Box 26, No. 1189.

Detached from Cap^{tn} Morgans Comp^y at Fort Lebanon, 5 of them were Absent by his leave Viz^t two he had let go to Reading for three days One he had let go to his Own house 10 Miles off and two more this Afternoon a few Miles from the Fort on their own business, there was but Eight men and the Serjant on Duty, I am of oppinion there Ought to be a Commission'd Officer here as the Serjant does not do his Duty, nor are the Men under proper Command for want of a More Superior Officer, the Woods are not Clear'd above 40 Yards from the Fort, I gave orders to Cut all down for 200 Yds I inquired the reason there was so little Powder & Lead here the Serjant told me he had had repeatedly requested more of Cap^{tn} Morgan but to no purpose, Provisions here, Flower and Rum for 4 weeks, Mr Selly of Reading sends the Officer Money to Purchase Meal as the Want it,—

At Fort Lebanon next day Young "Acquainted Cap^{tn} Morgan that the Serjant at Northkill did not do his Duty and I beleiv'd it would be for the Good of the Service to have a Com^{sd} Officer there, on which he Ordered his Leiu^t with two more Men to go and take post there and sent with him 4 lb Powder & 10 lb Lead,—"³⁷ The new commander was Lieutenant Humphreys, who in spite of some difficulties remained in command here until June, 1757, when he was sent to Fort Augusta.

The assignments made on July 9, 1756, for the protection of the harvesters have been mentioned in the account of Fort Lebanon: "Six men to range from the little Fort on Northkill, westward to the Emericks, and stay there if the People unite to work together in their Harvest, Six men to stay in that Fort."³⁸ In the course of this service apparently, Lieutenant Humphreys became involved in a quarrel with "the Widow Brown," at whose home some of the troops were stationed. According to the widow's eighteen-year-old son Robert, the affair began with words between the mother and one Nanny Ellis, of whom the Lieutenant was fond; Humphreys and young Brown became involved, the Lieutenant ordered the Browns put into the guardhouse, the son resisted arrest, and he and his mother fled.³⁹

This affair having come to official notice, Lieutenant Humphreys' prospects seemed somewhat uncertain, and other officers took stock of the possibilities. On August 21 Captain Busse at Fort Henry wrote

³⁷ Young Journal, PPC, July 2, 1756; printed in *PAL*, II, 675-76. The Provincial supplies at this post are listed in the margin of the journal: "8 Gd Muskets 4 Rounds of Powder & Lead pr Man 15 Blankets 3 Axes.—"

³⁸ Weiser to Morris, July 11, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAL*, II, 696.

³⁹ Examination of Robert Brown, August [], 1756, Conrad Weiser Correspondence, I, 79.

to Weiser on behalf of Ensign Kern of his company: "If the Governor should decide to dismiss Lieut. Humphreys, I would respectfully ask that you recommend Kern for his place. His commission antedates that of Everhart Martin [of Schmitt's company], and as you know, he speaks English, which is essential at that place, where the people are chiefly Irish."⁴⁰

Humphreys remained, however, and behaved so well in an encounter with a party of Indians on November 4 as to be commended by Governor Denny in a letter to Captain Morgan: "You will thank Lieutenant Humphrys and the men under him on my Part for ye gallant Behaviour in the late Action ag^t the Indians."⁴¹

Captain Morgan's absence in Cumberland County and at Fort Augusta from February until May, 1757, left Humphreys in command of the company; but Captain Busse at Fort Henry seems to have exercised general oversight. On May 1 Busse reported that upon receipt of Weiser's orders he had commanded Lieutenant Humphreys to place four men of Morgan's company in Long's house and to keep ten of Weiser's men, who had arrived the day before, at the fort.⁴²

In June Lieutenant Colonel Weiser sent new detachments to Fort Augusta to relieve the reinforcements sent there earlier. Lieutenant Humphreys led the contingent from Morgan's company,⁴³ and apparently was replaced at Northkill by Ensign Harry, who returned from service at Fort Augusta.

Just after this, this company's service at Northkill ended. A journal of Captain Lieutenant Samuel Weiser of Lieutenant Colonel Weiser's company reports that on June 13-14 he received orders at Reading to march to Fort Henry with the remainder of his company (the others having been sent to Fort Augusta), take from that fort twenty of the three-month men, and with this force take command at Northkill. On July 16 Ensign Harry turned over the command to Captain Lieutenant Weiser.⁴⁴

On June 22-23 and 29 and on July 24 the neighborhood was attacked by small parties of Indians. From July 14 until August 11, fifteen men of this garrison were away to guard Easton during an Indian treaty. When this detachment returned it was accompanied by Ensign Edward

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 81, in German.

⁴¹ *PAI*, III, 39. For accounts of the encounter, see *ibid.*, 28, 30-31, 36-37.

⁴² Busse to Weiser, Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 53.

⁴³ Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 794 (1876 ed.).

⁴⁴ [Samuel Weiser], Journal at Northkill [1757], *PAI*, II, 159.

Biddle of Weiser's company, who had come from Fort Augusta just in time to accompany Weiser to Easton.⁴⁵

On Lieutenant Colonel Weiser's orders, Captain Lieutenant Weiser left the fort on August 13, leaving Ensign Biddle in command.⁴⁶ Apparently, the father and son wanted to decide what to do with this fort, about which there had been some complaints. On June 24 Captain Busse had written from Fort Henry that "The people are not at all pleased that some 40 men are kept at the Fort at Northkill, since only 20 can stay at the fort and the others at Lang's and Kanter's."⁴⁷

On August 17 the two Weisers and Captain Busse arrived to choose "a place where to build a New Fort"; and ten days later young Weiser recorded that "Having Orders from Lt. Col^l. Weiser's to look out for a proper Place to build a new fort, this being so bad, I began to lay out one on a spot which had been befor^e pitched upon by the Colonel and Captⁿ Busse." Samuel Weiser did not carry this work very far, however, and seems to have been ordered to Fort Swatara.⁴⁸

As before, Ensign Biddle was left in command. On September 12 this officer wrote from the "Fort on Northkill" to Major Burd at Fort Augusta; and on October 4 Conrad Weiser wrote to Richard Peters, enclosing "the Journal of last month of my Ensign at North Kill."⁴⁹

By this date it had been decided that the post should be abandoned. On September 27 Governor Denny had written to Lieutenant Colonel Weiser:

I observe what You say of the Blockhouse, or Fort, on Northkill—that it is badly situated, in very bad order, and will not afford dry Quarters for the Men, and that about half Mile from it, at Jacob Kantings Plantation, is a very suitable Spot for another Blockhouse.—As to building a new Fort or Blockhouse, the Commissioners having refused to discharge the Sums due the Workmen for building Fort Loudoun tho' done by my Order, I do not incline to give them any more Trouble of this Sort. But if the Country People at their own Expence

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 160-65. Conrad Weiser's memorandum of July 14 at Easton and his letters of July 15 and 18 to Denny, printed in *PAI*, III, 216, 218-19, 221-22, are in Biddle's handwriting. Following his arrival at Northkill on August 11, Biddle evidently copied and continued Samuel Weiser's journal.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 165.

⁴⁷ Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 74, in German: "Die Leute sind nicht gar wol zufrieden, dasz etliche 40. Mann im Fort an der Northkel gehalten werden, da doch nur 20. im Fort bleiben können, und die übrigen in des Langen und Kanters seyn müsten. . . ."

⁴⁸ *PAI*, II, 165-66; III, 293.

⁴⁹ Biddle to Burd, Shippen Family Papers, III, 43; Weiser to Peters, *PAI*, III, 283.

will, with the Assistance of the Soldiers, build or appropriate any House fit to afford dry Quarters there, or thereabouts, I shall be glad of it, as this is a convenient Halt for such Parties as shall range between Fort Henry and Fort William. . . .

The thirty two Men now stationed at North Kill are to be in Fort Henry, and with those already there, & the Men ordered from Fort Augusta, I expect constant Patroles will be performed between that Fort, and Fort William. The Parties may halt at Northkill, altering the Course of their Marches as Occasion may require, and the Country may be best protected.⁵⁰

Discharge of the three-month volunteers and delay in recalling the reinforcements from Fort Augusta left this frontier lightly defended from Indian attacks. On October 13, 1757, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported that "By a Letter from Hanover Township, in Lancaster County, dated the First Instant, we learn . . . that on the Thursday before [September 29] four People were killed in Berks County, and four made Prisoners, near the North-Kill, by a Party of Indians, supposed to be about Fifty."

The persons killed were a soldier, Philip Sommer, and the wife and two children of Jacob Hochstetler, and the captives included Hochstetler himself and two young sons.⁵¹ As Indian attacks went, this was a rather ordinary one (probably involving far fewer than fifty Indians), but it derives an unusual significance from the fact that the Hochstetlers were members of what is believed to have been the first organized Amish Mennonite congregation in America and that the Indian attack is held responsible for the later breakup of this group.⁵²

Coinciding as it did with Denny's orders to evacuate the Fort at Northkill, this Indian raid was the more alarming, but the emergency was dealt with by British troops of the Royal American Regiment who recently had been sent to Reading. Weiser, writing on October 1, 1757, reported to Denny that "Captain Oswald upon hearing the Distress the people about Nord Kill were in sent Imediatly two Lieuten^{ts} with 40 private men, to their assistance, which gained him the Esteem and love of his town's people."⁵³

⁵⁰ Shippen Family Papers, III, 55.

⁵¹ For the soldier, see the reports from the Conrad Weiser Correspondence published in *PMHB*, XXXII (1908), 312, 317 (where the manuscript date 28 is incorrectly reproduced as 20); for the Hochstetler family, see the petition printed in *PAI*, IV, 99.

⁵² "Berks County," Harold S. Bender and C. Henry Smith (eds.), *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, I, 284.

⁵³ *PAI*, III, 277.

Despite further small-scale Indian attacks in this vicinity, and a "humble Petition of the Inhabitants of the Township of Bern" on March 15, 1758, that Governor Denny "order Soldiers to be station'd for their Defence in some of the most exposed Farm-Houses," no further garrison was stationed here. By this date, as the petition tells us, "the Blockhouse at Northkill is destroy'd."⁵⁴

The locality is mentioned subsequently as a patrol station. Colonel James Burd, visiting Fort Henry on February 22, 1758, "Ordered . . . Captⁿ Wieser to Continue to range from this to Fort Northkill & Swettarrow"; and three days later at Fort William "Ordered Capt^t Morgan to Continue to pattroll to Northkill & Alemingle"; and Morgan's journals report parties sent there as late as April, who lodged in the houses of Nicholas Long, Jacob Canter, and Nicholas Miller.⁵⁵ Even these visits by patrols must have ended, however, when Morgan's company left in May to join General Forbes' forces.

FORT HENRY

Fort Henry was built near the home of Dietrich Six, where a "watch House" established by Berks County had been attacked by Indians on November 15, 1755. More generally, it stood north of the present site of Bethel near the western corner of Berks County. Built in February, 1756, under the direction of Captain Christian Busse of Reading, it was garrisoned by Provincial troops until the end of 1758. In general design it resembled the other Provincial forts, which consisted of one or more buildings within a stockaded enclosure, but it was better constructed than usual, roomy, and well kept. The origin of the name is uncertain. Presumably it honored some member of the royal family, possibly William Henry, Duke of Gloucester and Edinburgh, a younger brother of the later George III.⁵⁶

Captain Busse had been recommended for a commission on December 13, 1755; writing to Governor Morris from Reading, Conrad Weiser had described him as "Mr. Christian Bussey, the Doctor of

⁵⁴ PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 361-62.

⁵⁵ Burd Journal, PPC, March 10, 1758, printed in *PAI*, III, 354; Morgan Journal, PPC, April 30, 1758, printed in *PMHB*, XXXIX (1915), 186-91.

⁵⁶ On September 16, 1757, William Franklin, then in England with his father, wrote for publication a letter in which he mistakenly called this Fort William Henry; and the error suggests that Franklin, who was in a position to know, supposed the fort to have been named for the royal prince. The letter was reprinted in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 8, 1757. Fort William Henry, properly so called, on Lake George in New York had fallen to the French and Indians on August 10 of this year.

this Town; he is a hearty and very worthy person, has neither Wife nor Child, and will do all what he can to recommend himself to the Government."⁵⁷ As commissioned on January 5, 1756, the officers of this company included Captain Busse, Lieutenant Andreas Engel, and Ensign Jacob Kern.⁵⁸ However, Lieutenant Engel was later detached to command at Fort Franklin and was replaced in this company by Conrad Weiser's son Samuel, commissioned May 12; then on July 3 Lieutenant Weiser in turn became captain lieutenant of Lieutenant Colonel Weiser's company and was replaced in Busse's company by a brother, Lieutenant Philip Weiser, commissioned the same date.

Of the orders given Captain Busse at the time of Governor Morris' second visit to Reading in January, 1756, the Governor wrote on January 23 "to Conrad Weiser Esq^r Coll^o of the County of Berks":

I have ordered Capⁿ Christian Busse with a Company of fifty men in the pay of this Province, to proceed to the Gap at Tolihaio, and there to erect a stoccado fort of the form and dimensions given him, and to take posts there, and range the woods from that fort westward towards Swehataro and eastward towards a stoccado to be built by Capt. Morgan, about half way between the said fort and fort Lebanon.⁵⁹

"February 1," it is reported, "Busse wrote to say that he and his men had reached Bosehair's the night before; that they had immediately made a barricade round the house five feet high. He was joined by Dietrich Six and George Grove, the nearest neighbors, who had been driven by the Indians from their homes."⁶⁰ On the same day Governor Morris, safely returned to Philadelphia from his tour of the frontiers, wrote to Governor Dinwiddie of the yet unbuilt forts: "Those between Delaware and Susquehana, are to be abt 10 or 12 miles asunder; ye most considerable of them is built at an important Pass thro' ye Kittahitiny Hills, on our Northern Frontier, & I have called it Fort Henry." Next day the Governor wrote in similar style to Colonel George Washington:

On the East side of the Susquehanna the Forts are about ten or twelve miles assunder among which the most Considerable are Fort Henry, at a pass through the mountains, called

⁵⁷ *CR*, VI, 760.

⁵⁸ See the "Establishment of A Company," printed in Chapter VI above, p. 195.

⁵⁹ Rough draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 547. "Tolihaio," variously spelled, was an Indian name for the district above present Bethel, Berks County.

⁶⁰ Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 424, summarizing an undated Busse letter in private hands.

Tolihaio, Fort Lebanon, on the Forks of Schukill and Fort Allen, . . . the others being only Block houses. The garrisons in these are from fifty to twenty men each, according to their situation and importance.

Likewise, in a letter of February 9 to General William Shirley, Morris described this fort as "the Principal and only Regular one" east of the Susquehanna.⁶¹

Other sources provide more precise reports on Captain Busse's progress. On February 13 Colonel Weiser wrote to his friend William Parsons at Easton: "Capt Christ^a Bussey is Building a Stockado ford [fort] near dietrich Six he has 50 men in his Company and the people helps. . . ." On March 15 Busse wrote from "Bethel" to Weiser, asking for provisions and pay for his company. On May 5, as a concluding item, the Provincial Commissioners paid £152 0s. 9d. "To Christian Busse, for Sundries, for building Fort Henry, and other Expences."⁶²

Major Parsons, who visited the fort on May 29, made a very favorable report to the Governor:

I went to Fort Henry, where were Capt. Christian Busse, his Lieut^t Sam^l Weiser & Ensign Jacob Kern.

This Fort is very well built, the Pallisades are Spiked together at the Top, the Houses within are all covered with Tyle and the whole is kept clean and in very good order. There is convenient Room within the Fort to parade and exercise all the Men.

Capt^t Busse told me that his Lieut^t had delivered the original Inlistment to Commissary Young, the Day before, who took it with him to Philad^a so that I did not see it; and have therefore made the return from the Capt^s List of the Men, who I mustered, and all but those noted in the Return appeared.— Captain Busse is also short of Ammunition.⁶³

"Capt. Young has seen the Fort and the Company," Busse wrote to Weiser on May 27;⁶⁴ so the Commissary did not include this place in the tour of June 19-27 from Reading to Bethlehem for which there is his journal; but it will be noted that Colonel Burd in February, 1758, also found this fort in good condition.

In June, 1756, when Colonel Clapham's force was about to march to Shamokin, Governor Morris proposed to support this expedition

⁶¹ Rough drafts in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 561, 565, 570.

⁶² Weiser to Parsons, Horsfield Papers, I, 103; Busse to Weiser, Conrad Weiser Correspondence, I, 68; Commissioners' accounts, *PA8*, 4364. Later Busse letters, dated March 17 and 18, April 3, and May 27, 1756, are in Conrad Weiser Correspondence, I, 69, 71, and 74.

⁶³ Parsons Journal, Loudoun Papers, Box 26, No. 1189.

⁶⁴ Conrad Weiser Correspondence, I, 74.

by sending Captain Busse "across the Woods to scour the Country" between Fort Henry and the site of Fort Augusta; but the Provincial Commissioners declined to make the necessary provisions.⁶⁵

On July 9 Lieutenant Colonel Weiser met Captains Schmitt, Busse, and Morgan at Fort Henry to dispose their troops for protection of the people during harvest:

Capt Busse's Company stationed as follows: Ten men at Bernhard Tridels, next to the Moravians, Eight men at Caspar Snebelies, Six men at Daniel Shue's or Peter Klop's: All these are Westward of Fort Henry. Eastwards Capt Busse is to Post four men at Jacob Stein's, Three men at Ulrich Spies, Six men at the Widow Kendal, the Rest, consisting of nineteen men, to remain in the Fort. . . .⁶⁶

The situation is illustrated by a note printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*: "By a Letter from Fort Henry, in Berks County, dated August the Seventh, there is Advice, that the Indians are hovering about that Neighbourhood, some of them being seen almost every Day; and that they had burnt the House of Nicholas Eisenhower."⁶⁷

In October, 1756, Captain Busse marched by way of Fort Hunter to Fort Augusta with a company composed of detachments from Fort Swatara, Fort Henry, and Fort Lebanon, each consisting of an ensign and eighteen men. These reinforcements, sent up because of a rumored enemy attack, remained at Fort Augusta from October 18 until November 19. During their absence Lieutenant Colonel Weiser complained to the Governor of the weakened frontier defenses; and Captain Busse complained to Weiser of the conditions of service at Fort Augusta, asking finally on November 13 that he be either released or ordered to his own post. In fact, orders for his return had been given on November 8 but had not yet reached him; and on November 13 Ensign Kern of Busse's company was sent with twenty-six men to Fort Hunter to relieve the insubordinate officer of Colonel Clapham's regiment who had been stationed there. In consequence, Kern's return home was slightly delayed. In returning, Busse's men marched

⁶⁵ Morris to Clapham, June 12, 1756, and Clapham to Morris, June 20, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 665 and 672.

⁶⁶ Weiser to *id.*, July 11, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 696. "The Moravians," a Moravian meetinghouse from which Bethel Township (erected in 1739) had taken its name, stood three miles northwest of present Fredericksburg, Lebanon County. See *Report of the Commission to Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania*, I, 61. Cited hereafter as *Frontier Forts*.

⁶⁷ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 12, 1756.

cross country, "thro' the woods," and were accompanied part way by an escort of thirty men of Clapham's regiment.⁶⁸

A return of the 1st Battalion, though dated November 26, actually shows the state of this company before Kern's return from Fort Augusta, reporting Captain Busse, Lieutenant Philip Weiser, and thirty-two men at Fort Henry and Ensign Kern and eighteen men at Fort Augusta. An added comment reports "Fort Henry in good Order."⁶⁹

In February, 1757, detachments equivalent to two companies were sent from Weiser's battalion to strengthen Cumberland County against an expected enemy attack. During the absence on this service of both Captain Schmitt and Captain Morgan, their posts also became to some extent Captain Busse's responsibility. In April the Governor ordered these same detachments and others to the equivalent of three companies to Fort Augusta, where rumors of an enemy attack had persuaded many of the garrison not to re-enlist at the expiration of their time.⁷⁰ Busse's company supplied men for both these assignments; and on June 10 Ensign Kern went to Fort Augusta again with a detachment to relieve the men previously sent there. Kern himself, however, returned with the relieved men, leaving Fort Augusta June 17.⁷¹

The detachments did not all return from Fort Augusta until late October; and in the interim the frontier residents were troubled by new dangers and alarms. The settlers' dissatisfaction reached its height of indignation on May 18, 1757, while the Province and friendly Six Nations Indians were holding a treaty at Lancaster. In the words of the minutes of that treaty: "This day four Persons that were killed on the Frontiers, in the Settlement of Swetara, by the Enemy Indians, were brought to this Town."⁷² On the same day the Provincial Commissioners and Governor Denny agreed that "as there was a Necessity to march three Companies of Col. Weisers Battalion into Fort Augusta for the Defence of that Place, as many of the neighbouring Inhabitants shou'd be taken into Pay for a certain Time, till that Detachment can be spared to return to its Station."⁷³

⁶⁸ See the correspondence published in *PA1*, III, 10-14, 38-40, 43-44, 59-60, 65-66, and *CR*, VII, 302-303.

⁶⁹ PPC; printed in *PA5*, I, 73-74.

⁷⁰ Provincial Commissioners to Denny, May 18, 1757, *PA1*, III, 161; Denny to the Proprietors, June 30, 1757, draft in PPC, printed in *PA1*, III, 194.

⁷¹ Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 794, 796 (1876 ed.). In the June 17 entry the printer has misread *Kern* as *Thorn*.

⁷² *CR*, VII, 538.

⁷³ *PA1*, III, 161.

Accordingly, the three-year term of enlistment was relaxed to permit 159 men to be enlisted for a term of three months to serve in Fort Henry and Fort Swatara and so to release the regular garrisons for patrol and scouting. Although it was intended that these short-term men should serve under the regular Provincial officers, the country people expected to serve under officers of their own; and at the close of the Lancaster treaty Governor Denny undertook to compose the misunderstanding, as he informed the Proprietaries on June 30:

Intending to go to Fort Henry, the only Garrison my Time wou'd allow me to visit, I desired Col. Weiser to acquaint the Leaders of these infatuated People, that I shou'd be glad they would come and speak with me at the Fort. Accordingly, above Fifty substantial Freeholders, well mounted and armed, joined the Escort, & attended me to Fort Henry, where I had an Opportunity of undeceiving them. Convinced of their Error, they presented me a very respectful Address, assuring me of their Desire to have a proper Militia Law, and that they were determined under such a Law to serve and do their duty to their King and Country. Forty instantly were inlisted by Colonel Weiser out of this Neighbourhood, and a Magistrate about twenty Miles off wrote me he had inlisted forty more.⁷⁴

As has been noted, Captain Lieutenant Weiser on June 15 took twenty of these short-term men from Fort Henry to the Fort at Northkill.

In July Captain Busse conducted to Easton the detachments which kept guard at the Indian treaty of July 21-August 7;⁷⁵ and toward the end of August he had accommodated himself to more severe demands upon his company.

In a move to concentrate the strength of the Augusta Regiment, Governor Denny had decided to withdraw the part of that force stationed at Fort Hunter and to maintain only Fort Halifax on the line of communication to Fort Augusta. But the people of Paxton and Derry townships thereupon protesting on August 25 that this left them exposed to attack, the Governor was "pleased to appoint a Company of Fifty Men, under the Command of Captain *Bussé*, to range from *Fort Hunter* to *Mannida Gap*, for their Protection."⁷⁶ This ranging company undoubtedly was composed of detachments from two or three of the forts; but these places also had contingents

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 194-95. See also *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 9, 1757; Joseph Shippen to Burd, May 31, 1757, printed in *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 427.

[Samuel Weiser], Journal at Northkill [1757], *PAI*, II, 162-63.

⁷⁶ *CR*, VII, 724; *PA8*, VI, 4621-22.

at Fort Augusta and suffered further reductions when the terms of the three-month men expired. About September 25 Lieutenant Colonel Weiser, then in Philadelphia, wrote bitterly to the Governor:

. . . three Companys Consisting of 150 odd men of the Batalion I have the Honour to Comand lie inactive (as to the ranging part) at fort augusta

. . . *It is true*, one hundred and fifty nine men, were rased by your Honours order for three months, to replace those, that were gone to fort augusta, but these mens time has been out for Some weeks and they are gone off having meet with no further encouragement, It is probably that if your Honour had permitted to recall my men from fort augusta according to my request the last murder on Suartara & ca would not have been comited for how is it possible for to garrison fort Henry *with 30*. The fort on Suartaro *with 30* and Hunters fort with 100 men and also to Send out strong ranging parties between Said forts?⁷⁷

During Captain Busse's absence the garrison at Fort Henry took a French prisoner. On October 12, it was reported "a French Deserter or Spy came down the Hill near Fort Henry, and made toward Deitrick Six's house, which the Centry of the Fort observing, acquainted the Commanding Officer of the Fort thereof, who sent an Officer and two Soldiers to seize and bring him into the Fort." Questioned at Weiser's home on October 15 and at Reading the day following, the prisoner identified himself as young La Chauvignerie, son of the French commander at Fort Machault. Sent out with another Frenchman and a party of seven Indians against the frontiers, he had lost his way and wandered to the fort. From Reading the young Frenchman was sent to Philadelphia where he remained in easy imprisonment until exchanged in the spring of 1759.⁷⁸

Captain Busse's absence continued into the fall; but in compliance with the Governor's orders of September 27 the detachments (including twelve of Busse's company) returned from Fort Augusta in

⁷⁷ Undated rough draft in Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 125; printed in Wallace, *Conrad Weiser*, 505. The words underlined in the manuscript and italicized in print probably were to be dropped. As has been pointed out in note 1 of the present chapter, this letter may be dated about September 25, 1757.

⁷⁸ Weiser to Denny, October 16, 1757, *PAI*, III, 293-94; examinations of La Chauvignerie, October 16 and 26, *ibid.*, 294-96, 305-308; La Chauvignerie to his father, January 3, 1758, *ibid.*, 329-30; La Chauvignerie, petition to remain in Pennsylvania, February 15, 1759, PPC. On April 28, 1759, he was ordered sent to Hispaniola on the *Francis and Sarah*. See Register of Flaggs of Truce &c, Papers of the Provincial Secretary.

the latter part of October.⁷⁹ Weiser then received orders, however, to furnish an escort for the commissioners and workmen sent to Wyoming to build a town for Teedyuscung and his Indian followers. Following his original orders of October 31, Weiser on November 6 ordered Ensign Kern and fifteen men from Fort Henry to overtake the commissioners, who left Fort Hunter on November 3 and returned to Lancaster County on November 23.⁸⁰

In the reorganization of the Pennsylvania Regiment which became effective in early 1758, Lieutenant Philip Weiser of Busse's company resigned and was replaced by Jacob Kern, promoted from ensign and commissioned as of December 23, 1757. Kern, in turn, was replaced as ensign by George Craghead as of December 8, and Busse was recommissioned as of December 5. The company was assigned to Colonel Burd's new 2d Battalion, in which Lieutenant Kern was designated adjutant.⁸¹

About this same time Captain Samuel Weiser and most of his company were assigned to Fort Henry, where Weiser took command. Adjutant Kern visited this post at the end of January:

Jan^y 30 I arrivaed at Fort Henry where Cap^t Sam^l Weyser at
 Presence Commands Cap^t Busses & Cap^t Weyers are
 Stationd here Except 17 men of Cap^t Weyser men are at
 fort Sweetara them men are in Good order the Two Com-
 panys are Completed

Jan^y 31 I Staid at Fort Henry⁸²

Kern then went on to Fort Swatara on February 1. In a return dated February 5 he reports 89 men at Fort Henry, commanded by Busse, Kern, and Craghead of the one company and by Weiser and Ensign Biddle of the other. Commissary Young, on February 9 reported "At Fort Henry, Tolhea, two Comp^s 105 [men]";⁸³ and for February 21-22 there is the account of Colonel Burd, who on the former date arrived here from Fort Swatara:

March'd at 1 P: M for Fort Henry at 3 P: M. gott to
 Soudders 7 miles left Lieut Broadhead to march the party 4
 miles to Sneevlys there to hault all night & to march to Fort

⁷⁹ Denny, orders to Weiser, September 27, 1757, Shippen Family Papers, III, 55; also quoted in Weiser to Burd, October 3, 1757, *ibid.*, 63.

⁸⁰ Commissioners to Denny, November 3, 1757, *PAI*, III, 316-17, and *CR*, VII, 772-73; *id.* to *id.*, November 23, 1757, *PAI*, III, 318-19.

⁸¹ Young to Burd, November 1, 1757, Shippen Family Papers, III, 87; Names of Officers . . . January, 1758, *PAI*, III, 336; *PA5*, I, 181.

⁸² Kern Journal, Gratz Collections.

⁸³ *PAI*, III, 339-41.

Henry in the morning, 6 miles the roads being very bad, march'd my self with Adjutant Kern & 8 men on horse back arrived at Fort Henry at 5 P: M found here Captⁿ Wieser Adjutant Kern & the Ensignes Biddle & Craighed doing duty with 90 men—Ordered a Review of the Garrison tomorrow at 9 A: M

22^d Wednesday

Had a Review this morning at 9 A: M found 90 soldiers under good Command & fine fellows Examined the stores & found about 2 months Provision in Store & am inform'd by the Comd^s Officer there is 2 mo^s more ab^t 6 miles from hence at Jacob Myers Mill; no poudder, 224 lb of lead, no flints, ab^t 80 Province arms belonging to these two Comp^{ys} good for nothing

Ordered Ensigne Craighead with 18 men of this Garrison to march tomorrow morning to Fort Swettarrow and there to apply to Captⁿ Allen and to Receive from him 7 men & with this party of 25 men to march from thence to Robertson's Mill there to take Post, to order from thence a Serj^t Corporall & 8 men to the house of Adam Read Esq^r. . . .

Ordered . . . Captⁿ Wieser to Continue to rang from this to Fort Northkill & Swettarrow to Employ all his Judgem^t to waylay the Enemy & protect the Inhabitants, This is a very good stockaded Fort & every thing in good order & duty done pritty well⁸⁴

A plan drawn up about this time by Commissary Young proposed to assign to "Fort Henry—one & a half Comp^y 75^m";⁸⁵ but this was impractical, and the assignment of Provincial troops to the Forbes expedition in May, 1758, took Captain Weiser's company and most of Captain Busse's men from the fort. At the same time, however, part of Captain John Blackwood's company of the new 3d Battalion, composed of new levies under officers commissioned as of May 2, was assigned to this area.⁸⁶ Until July, when they were ordered to Raystown, most of these men were stationed at Reading, but five were assigned to Fort Henry.

Ensign George Craghead on May 4 wrote from Fort Henry to Colonel Burd:

On the 13th of Aprile I reciv'd orders from Capt: Busse, to Return to Fort Henry, and agreeable to them, I marched to said Fort, in my way I left those Men of Capt: Leut: Allen's, I had under my Command, I would have Sent my Journal

⁸⁴ Burd Journal, PPC, March 10, 1758; printed in *PAI*, III, 353-54.

⁸⁵ PPC [February, 1758]; printed in *PA5*, I, 362.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 174, 184.

before, but I understood your Honour was to be at Lancaster; and I waited to know Scertainly, where to Send it; We are in Midling-good order hear, for the field, And onely wait Your Honour's orders for to take It.⁸⁷

Just a day before this Colonel Burd had ordered Major Thomas Lloyd to go to Fort Henry to assume command of the eight companies in garrison east of Fort Hunter and to employ these troops for the protection of the settlers.⁸⁸ According to Lloyd, who on May 15 wrote to Major Shippen from Fort Henry, news of the new campaign had a stimulating effect upon the troops: "'Tis odd, but certainly true, that the company at Fort Henry, who before used to sing psalms fervently every day, have, ever since the news of the expedition, sang nothing but songs of mirth and seem to have certainly forgot their psalms."⁸⁹

A return of garrisons dated June 17, 1758, reported two officers and twenty-eight men stationed at Reading and two officers and forty-five men at Fort Henry.⁹⁰ Inevitably, this reduced strength increased the difficulty of dealing with Indian raids. On June 19 Captain Busse reported to Conrad Weiser that Indians had that morning carried off the wife and three children of John Frantz six miles from the fort; that three Indians had been seen near the fort, "at the place of Six"; and that Jacob Snabele's son had been killed. Lieutenant William Johnson of Blackwood's company had gone in pursuit of the Indians, and Busse asked that Captain Blackwood be informed.⁹¹

Nevertheless, the garrison had to be reduced still further to meet the requirements for the western expedition. On July 9 Major Joseph Shippen wrote from Carlisle to Governor Denny: "By General Forbes's order, I have sent you a Return of the disposition of the Pennsylvania Troops ordered to different Posts for the Defence of the Eastern Frontiers, where Major Orndt is to command. . . ." Twenty-eight men were assigned to Fort Hunter; then to the eastward thirty-five were to hold "A Block House on Swahatara" at Adam Reed's, and Captain Busse and Ensign Thomas Godfrey with twenty-five men were left at "Fort Henry to protect the Country from thence to Schuylkill."⁹²

In accordance with this disposition of troops, Captain Blackwood received orders on July 13 to join Forbes' army at Raystown, leaving

⁸⁷ Burd-Shippen Papers, I, 47, American Philosophical Society.

⁸⁸ Burd to Lloyd, May 3, 1758, Burd Letter Book, Shippen Family Papers.

⁸⁹ Thomas Balch (ed.), *Letters and Papers Relating Chiefly to the Provincial History of Pennsylvania*, 121-22.

⁹⁰ [Peters], *Stations* . . . , PPC.

⁹¹ *PAI*, III, 425-26; see also *CR*, VIII, 140.

⁹² PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 449, and *PA5*, I, 241.

Ensign Godfrey and four men at Fort Henry and a small detachment at John Harris'; and on July 19 Blackwood reported from Reading that he expected the remainder of Captain Orndt's company to arrive from Fort Allen that night or the next day and that he would march with them, leaving his ensign and five men at Fort Henry.⁹³

A return of Burd's 2d Battalion of about this date reports Captain Busse at Fort Henry with ten men of his own company, seven of Captain Morgan's, and one of Captain Weiser's.⁹⁴ The little garrison of twenty-five men apparently remained at Fort Henry throughout the time of the campaign. Relatively speaking the period was a quiet one on the eastern frontier, but that it was not wholly so is apparent from the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, which on October 19, 1758, printed an

*Extract of a Letter from Fort Henry, in Berks County,
dated the Fourth Instant*

"The First of October the Indians burnt a House on Swetara, killed one Man, and three are missing. Two Boys were found tied to a Tree, and Released.—We are alarmed in the Fort almost every Night by a terrible Barking of Dogs; there are certainly some Indians about us; they hollow on the Mountain."

When the new levies were disbanded at the end of the campaign, Blackwood's men were discharged, including the five men at Fort Henry, and the garrison was further reduced. Men of the old companies were assigned to various forts and winter quarters, but the garrisons east of the Susquehanna were not increased. According to a return of December 17, Fort Henry had then a garrison of seventeen men, all of Colonel Burd's 2d Battalion, including nine men of Busse's company, seven of Morgan's, and one of Captain Samuel Weiser's.⁹⁵

How much longer Fort Henry remained garrisoned is not known. Captain Busse left the service on May 11, 1759,⁹⁶ shortly before the campaign of that year, and the post may have been evacuated at that time. No troops were assigned to Fort Henry at the close of this year's campaign.

In spite of certain natural advantages, Fort Henry was of no great importance for communications. It stood on the Tulpehocken Path, a route from the settlements probably used by Captain Busse and his

⁹³ *PA2*, II, 716 (1876 ed.).

⁹⁴ Undated return, Shippen Family Papers, IX, Part 1, p. 27. Most of the 2d Battalion, including the two subalterns and forty-three men of Busse's company, are reported as at Carlisle.

⁹⁵ *PA5*, I, 274.

⁹⁶ [Denny] to Young, May 15, 1759, *ibid.*, 280.

detachment on their return from Fort Augusta in November, 1756. The path was fit for only light travel, however, and Fort Augusta was supplied by the longer route up the Susquehanna. Stressing the "Disappointments and Delays which have already occurred in the Transportation of Goods from Fort *Hunter* to Fort *Augusta*," the Commissioners for Indian Affairs on November 18, 1758, appealed to the Assembly to open a more direct road. The viewers, however, recommended a route by way of the upper Schuylkill rather than that by Fort Henry, and no road was opened until several years later.⁹⁷

It should be noted that Fort Henry was a patrol station in 1763-1764 during Pontiac's War,⁹⁸ though it is uncertain whether or not the buildings of the original fort had survived and were used again at this later date.

Fort Henry's sole function was to house the garrison which used it as a base for ranging. It was neither a communications center nor a base for military campaigns, it played no part in Indian negotiations or trade, and it neither protected an existing frontier village nor encouraged the establishment of a later one. Well-constructed but not elaborate, it was maintained throughout the time of need and was then abandoned. In all these respects it is an unusually good example of the Provincial forts as they were first planned.

FORT SWATARA

Fort Swatara, which took its name from the gap where Swatara Creek passes through the Blue Mountain, apparently was the work of the local guard organized in November, 1755, and commanded in this vicinity by Peter Hedrick. The fort seems to have been devised by surrounding Hedrick's house and thatched barn with a palisade to which some smaller buildings were attached as makeshift bastions. The resulting structure was disproportionately long and narrow, "in the form of a Weaver Shuttel," crowded, and vulnerable to fire.

The site of this fort was near present Lickdale, Lebanon County, in the eastern end of former Hanover Township, Lancaster County, on the frontier patrolled after November 20, 1755, by local companies under Captain Hedrick and Captain Adam Reed. Even after Provincial troops were stationed here, the local guard served at local

⁹⁷ *PAS*, VI, 4895, 4990, 5093; VII, 6381-82; notes of survey, 1759, in Lightfoot Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

⁹⁸ Fort Augusta Journal, *PA2*, VII, 447 (1878 ed.); Return of the Troops . . . , *PA5*, I, 337.

expense, the people of Derry Township reporting in May, 1757, that the eighteen-month service had by then cost them £300.⁹⁹ Fort Swatara was garrisoned by Provincial troops from the end of January, 1756, until May, 1758, when at the start of the Forbes campaign reduction in the size of the eastern garrisons resulted in the evacuation of Fort Swatara and Fort William.

The first step toward sending Provincial troops to protect this region and toward building Fort Swatara was taken on January 6, 1756, when Governor Morris, then at Reading, ordered Captain Friedrich Schmitt (Frederick Smith) of Chester County to proceed with the officers and fifty men of his "Independent Company" (associated militia) to Reading, where they would be taken into Provincial pay for two or three months.

You are to cause such of your men as are able to bring with them each a gun and a Blanket, and either an ax or a grubbing hoe

You are to keep your men sober and in order and at all times fit for duty and to hold yourself & them in readiness to march from Reading at an hour's warning.¹⁰⁰

Again at Reading on January 26 after a conference at Carlisle, the Governor gave Captain Schmitt his further orders:

You are as soon as Possible to Proceed with the Company under your Command to the Gap where Swahatara Comes through the Mountain and in some convenient place there you are to erect a Fort of the form and dimensions herewith given you, unless you shall Judge the Staccado already erected there conveniently placed. . . .¹⁰¹

Schmitt then was to go to Manada Gap and improve or replace the stockade there, and "to receive of Cap^t Read & Cap^t Hedericks such arms accoutrements Blankets and stores as belong to the Province." On the same date the Governor instructed James Galbreath to "assist

⁹⁹ *PAI*, III, 159.

¹⁰⁰ Rough draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 544.

¹⁰¹ Rough draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 552. The text as printed has occasioned much confusion, since the manuscript, intended as a draft of orders for both Schmitt and Busse, contains alternative phrases ("at Tolehaio" for Busse and "where Swahatara comes through the Mountain" for Schmitt), and the printer has run these together. In the 1896 edition of *Frontier Forts*, I, 47-52, 70, H. M. M. Richards took care to correct the resultant confusion regarding the sites of Fort Swatara and Fort Henry; but since he used only the printed text he assumed incorrectly that Tolehaio and Swatara Gap were identical. See also George P. Donehoo, *History of the Indian Villages and Place Names in Pennsylvania*, 229-30.

him with your advice, not only as to the most advantageous situations for the forts, . . . but in any thing else that the service may require."¹⁰²

On January 29 Conrad Weiser wrote to Governor Morris and reported "y^e March of y^e Capt^{ns} Busse & Smith";¹⁰³ and on June 28 the Provincial Commissioners paid £165 "To Frederick Smith, in full for Pay, and building a Fort at Swatara Gap."¹⁰⁴ The first description of it comes from the journal of Major William Parsons, who on "Fryday May the 28th 1756. Visited Capt. Frederick Smith's Company stationed at the Fort at the Gap of Swatawro."

The Fort is pretty well built and kept clean & there is convenient Room to parade and exercise the Men within it.—The Water of an adjacent Spring is convey'd through the Fort by a Canal which is very commodious.—There are however some objections to the Fort viz^t There is a large Barn and dwelling House, of Peter Heidrick, within the Fort; the Barn is covered with Straw & might easily be set on Fire from without; and being large it is very much incommodes the Fort. There are also several small Buildings without, which join to the Fort and serve as Bastions to it; which as I apprehend might also be set on Fire from without, which would be fatal to the Garrison, in Case of an Attack. When I came to the Fort most of the Men were employ'd in clearing away the Timber and Brush from about it.¹⁰⁵

A second description of this fort was written by Weiser for the Governor sometime in September of this year. Although the manuscript is damaged, the chief points are clear enough:

the fort at Suata[ra] Comonly Called Smiths fort is in a very poor Condition [it] may be set on fire by three or four of the Indians En[emy] It is Build in the form of a Weaver Shuttel and in one [end] is an old Barn full of Corn & hay Standing, about [] feet from the Stoccados and on the other end is an old [] log house *of unhewn logs and the Bark of the* [] the Barn and house might be set on fire very easely fro[m] the out side and the garrison which Consists of 30 men [] Smooked out of it and destroyed. fort Manedy in Han[over] township and Some others are in no better Condition. . . .¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² PA1, II, 554-55.

¹⁰³ Acknowledged in Morris to Weiser, February 2, 1756, PA1, II, 563.

¹⁰⁴ PA8, V, 4368.

¹⁰⁵ Parsons Journal, Loudoun Papers, Box 26, No. 1189.

¹⁰⁶ Draft, undated but referring to previous letter of August 27, Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 123. Words in italics are canceled in the original.

By this time the original term of Schmitt's men had expired, and the company had been re-enlisted. Besides Schmitt himself, originally commissioned November 14, 1755, the officers were Lieutenant Phillip Martzloff (April 27, 1756) and Ensign Everhart Martin (December 20, 1755). On May 5, 1756, Conrad Weiser was commissioned lieutenant colonel of the 1st Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment, of which Schmitt's company was thereafter a part.¹⁰⁷

On July 9 Lieutenant Colonel Weiser met the captains of Fort Swatara, Fort Henry, and Fort Lebanon at Fort Henry to assign troops to guard the harvesters as ordered by the Governor. According to Weiser's letter of July 11, it was ordered

That eight Men of Cap^t Smith's Company shall assist the People in the Hole (The Place where twice Murder was committed) to gather in their Harvest, and stay over Night in the Moravian House; Eight of his Men to range Westward of his Fort under the Hill, and if Occasion require to be stationed in two Parties to guard the Reapers; Sixteen Men are to be in and about the Fort to help and protect the Neighbours, but constantly 10 out of the Sixteen are to stay in the Fort. . . .¹⁰⁸

The other twenty-one officers and men of the company were stationed at Manada.

In the same letter Weiser also mentioned the fact "that when the People about Swatara and the Hole heard of Cap^t Smiths being accused for neglect of Duty, they wrote a Letter to me in his Favour, which I send by Sammy Weiser, who can translate it if your Honour orders him to do it. . . ." The occasion for the complaints about Captain Schmitt is not known, and they apparently had no immediate consequence; but recurring criticism led to action a year later.

On August 6 a small party of Indians attacked harvesters above Manada Gap and killed two of Schmitt's men who were standing guard. In October there were more Indian attacks near these two forts: on the twelfth of the month a man was killed and three children carried off "two short Miles from Captain Smith's Fort at Swatawaro Gap"; on the sixteenth an Indian was seen near Manada; and on the twenty-fourth settlers carrying off their goods were attacked and killed.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ *PA5*, I, 70-71, 73.

¹⁰⁸ Weiser to Morris, PPC; printed in *PA1*, II, 696. "The Hole," now called Monroe Valley, lies between the Blue Mountain to the north and Little Mountain, formerly Hole Mountain, to the south, and extends east from Swatara Creek to Berks County. The Moravian meetinghouse known as Bethel stood three miles northwest of the present Fredericksburg, Lebanon County.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 738-40; III, 10-11; *CR*, VII, 303-304; *PMHB*, XXXII (1908), 301.

A tabulation dated November 26 records the disposition of Schmitt's company with the captain, the lieutenant, and thirty-two men "at Swataoro & Manady" and the ensign and eighteen men at Fort Augusta. Added comments, echoing Parson's and Weiser's reports, rate "The Fort at Swatawro not teneable by reason of a Large Barn included within it" and report that "water runs thro' it a well to be sunk."¹¹⁰ This tabulation is a reminder that this company, like others of Weiser's battalion, was drawn upon to reinforce other areas. The men with Ensign Martin were part of the composite company which served at Fort Augusta under Captain Busse from October 18 until November 19; they probably returned to Fort Swatara just after the tabulation was made up.

An alarm in Cumberland County toward the end of this year was the occasion for sending to that place detachments equivalent to two companies commanded by Captain Morgan of Fort Lebanon and by Captain Schmitt. Schmitt wrote from "Fort Schwartra" to Captain Busse on January 7, 1757, acknowledging receipt of Weiser's orders to send the detachments, but they apparently did not leave until a month later.¹¹¹

There they were stationed at McDowell's Mill, from which Schmitt wrote in March, complaining that while Weiser's men were employed in ranging, the garrison of nearby Fort Loudoun remained idle: "*Die 100 Man in der Fort Loudon, welche 2 Meilen von uns liegt, giebt nicht ein einzigen Man aus ihrer Fort.*" Moreover, the enlistments of men from Schmitt's, Busse's, and Morgan's companies were expiring, and the troops were uneasy over their retention in service.¹¹²

In April, 1757, Governor Denny ordered these detachments and others of Weiser's battalion to Fort Augusta in consequence of Indian alarms there. However, Captain Schmitt returned to Fort Swatara on April 20, the day before Weiser received the orders; so Morgan took the remaining men from Cumberland County to Fort Augusta.¹¹³

Captain Busse at Fort Henry seems to have overseen Fort Swatara during Schmitt's absence. At this time probably, the further recommendation was added to the return of garrisons dated November 26, 1756, so that it read in full: "The Fort at Swatawro not teneable by reason of large Barn included within it w^{ch} is very near the palisades

¹¹⁰ PPC; printed in *PA5*, I, 73. In print, the second comment is transferred to Fort Manada.

¹¹¹ Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 18.

¹¹² Schmitt to Weiser, MacDowels Mühl, *ibid.*, 43; undated, but acknowledges letters of March 7 and 15.

¹¹³ Weiser to Burd, April 21, 1757, *ibid.*, 157; Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 782 (1876 ed.).

& thatched. A proper place may be found near it to build a fort on. The top of the barn taken of, or the whole building taken down—Capt Busse to build a new fort, first to quit Monady, & the garrison to go to Suetara fort, w^{ch} is an important pass.”¹¹⁴ Nothing indicates that these proposals were acted upon, however.

Like other parts of the frontier, Lancaster County suffered no severe Indian attacks in this year; but withdrawal of parts of the garrisons intensified the effect of minor raids. On May 2 Schmitt wrote to Weiser that in consequence of an alarm all but three families had fled the vicinity and that the fugitives had appealed to him for protection which his depleted garrison could not give.¹¹⁵ On May 15 the people of Hanover Township addressed a petition to Secretary Richard Peters:

. . . the Provincials in the two Forts here [Swatara and Manada] are some way Employ'd, that in our Extremity we can have no assistance from them. . . .

We beg the favour of you to represent our distressed case to his Honour the Governour, if we may obtain some assistance of men for our defence. . . .

The appeal from Hanover Township was seconded by one from Derry Township, whose people had “maintained Guards in Hannover Township . . . not costing this township [Derry] less than three hundred pounds currency.” Appealing for troops to range the frontier, they informed the Governor that “its not to be coop'd up in forts we beg for Provincials, where they can be of no Service to us.”¹¹⁶

The Governor was at this time in conference at Lancaster with Indians of the friendly Six Nations, and in a letter to the Proprietors he reported the action taken by the settlers on May 18:

I had the further Mortification to hear of the Enemy Indians coming within Thirty Miles of the Place of Treaty, desolating a long Tract of Country, and killing and scalping many of the Inhabitants. Four dead Bodies, one of which was a Woman with Child, were brought to Lancaster from the neighbouring Frontiers, scalped and butchered in a most horrid Manner, and laid before the Door of the Court House for a Spectacle of Reproach to every one there. . . . They were however removed by my Order, and the Treaty with an Intermission of a Day went on its ordinary Course. The poor Inhabitants where these daring Murders were committed, being without

¹¹⁴ PPC; printed in *PA5*, I, 73.

¹¹⁵ Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 55.

¹¹⁶ PPC; printed in *PA1*, III, 158-59.

Militia or Association, and living among Menonists, a numerous Sett of German Quakers, came supplicating me for Protection, and immediately with the Approbation of the Commissioners, who attended at the Treaty, I gave Lieutenant Col. Weiser a Warrant to raise Three Companies of Fifty-Three Men each, for their Relief, and to enlist them for three Months. . . .¹¹⁷

These short-term companies authorized on May 18 have been mentioned in the account of Fort Henry. In effect, they were the local guard commanded by Reed and Hedrick taken temporarily into Provincial pay. Reed in fact enlisted about forty three-month men for the Provincial service, most of whom engaged to serve under Schmitt.¹¹⁸ Captain Schmitt pointed out to Weiser that it was not clear whether they were under command of their own or of the Provincial officers.¹¹⁹ Governor Denny went to Fort Henry to settle this matter in interview with local landholders; but the dispute may have revived earlier criticism of Captain Schmitt.

Ordered by the Governor to provide detachments to serve as guard at Easton during an Indian conference, Weiser replied about July 12 that:

about 110 men of the first Battalion will be in Easton towards the latter end of this week I ordered Som from every Company even from Capt^t Smiths on Suartaro to Capt Von Ettens at fort Hamilton only Some of Capt Smiths mens time being out on the 6 of this Instant I Suppose about one half of his Company I wish your Honour had Sent his discharge, he wont inlist the men a new, and by all what I Can learn abuses the officers under him, and hase never Sent me a Journal nor Muster Roll. the lieut^t & Insign Complains bitterly against.¹²⁰

Captain Lieutenant Samuel Weiser's journal at Northkill records the arrival there on July 14 of Schmitt's and Busse's detachments on their way to Easton.¹²¹ Before the detachment's return on August 12, there was a change of command at Fort Swatara; Lieutenant Phillip Martzloff, unlike Captain Schmitt, kept a journal which records that on August 2 Schmitt received orders to turn over his command and

¹¹⁷ Draft of letter, Denny to the Proprietaries, June 30, 1757, PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 194. See also *CR*, VII, 538-39.

¹¹⁸ *PAI*, III, 195; *PA8*, VI, 4879.

¹¹⁹ Schmitt to Weiser, May 28, 1757, Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 65.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 73.

¹²¹ [Samuel Weiser], Journal at Northkill [1757], PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 162-63.

the fort to the Lieutenant and that the Captain left on the following day.¹²²

Martzloff's surviving journal, which ends at August 19, is mostly a routine report of patrols. On August 4 a woman and child were taken by Indians, two days later Winkelsblech's two sons were killed and a soldier was wounded, on August 10 George Mowrer was killed, on August 15 soldiers guarding a house were fired on.

The time of the three-month companies expired, and the local detachments still had not returned from Fort Augusta. About September 25 Weiser wrote angrily to the Governor:

It is probably that if your Honour had permitted to recall my men from fort augusta according to my request the last murder on Suartaro & ca would not have ben comited for how is it possible for to garrison fort Henry *with 30* [men]. The fort on Suartaro *with 30* and Hunters fort with 100 men and also to Send out strong ranging parties between Said forts?¹²³

Weiser's contingents returned, finally, in October; but in the meantime another assignment of troops had been made which affected Fort Swatara.

Earlier in the year it had been determined to evacuate the part of the Augusta Regiment stationed at Fort Hunter and to maintain only Fort Halifax on the river communication to Fort Augusta.¹²⁴ In response to appeals from the people of Paxton, the Governor agreed on August 25 to return a garrison to Fort Hunter, but he ordered that the new guard be drawn from Weiser's battalion and commanded by Captain Busse. Early in October Busse fell sick; and this probably was the occasion for Martzloff's temporary removal from Fort Swatara. How long he was absent is uncertain, but he arrived at Fort Hunter not later than the middle of October and was still there on November 3.¹²⁵

In his absence Captain Lieutenant Samuel Weiser, whose men had been withdrawn from Northkill about the end of September, commanded at Fort Swatara. Reporting the arrival of a French soldier,

¹²² "[] Monath Aug. von der Compagnie der Fort Sweetare, geführt von Phillipp Marzloff Lieutenant," PPC, August [19, 1757]; cited hereafter as Martzloff Journal.

¹²³ Rough draft, undated, Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 125. The military situation described in the letter indicates the date here assigned.

¹²⁴ Denny to the Proprietors, April 10, 1757, *PA1*, III, 119.

¹²⁵ Weiser to Denny, October 16, 1757, *ibid.*, 293; Martzloff to Weiser, Hunters Mill, November 3, 1757, Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 93. On October 3 Busse's contingent included twenty-one of Martzloff's men. See *ibid.*

La Chauvignerie, at Fort Henry on October 12, Lieutenant Colonel Weiser wrote on October 16 that: "I order'd, by Express, my Son Samuel, who commanded at the Fort on Sweetara, to march with a ranging party with all possible Speed and Care, and take the said Prisoner and convey him safe down to my House in Heidelberg, where he arrived safe with the prisoner about noon yesterday."¹²⁶ Apparently Weiser was still in command here as late as December 12, when a party ranging eastward from Fort Hunter "met Cap^t. Lieut. Weiser with his party" a little east of Manada.¹²⁷

Sometime later Lieutenant Martzloff returned to this fort, and Weiser and most of his company were assigned to Fort Henry. There is some evidence about this time of dissatisfaction among Lieutenant Martzloff's men, and in a list of the Pennsylvania officers Martzloff is given an unsatisfactory rating.¹²⁸ Writing to Richard Peters on November 30, 1757, about the requirement that men be enlisted for a three-year term, Lieutenant Colonel Weiser asked: "Shall I Positively discharge all the Men who will not enlist for three Years; a great many of the late Cap^t Smiths Company whoes Time is most out will not Reenlist under Lieut^t Martzloff, but several of them have offered themselves to enlist in my Company for three Years. I want about fourteen in my Company & then my Company will be full for three Years."¹²⁹

On a tour of inspection in early 1758 Adjutant Jacob Kern visited Fort Henry on January 30-31, where he learned that seventeen men of Captain Samuel Weiser's company (formerly Lieutenant Colonel Weiser's) were at Fort Swatara. From Fort Henry, as Kern reported to the Governor:

- Feb^y 1 I arrivaed at Fort Sweetara where Leu^t Philip Marsloff and Ensign Martin are Stationed I
 D^o 2 gave theme there Discharge agreeable to your order and ordered Cap^t Leu^t Sam^l Allen to take the Command theme men are not in Good order the Same day I whend to Crawfords¹³⁰

¹²⁶ Weiser to Denny, *PAI*, III, 293-94.

¹²⁷ James Patterson Journal, PPC, January 10, 1758; printed in *PAI*, III, 331.

¹²⁸ *PAI*, I, 62-63. The ratings in this list appear to be G-good, B-bad, R-resigned, and D-Dutch.

¹²⁹ Peters Manuscripts, IV, 126. A few days earlier Ensign Edward Biddle had sent one of Martzloff's dissatisfied soldiers to Weiser from Fort Henry. Biddle to Weiser, November 22, 1757, Dreer Collection, *Officers Serving in America Before the Revolution*, Vol. I, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹³⁰ Kern Journal, Gratz Collections.

In his return dated February 5 Kern reported thirty-three men at this fort under the command of Lieutenant Martzloff, then replaced by Captain Lieutenant Allen.¹³¹

These changes made at Fort Swatara were part of a reorganization of the Provincial forces in which the companies of Lieutenant Colonel Weiser's former battalion were divided among the other two. Captain Schmitt's old company was assigned to Armstrong's new 1st Battalion. Governor William Denny appointed himself nominal captain of the company, with Captain Lieutenant Allen (commissioned as of January 9) and Ensign James Hughes (December 4, 1757) as subalterns.¹³²

Commissary Young's return of February 9 reports "At the Fort on Swatara, one Comp^y 46 [men]," apparently including Weiser's seventeen.¹³³ Lieutenant Colonel Burd, who arrived at "Swettarrow Fort" on February 20 in the course of a tour of inspection, "found Captⁿ Lieu^t Allen & 38 men here φ report." His report continues:

21st Tuesday

Reviewed the Garrison this Morning at 10 A:M & found 38 men Viz^t 21 belonging to Capt. Leu^t Allen & 17 detaucht from Captⁿ Wiesers C^o; of Captⁿ Allens, 13 men for 3 years, no Province arms fitt for use, no Kettles, nor blankets, 12 lb of poudder & 25 lb of lead, no poudder Horns, pouches, nor Cartouch boxes, no Tomhawks nor Province tools of any kind, 2 months Provision

some soldiers Absent & other hyr'd in their place which has been a Custom here the soldiers under no Dissipline. . . .

At this place Burd was petitioned to place a guard at Robinson's mill in Manada Gap; and at Fort Henry on the following day Burd ordered Captain Weiser to detach eighteen of his men from that place and seven from Fort Swatara to provide such a guard.¹³⁴

A proposed assignment of forces drawn up about this time by Commissary Young presents the same distribution, with twenty-five men (half a company) at Robinson's Mill, a company at "Swatara Fort," and seventy-five men at Fort Henry.¹³⁵

A letter from an unnamed "Officer in the Provincial Service," dated at Tulpehocken on April 8, reports new Indian attacks in this region: "At Swetara, two young Men, Brothers, named Schaterly, Michael

¹³¹ *PA1*, III, 339-40.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 336; *PA5*, I, 128-29.

¹³³ *PA1*, III, 341.

¹³⁴ Burd Journal, PPC, March 10, 1758; printed in *PA1*, III, 353.

¹³⁵ Manuscript in Young's handwriting, PPC [February, 1758]; printed in *PA5*, I, 362.

Souder, and William Hart, killed; a Widow Woman carried off. In Tulpehocken, one Levergood, and his Wife, killed. At Northkill, the Wife of Nicholas Gieger, and two Children, and the Wife of Michael Titleser, all killed and scalped."¹³⁶

With the mobilization of Provincial troops in May for General Forbes' campaign, the occupation of Fort Swatara came to an end. On May 11 the Governor gave orders to the old companies west of Fort Henry: "The Governors Company and those of Busses Weisers and Pattersons are to hold themselves in readiness to march where the Paymaster shall give Notice to them to receive their Pay. . . ."¹³⁷

The evacuation must have taken place shortly afterward, for a list of garrisons drawn up by Richard Peters, dated June 17, reports no posts between Fort Henry and Fort Hunter.¹³⁸ Fort William (or Lebanon), as has been noted, was evacuated at the same time as Fort Swatara and also as part of the westward movement of troops for the successful campaign against the French at Fort Duquesne. British victory lessened the need for defense on this eastern frontier, and the two abandoned forts were never regarrisoned.

FORT MANADA

Fort Manada, which stood north of present Manada Hill, Dauphin County, was garrisoned during all of its brief history from January, 1756, to April, 1757, by detachments of the company stationed at Fort Swatara. Like this larger post, it took its name from the mountain pass which it guarded. No description seems to have survived, but the post probably consisted of a stockade surrounding a log house, and since the garrison numbered only about twenty men, the post probably was little if any larger than that at Northkill, where the stockade was about thirty-two feet square.

The line of local defenses previously set up in Lancaster and Berks counties in November, 1755, had included one at Samuel Robinson's mill near present Manada Hill three miles below Manada Gap.¹³⁹ This local post is referred to in Governor Morris' letter of November 11 addressed to "Sam^l Robinson, of Hanover towns^h, Lanc^r County":

¹³⁶ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 13, 1758.

¹³⁷ Berks and Montgomery County Papers, 63.

¹³⁸ [Peters], *Stations* . . . , PPC.

¹³⁹ Robinson's mill later became the property of Timothy Green, who had another mill about three miles farther north at the gap. By error the latter has been identified as Robinson's, though he never owned this tract. See *Frontier Forts*, I, 33-34, where there is a further confusion with Philip Robinson's Fort. See Appendix in the present volume, pp. 553-54.

At the Request of the People of Hanover Township, *in your neighborhood*, I have ordered one hundred weight of Gun Powder and two hundred weight of Lead, to be delivered to you, which you will carry to the fort at your house, and distribute among the Inhabitants in as equal a manner as may be, and recommend it to them to be careful of it. . . .¹⁴⁰

An additional grant of supplies for this place was made on February 12, 1756, when Edward Shippen furnished twenty pounds of powder and forty of lead to "Sundry Inhabitants of the South West end of Hanover Township, deld to Joseph Barnet for their Fort."¹⁴¹

On January 26, 1756, the Governor ordered Captain Schmitt and his company to fix a post at Fort Swatara, after which, as his orders read:

you are to proceed to the gap where the river Monaday passes the Mountains, and Either take possession and strengthen the Stuccado already erected there, or erect a new one as you shall Judge best, and then you are to Return to the fort at Swehatara, . . . leaving twenty men under the Command of a commissioned Officer at the fort at Monaday, and relieving them from time to time, in part or in whole as you shall think proper.¹⁴²

On the same date, James Galbreath was instructed to assist Schmitt "as to the most advantageous situations for the forts, in case it should be resolved to erect new ones."¹⁴³ Presumably, the "Stuccado already erected" to which the Governor referred was the post at Robinson's mill, though there were other "private forts" in the same area, but Captain Schmitt seems not to have used the mill. The traditional site of Manada Fort, as pointed out in 1893, was a half-mile below the Gap on a small eastern branch of Manada Creek on land for which Robert Brown afterward filed application; and tradition is supported by a letter of August 7, 1756, which refers to this post as "Brown's forth."¹⁴⁴

Reporting his visit to Fort Swatara on May 28, 1756, Major William Parsons speaks of "Ensign Everhart, posted with a Detachment, at

¹⁴⁰ *PAI*, II, 480. For a reference to the petition presented on this date, see *PA8*, V, 4110.

¹⁴¹ Accounts of Powder at Lancaster, PPC, April 5, 1756; printed in *PAI*, II, 614.

¹⁴² Rough draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 552.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, 554-55.

¹⁴⁴ For the site, see *Frontier Forts*, I, 34, and the maps following pages 32 and 48. H. M. M. Richards, who did not use land records, failed to identify Brown's Fort as Fort Manada and thought the name might apply to a traditional fort farther east. See *ibid.*, 37-39.

Mannady Gap"; but tells Governor Morris that "I was not at Mannady Gap, as I did not then think it so necessary as at present it appears to be for which Neglect I pray to be excused."¹⁴⁵ Nor did Commissary Young visit this place on his tour in June. Indeed, the only references to the state of this post are Weiser's statement, after telling of defects at Fort Swatara, that "fort Manedy in Han[over] township and Some others are in no better Condition"; and the observation added to a November 26 report of garrisons, "Fort at Monady a spring in it."¹⁴⁶

For the protection of harvesters, Lieutenant Colonel Weiser on July 9 directed the twenty-one-man garrison to be so ordered that "Nine men are to stay constantly in Manity Fort, and Six men to range Eastward from Manity towards Swatara, and Six men to range westwards towards Susquehannah: Each Party so farr that they may reach their Fort again before Night."¹⁴⁷

By this date Schmitt's company contained men enlisted in the neighborhood; and the Manada detachment included "James Brown that lives in ye forth" and Jacob Ellis, who had lived on Manada Creek north of the Gap. On August 6 Ellis persuaded the officer then stationed here, apparently Lieutenant Martzloff, to send ten soldiers to help harvest wheat on his land. While these men were at work, three Indians surprised them, killing James Brown and a corporal and wounding a third soldier.¹⁴⁸

In October there were more Indian raids in this place; on October 16 "an Indian came to the House of Philip Robeson," east of Fort Manada at the head of Bow Creek, "carrying a Green Bush before him, said Robeson's Son being on the Corner of his Fort watching others that was dressing flesh by him, the Indian preceiving that he was ob-

¹⁴⁵ Parsons Journal, Loudoun Papers, Box 26, No. 1189. The ensign appears as "Martin Everhart" in lists printed in *PA5*, I, 63, 71. Compare *ibid.*, 73, "Ensign Fberhard Martin"; Kern Journal, "Ensign Martin"; Martzloff Journal (in German), "Fähndrich Martin."

¹⁴⁶ Weiser to Denny [September, 1756], Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 123; PPC, printed inaccurately in *PA5*, I, 74.

¹⁴⁷ Weiser to Denny, July 11, 1756, PPC; printed in *PA1*, II, 696.

¹⁴⁸ Adam Reed to Edward Shippen, August 7, 1756; James Galbreath to *id.*, August 9, 1756; Galbreath to James Hamilton, August 10, 1756, PPC; printed in *PA1*, II, 738-40. The places referred to can be identified by documents in the Bureau of Land Records, Harrisburg. Robert Brown, presumably of James Brown's family, applied on September 17, 1765, for a tract including the site of Fort Manada; Jacob Ellis applied on June 1, 1767, for a tract above and east of Manada Gap, now included in Indiantown Gap Military Reservation.

served fled; the Watchman fired, but missed him; this being three quarters of a Mile from Manady Fort."¹⁴⁹

Ensign Martin about this time went to Fort Augusta with a detachment of eighteen men of Schmitt's company and was gone about a month;¹⁵⁰ Lieutenant Martzloff presumably continued in command at Manada. On January 7, 1757, however, Schmitt wrote Weiser that he had sent his ensign to "*die Manede*" to have the new recruits (*die Neye leit*) there sworn in.¹⁵¹

A petition of May 15, 1757, from Hanover Township is evidence that Manada was still garrisoned; for it complains that "the Provincials in the two Forts here [Swatara and Manada] are some way Employ'd, that in our Extremity we can have no assistance from them."¹⁵² There is no later reference to a garrison at Manada, however; and a recommendation added at later date to the report of garrisons dated November 26, 1756, advises "to quit Monady, and the garrison to go to Suetara fort, w^{ch} is an important pass."¹⁵³

This proposed evacuation apparently was carried out. Scouting eastward from his post at Fort Hunter on December 5, 1757, Captain James Patterson "ranged from this Fort as far as Robinson's Fort, where I lodged, keeping a guard of six men & one Corporal on Centry that night."¹⁵⁴ When Lieutenant Colonel Burd visited Fort Swatara on February 21, 1758, "the Country People came here, I promise them to station an officer & 25 men at Robertson's mill"; and Burd ordered this complement drawn from Fort Henry and Fort Swatara, and posted fifteen men at the mill and ten at Adam Reed's under command of Ensign George Craghead of Captain Busse's company. This use of the old post at the mill must mean that Manada Fort had been abandoned and was no longer usable.¹⁵⁵

Maintenance of a Provincial detachment in this vicinity seems to have terminated when on April 13 Captain Busse ordered Ensign Craghead to return to Fort Henry.¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁹ Adam Reed to Edward Shippen [October 25, 1756], *CR*, VII, 303. Although Reed seems to place Philip Robinson's (Robeson's) three-fourths of a mile from Fort Manada, land records indicate it was about twice that distance.

¹⁵⁰ *PA5*, I, 73.

¹⁵¹ Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 18.

¹⁵² *PA1*, III, 158.

¹⁵³ PPC; printed inaccurately in *PA5*, I, 74.

¹⁵⁴ Patterson Journal, PPC, January 10, 1758; printed in *PA1*, III, 331.

¹⁵⁵ Burd Journal, PPC, March 10, 1758; printed in *PA1*, III, 353.

¹⁵⁶ Craghead to Burd, May 4, 1758, Burd-Shippen Papers, I, 47.

It may be noted that there later was a ranging station in this vicinity during Pontiac's War, when a detachment was "at Browns" in 1763 and one at "Monody Gap, Hanover," in 1764.¹⁵⁷

ADAM REED'S

Adam Reed's home was on the north side of Swatara Creek between present East Hanover and Ono, Lebanon County. If, as seems probable, his home was the place referred to on December 17, 1755, as "his Fort," it may be assumed that the house was stockaded in the usual manner.¹⁵⁸ Almost accidentally, it was garrisoned by an incomplete company of Provincials from June, 1758, until sometime later in the year.

Although this place was for only a short time garrisoned by paid troops, its story illustrates a little-known aspect of defense, the operation of local patrols even into the time after the establishment of the Provincial defense line.

Reed, a Lancaster County justice, was active in the early efforts for local defense. On Sunday, October 26, 1755, Conrad Weiser reported that the Reverend John Elder had written from Paxton to inform "another Presbyterian Minister in the neighbourhood of Adam Read, Esq^r," of Indian raids. "Mr. Read sent down to Tulpahoccon, and two men one that came from Mr. Read, are just now gone, that brought in the Melancholly news. I have sent out to alarm the Townships in this Neighbourhood, and to meet me early in the Morning at Peter Spicker, to consult together what to do. . . ." ¹⁵⁹

Mention has been made of the volunteer force led by Weiser which set out next day from "Benjamin Spickers" and "arrived at Adam Read's, Esq^r., in Hanover Township, Lancaster County, about 10 o'Clock" on the morning of October 28. Told by Reed that a party of forty-nine men had already gone toward Shamokin, Weiser's party returned home. However, as Weiser assured Governor Morris, "Mr. Read has engaged to keep proper persons riding between his House and Sasquehannah, and if anything material shall occur he will send me Tidings. . . ." ¹⁶⁰

It may be supposed that Reed, later referred to as a captain, was

¹⁵⁷ John Elder to Governor Hamilton, August 24, 1763, John Elder Papers, Historical Society of Dauphin County; Return of the Troops . . . , *PA5*, I, 337.

¹⁵⁸ *PA1*, II, 614.

¹⁵⁹ Weiser to James Read, *CR*, VI, 650. Elder was the Presbyterian minister at Paxton; the other minister presumably was Richard Sankey at Hanover.

¹⁶⁰ *Id.* to Morris, October 30, 1755, *ibid.*, 656-59.

one of the officers commissioned by James Hamilton in early November at the time of the abortive militia expedition to John Harris';¹⁶¹ and it is known that he was active in the patrol system established soon afterward between the Schuylkill and the Susquehanna. Led by Weiser, Emanuel Carpenter, and Simon Adam Kuhn, thirty-two landowners in Tulpehocken and Heidelberg townships agreed on November 19 to maintain 150 men for a period of forty days, each man to receive "2 Shillings p^r Day, & 2 Pound of Bread, 2 Pounds of Beaff and a Jill of Rum, and Powder & Led, (Arms they must find themselves)." In spite of some dissatisfaction ("The Comon People From Lancaster County were the worst. The wages they said was a Trifle and said some Body pocketed the Rest, and they would resent it"), seventy men took post on November 23 in the part of Berks west of the Schuylkill, and an equal number in Lancaster County along the line of the mountain.¹⁶² Reed's participation in this defense is documented by a message sent by Kuhn to Weiser on November 26: "I take the freedom to trouble you with These few Lines Concerning Some powder and Lead if there is any to be had as our Company is in Need of it at Adam Reeds. . . ."¹⁶³ Edward Shippen later reported that on December 17 he supplied ammunition to "Adam Reed Esq^r, for the use of his Company in ranging along the mountain," and also "for the People at his Fort"; on the following day Shippen supplied "Sundry Inhabitants of the East End of Hanover Township, del^d to W^m Dever & Jn^o Hume, for their Use in ranging along the Mountain."¹⁶⁴

About this date part of the guard was replaced; companies under Captain Reynolds and Captain Wagoner, commissioned December 10, were posted between Reed's and the Berks County line.¹⁶⁵ The old guard, who had complained that their pay "was a Trifle," objected. As the Governor informed the Provincial Commissioners on March 12, 1756:

M^r Weiser informed me at Carlisle that the Guard placed by M^r Carpenter Mr Kuhne & him selfe along the Hills in Bethel townp left their Post at the Expiration of their Term & were relieved by two other Companys under the Command

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 670; *PAI*, II, 460-61.

¹⁶² Weiser to Morris, November 19, 1755, *PAI*, II, 505-506; Weiser *et al.* to Morris, November 24, 1755, *ibid.*, 511-12; petition from Tulpehocken and Heidelberg townships presented to the Assembly January 9, 1761, *PA8*, VI, 5172-73.

¹⁶³ Lancaster County Papers, 107, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

¹⁶⁴ Accounts of Powder at Lancaster, PPC, April 5, 1756; printed in *PAI*, II, 614.

¹⁶⁵ *CR*, VI, 755; *PA8*, V, 4359.

of Captⁿ Waggoner & Captⁿ Reynolds that the old guard upon hearing they were to be paid had insisted upon returning to their former posts which the new guard refused to give up, upon which application was made to me by one of the Officers sent Express to Carlisle for y^e purpose and I orderd that the New Guard should continue upon that service till they were relieved or till further orders, [*and I am now informed by Mr Carpenter & Mr Kuhn that they continued upon that service till relieved by Cap^t Smith*].—But as to the length of time these men were upon service, or the particular numbers employed I cannot certifie having never been regularly informed¹⁶⁶

In spite of this seemingly straightforward account, it is not clear that the old guard was actually disbanded.

Reed's company continued in service. In orders given at Carlisle on January 10, 1756, the Governor informed him that "The Commissioners thinking that the Company of fifty men under your Command are sufficient to guard the frontier along the Kittektiny Hills, from your own House to Hunter's Mill, Have refused for the present to take any other men in that quarter into the pay of the Government"; however, he ordered Reed to take ten men from Paxton Township and to post them and twenty of his own men at Hunter's.¹⁶⁷ On Morris' orders, the part of the old frontier guard stationed in Berks County continued in service a month beyond the time originally agreed on, or until about the end of January.¹⁶⁸

The official service of this old guard ended toward the end of January, 1756, when Provincial troops were assigned to designated posts in the defensive chain. On orders issued at Reading on January 26, Captain Thomas McKee and a company of thirty men relieved Reed's men at Hunter's Mill; and Captain Friedrich Schmitt (Frederick Smith), assigned with a company of fifty men to Fort Swatara and Fort Manada, replaced Reed's men posted at his own home. McKee and Schmitt were to receive the Provincial stores held by Captain Reed and also by Captain Hedrick (or Hendrick), "who is posted upon the Northern Frontier of the County of Lancaster," both of whom were to dismiss their men.¹⁶⁹ It was at Captain Hedrick's home that Fort Swatara was built.

¹⁶⁶ Rough draft in PPC; the bracketed words are canceled in the manuscript.

¹⁶⁷ Rough draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 545.

¹⁶⁸ *PA8*, VI, 5172-73.

¹⁶⁹ Rough drafts of orders to Reed, Schmitt, and McKee, January 26, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 551-54.

Actually, these units were not disbanded, but continued in service without official pay or status. On February 13, 1756, Lancaster County petitioners asked the Assembly to reimburse them for maintaining a frontier watch; and from a petition to the Governor on May 16, 1757, it appears that Derry Township, Lancaster County, had then for eighteen months since November, 1755, maintained a guard in Hanover Township at a cost of £300.¹⁷⁰

In a letter written August 21, 1756, from Fort Henry, Captain Busse informed Weiser that he had that day taken a scouting party "*nach Hederichs Wacht bey Emmirichs*" toward the Lancaster County line.¹⁷¹ A later reference to this guard appears in a letter on May 24, 1757, in which Peter Spycker refers to the "country watch [which] we had last Summer at our own Cost."¹⁷²

As previously noted, the Indian attacks of May, 1757, and the consequent petitions from Hanover and Derry townships induced the Governor and the commissioners to empower Weiser to take 159 men into pay for a three-month term of service to reinforce the garrisons of Fort Swatara and Fort Henry. The plan was variously interpreted. Governor Denny intended these new levies to serve under the regular Provincial officers; but the people wanted the government to pay the old guard, letting the men serve under their own officers. On May 24 Spycker wrote to Weiser that the people were afraid volunteers would be sent to Fort Augusta, "and will have the chosing of their own officers."¹⁷³ Four days later Captain Schmitt wrote to ask Weiser about the status of "*Reed's, und Hetterichs*" men.¹⁷⁴ In an interview at Fort Henry, the Governor settled the question of command, but there never was any doubt that these short-term volunteers were actually the men of the old guard. Lieutenant Martzloff in his journal refers on August 6 to one of "*Hetterichs Soldaten*" serving at Fort Swatara; and on September 6, when the three-month service was at an end, petitioners of Hanover and Paxton townships asked the Assembly for "Continuance of the Men under Messieurs *Read* and *Hendrick*, in the Pay of the Province, for their Protection."¹⁷⁵

The guard apparently was not maintained thereafter. On February 21, 1758, when Lieutenant Colonel Burd was at Fort Swatara, the

¹⁷⁰ *PA8*, V, 4193; *PA1*, III, 159.

¹⁷¹ Conrad Weiser Correspondence, I, 81; see *PA1*, II, 696, for another reference to "the Emericks."

¹⁷² Spycker to Denny, Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 61.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁷⁵ Martzloff Journal, PPC, August 19 [1757]; *PA8*, VI, 4626.

country people appealed to him for protection. Accordingly, when Burd arrived at Fort Henry, he the next day

Ordered Ensigne Craighead with 18 men of this Garrison to march tomorrow morning to Fort Swettarrow, and there to apply to Captⁿ Allen and to Receive from him 7 men, & with this party of 25 men to march from thence to Robertson's Mill [at Manada] there to take Post, to order from thence a Serj^t Corporall & 8 men to the house of Adam Read, Esq^r, & to Employ his whole party in Continuall ranging to Cover these Fronteers; This I found myself under a Necessity of doing, otherwise severall Townships here would be Evacuated in a few days.¹⁷⁶

By May protection again was wanting. On the second Reed wrote from Hanover to Edward Shippen at Lancaster:

I have no news at pst to write you and when I had any I Cold have no oppertunity as the Inhabetents of the frunteers fled in great Confusion and Now I Live where I have Not Maney Neighbours and No travelers nor any to Inform Me when the Indians is doing any damage so that I may see them before I hear of them for I Look upon it as a dishoner both to god and our Country to flie in this Maner before the heathen Let others do as they will I am Resolved to Live here and defend My Self as Long as Possable if the government would a Low Me a Litle help I Cold doe yet some service both to My self and others I Can have No Information what our government or Army is doing I hope if possable you Can give Me any from Either or both you will send it Me with y^e Bearer for if something be Not don this sumer all is Lost I desire to be Remembred to All My Bretheren for I Know Not when I will see them this with My Best Respects to your worship is the Needful at Pst ¹⁷⁷

The Governor was just ready to order the old companies of Provincials out of the forts to join General Forbes and to replace them with newly raised companies. Reed's patriotic expressions were not to be ignored, and Richard Peters, to whom Shippen sent the letter of May 2, endorsed it "May 2^d, 1758/ New Levees/ Adam Reed." Among the officers for the sixteen companies of the new 3d Battalion, with commissions arbitrarily dated May 1-18, Captain Adam Reed and his subalterns were commissioned as of May 4.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Burd Journal, PPC, March 10, 1758; printed in *PAI*, III, 353-54.

¹⁷⁷ PPC, May 2, 1758.

¹⁷⁸ *PA5*, I, 130-31, 174, 184. The three lists illustrate the dispute over Reed's subalterns.

Subsequent reports reflect not unusual difficulties with organization. On May 5 Peters wrote Joseph Shippen that "On the recommendation of the Justices, M^r Hugh Hall is made Ensign to Captⁿ Adam Read";¹⁷⁹ but on June 13 Reed wrote to Peters:

I Rec^d your Leter dated June y^e 10 and am Surprised that his Honour y^e Governor wol^d Charg Me with discharging Men that I Knew Nothing of as for Ensign Hall I told your worship Nothing but the Reall truth and Not all that for I Never see^d a Man as yet that I understod he Inlisted and as for My self I Never Made any objections against him but In-devered as Much as in My poure to Reconsile him and y^e Com-pany together and he Can Blame None for What hath hapen^d but his own Conduct I will Comply with the governors pleasure turn out as it will. acording to your derrections to Me I Came home and Choused John Simpson for Lut^t and James Petigrew for Ensign and the Governor May doe as semeth Best to his Honour I have Been in a Bad State ofhelth since I came home ocasion^d by Being Much weat with Rain and y^e Creeks and the want of Money so that I am Not so forward with Company as I Expected the Bearer John Simpson is Suficient to Bring the Remender of the Money and you May give him derrections as Semeth to you Best This Being the Needful at Pst

S^r I am your to Serve
ADAM REED

LANCASTER June y^e 13 1758

N:B James Petegrew hath serv^d as Ensign since ye 11 of May the day I Rec^d My Comison and John Simpson as Leut^t since the 4th Instant Petegrew hath Been at so Much Loss &c.¹⁸⁰

On the outside of this letter, Peters wrote: "M^r Young [the paymaster] is desired to enquire into the Affair betwⁿ Captⁿ Read & his Ensign & to endeavour to settle it to y^e Satisfaction of Both if not to be settled by a Court of Enquiry."

It was not intended that Reed's men should remain in this vicinity; and a list of garrisons drawn up by Richard Peters and dated June 17 lists no post between Fort Henry and Fort Hunter.¹⁸¹ On June 19 Major Joseph Shippen wrote from Lancaster to inform the Governor that "Lieut^t Simpson carried up yesterday orders for Cap^t Read's Com-pany to march" to join General Forbes; however, Reed had written

¹⁷⁹ *PAI*, III, 389.

¹⁸⁰ *PPC*.

¹⁸¹ [Peters], Stations . . . , *ibid*.

the day before to tell Shippen that Indians had that day killed a man a mile from Reed's home.¹⁸² "I dont Expect any Inhabitents to Stay in these parts without Some Assistance," said Reed; so, as Shippen reported to Major Halkett on June 23, "Cap^t Reed has received orders to march to Carlisle but the present Ineroachm^{ts} of the Indians upon the Inhabitants in his neighborhood has prevented him from an immediate Execution, of those orders."¹⁸³

By this time Fort Swatara, which had replaced Reed's as a place of defense in January, 1756, had been evacuated, and Reed's became again briefly a military post, garrisoned this time by Provincial troops. Writing from Carlisle on July 9 to inform Governor Denny of the disposal of Provincial garrisons, Shippen listed between Fort Hunter and Fort Henry "A Block House on Swahatara or in the Neighborhood of the Inhabitants," where Captain Reed was to be stationed with thirty-five men.¹⁸⁴ Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong, who was also at Carlisle and knew of this assignment, had his own irreverent opinion of Reed's green troops; and in a letter of July 8 he expressed himself with sarcastic humor:

The Cap^{ts} Reed & Mount Govery want Little but horn, hair & hoof. . . . our New Levys, all things Consider'd, both do, and appear very well, except those high Genious's Reed & Mountgomery. . . . Reed is appointed to his own Frontier; if he shou'd confine himself too much to his own borders I hope the Governor will Castrate him, as much cannot be expected from his breed.¹⁸⁵

The fact was, of course, that a poor reputation made Reed's men the less liable to be sent on the campaign, and the assignment approved by General Forbes indicates that the larger part of the company was indeed left at the blockhouse on Swatara Creek. The men's service there must have been quiet, and the company undoubtedly was disbanded in December, 1758, when the new levies were paid off.

FORT HUNTER

Fort Hunter stood on the Susquehanna River near present Rockville, Dauphin County. Consisting of a stockaded gristmill belonging to Samuel Hunter, it was originally part of the system of defenses organized locally in Lancaster and Berks counties. It was taken over

¹⁸² *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 459; *PAI*, III, 426-27.

¹⁸³ *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 457.

¹⁸⁴ *PAI*, III, 449; *PA5*, I, 241.

¹⁸⁵ *PAI*, III, 447; original in Dreer Collection.

by Colonel Clapham's battalion in May, 1756, and was therefore garrisoned by troops of the Augusta Regiment rather than by those of Lieutenant Colonel Weiser's 1st Battalion until July, 1757, when it was temporarily evacuated and then regarrisoned by Weiser's men. Provincials were stationed here probably until late the following year, after which the defenses were removed. In 1763, however, at the outbreak of Pontiac's War, this place was used again as a station for troops.

The Indian attack at Penns Creek on October 16, 1755, and the armed encounter between Indians and whites near the same place on October 25, together with the reported approach of a force of 1,500 French and Indians, occasioned the first establishment of a guard at this point. An "Extract of a Letter from Harris's Ferry, on Sasquehanna, Oct. 27," printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, reported that "There are gone up to Hunter's Mill, above Harris's upwards of 500 Men, but they are in want of Ammunition. It is said the French and Indians were seen marching into Shamokin."¹⁸⁶

A shipment of arms on October 28, "Sent to Penn's Creek, at the Time of the first Murders there, but stopped at *Harris's* by the People, and divided some to *Hunter's* Fort," helped relieve the shortage of ammunition.¹⁸⁷ In the first days of November a considerable force of militia from Lancaster and Chester counties moved up to Harris' but was dispersed both by realization that the reported enemy advance down river was imaginary and by the real Indian descent upon the Coves and Tonoloway on November 1. Samuel Wright wrote to Isaac Norris on November 2 that "all the Plantations are abandoned above Hunters where they are putting up a small Fort, but much below that, the people are flying, John Harris's family came down yesterday. . . ."¹⁸⁸

On November 8 "divers Inhabitants of Paxton-Narrows" about Hunter's petitioned the Assembly for a militia law or for funds to maintain troops and build forts, measures enacted into law on November 25 and 27.¹⁸⁹ Meanwhile the people maintained their own guard. On November 5, 1756, John Harris wrote Richard Peters that "Paxton Township has kept up a Strong Guard at Our Mountain, near these Twelve Months Past"; and at a later date Harris wrote

¹⁸⁶ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 30, 1755.

¹⁸⁷ *PA8*, V, 4357; also in *PA1*, II, 392. See also Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, III, 28-29; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 30, 1755.

¹⁸⁸ Du Simitière Papers, Indian Treaties, 49c, Library Company of Philadelphia.

¹⁸⁹ *PA8*, V, 4104.

"that in Consequence of Instructions from *George Croghan*, in *December*, 1755, he continued a Guard of Thirty-two Men upon the Frontiers of the said Township, for the Space of Eighteen Days, agreeable to Orders received from *Benjamin Franklin*, Esq." ¹⁹⁰ The presence of a guard here in the early part of that month is attested by Edward Shippen's report that on December 9, 1755, he furnished ammunition to "Thomas Forster Esq^r., & Thos McKee, at Hunter's Fort." ¹⁹¹

On December 16 Shippen wrote William Allen that according to John Harris "the people of Paxton Township have kept out a Constant Guard of 30 and 50 Men upwards of 6 Weeks at the Blue Mountain." The settlement not being able to maintain this unpaid guard at full strength, "10 men were hired at the Expende of 2/6 $\overline{7}$ Diem for Eight Days from the 12th instant to Join 30 Volunteers who were still willing to give their Assistance" pending Provincial help. This not arriving, Shippen had authorized Harris "in the Commis^{rs} Name to keep up a Guard of 30 hired men a Week longer. . . . If these steps are Approved of a Letter Should be immediately Sent to Harris to be Communicated to his Neighbours for their Encouragement." ¹⁹²

Of the 140 men sent out on November 20 to range along the frontier west of the Schuylkill, half served in Lancaster County. These patrols presumably ranged westward to the Susquehanna; and Governor Morris' orders of January 10, 1756, to Captain Adam Reed show that at that date Hunter's was one of the line of frontier posts. Reed, whose company of fifty men was to patrol from his home below Indian-town Gap to Hunter's, was instructed to detach his lieutenant and twenty men "to the fort at Hunter's Mill" and enlist ten more men from Paxton Township to provide a garrison of thirty men. ¹⁹³

This arrangement lasted only until January 26, when Captain Schmitt, posted at Swatara, was ordered to replace the eastern part of Reed's company and Captain Thomas McKee was ordered to replace the western detachment. ¹⁹⁴ McKee was commissioned captain of a company "to consist of twenty-eight men and two sergeants, besides yourself and your Lieute^t," and he was ordered "to march to a place called Hunter's Mill, upon the river Sasquehannah, and Either compleat the fort already begun there, or build another at such other convenient place as James Gilbreth, Esq^r shall advise, who is requested

¹⁹⁰ *PAI*, III, 33-34; *PA8*, VI, 5385. Franklin was one of the Provincial Commissioners under the supply act passed November 27, 1755.

¹⁹¹ *PAI*, II, 614.

¹⁹² Penn Manuscripts. Official Correspondence, VII, 185.

¹⁹³ *PAI*, II, 545.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 552-54.

to go with you for that purpose." Reed's officer was to turn over to McKee any Provincial stores on hand, and James Galbreath and Barnabas Hughes were to supply the new garrison with provisions.¹⁹⁵

The presence of "30 men at Samuel Hunter Mill under Capt McKee," noted by Weiser in a letter of February 13 to William Parsons, is reflected also in the disbursement by Shippen on February 24 of ammunition to "Sundry Inhabitants of Paxton del'd to James Gilbreest [Gilbreth?], for the use of their Fort," and also by Provincial expenditures on March 10 and May 19 to Galbreath and Hughes for provisioning "90 Men at Hunter's Mill, &c."¹⁹⁶

On February 2, meanwhile, Conrad Weiser sent two friendly Indians, Silverheels (Aroas) and David, up the Susquehanna for news, and on the same day the Governor notified Captain McKee of this and instructed him how to treat the Indians on their return. When, on February 21, these Indians returned to Philadelphia, Governor Morris learned to his displeasure that McKee had left his post to escort them down from Fort Hunter.¹⁹⁷

Further occupation with Indian affairs appears in McKee's letter of April 5, written from the "Foart at Hunters Mill" to inform Edward Shippen of the arrival of John Shikellamy. This Indian was a son of the Six Nations representative at Shamokin who had died in 1748. When in the fall of 1755 the Delaware Indians about Shamokin fled up the North Branch, they had taken John Shikellamy with them as a hostage. He had been brought from Wyoming by Silverheels in February, but had returned to get some of his family, with whom he arrived at McKee's post on April 3. Now he insisted that McKee conduct them to Conestoga, which McKee felt he must do, though as he wrote, "Im Loath to Leave my Post, as his Honour was offended at ye last time I did" in February.¹⁹⁸

At this time Governor Morris was drawing up plans for the Shamokin expedition; and on April 7 he ordered Colonel Clapham to "appoint . . . Hunters Mill, or some convenient place near it, for the Gen^l Rendezvous of your regiment now raising."¹⁹⁹ Shippen went up from Lancaster to "Capt. McKees Fort" at Hunter's to inspect the

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 551-55, 563-64. A note, "James Gelbreth and Barnabas Hughs having contracted to supply the garrison under your Command with Provisions," appears in an unpublished portion of the orders to McKee, PPC, January 26, 1756.

¹⁹⁶ Weiser to Parsons, Horsfield Papers, II, 103; disbursements reported in *PAI*, II, 614, and *PA8*, V, 4359, 4365.

¹⁹⁷ *PAI*, II, 564; *CR*, VII, 33-34, 46-55.

¹⁹⁸ *PAI*, II, 615-16; *CR*, VII, 50-54, 65.

¹⁹⁹ *PAI*, II, 616.

rendezvous, and on April 19 made his report to the Governor. He had talked, he said, with John Shikellamy and his company, who were still at the fort, and was warned by them that "if we attempt to go up to Shamokin to build a Fort, we may expect to be attacked by a body of five hundred Indians in our march." Harris', Shippen thought, would be a better place than Fort Hunter for storing supplies; "Hunters house indeed, would answer such a purpose were it Stockado'd; but as it is quite naked, and stands five or six hundred feet from the Fort, the enemy may Surprise it in ye night, and kill the people, and set ye roof on fire in three or four places at once. . . . the Enemy can come over the hills at Five Miles Distance from McKees Fort."²⁰⁰

John Shikellamy told Shippen the Indians wanted to go "down to Barny Hughes, where Capt. McKees woman, and Children live"; and shortly afterward Shippen reported "that John Shekallemy is gone off, which McKee attributed to y^e threats he received from the country People."²⁰¹

Since McKee's company was then about to be disbanded, Edward Shippen's son Joseph, commissioned a captain in Colonel Clapham's new regiment, asked McKee to enlist some of his men for Shippen: "young active men of no less than five feet six inches high . . . as fast as you enlist them I beg you will send them to M^r John Harris, who will entertain till I send him further Directions." On April 20 the Governor asked the Provincial Commissioners to arrange for McKee's men to be paid off at Harris' by Commissary Saltar.²⁰² The actual change of command at the fort is dated by a receipt for Provincial supplies turned over by McKee to Captain Nathaniel Miles of Clapham's regiment, a document valuable also for the light it sheds on the nature of the supplies to be found at such a post.

Rec^d May y^e 11th 1756 from Cap^t Thomas McKee Two Hundred & Seventy Nine w^t of Dry beef w^{ch} he rec^d this Morning
Pr Barnibas Hughes Wagner
More/fifteen w^t of Dry beef which he had rec^d formarly
More/five hundred w^t of flower Neat rec^d by him Pr the
wagner afs^d this Day
19 Blankets dld by him to me this Day
more 8 Gunns belonging to y^e Provance 6 of them from Cap^t
McKee & 2 belonging to Justice Reed

²⁰⁰ PPC; printed in *PAL*, II, 634-35.

²⁰¹ Morris to Peters, April 28, 1756, *ibid.*, 647; see also *CR*, VII, 148, 244.

²⁰² Shippen to McKee, April 16, 1756, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 369; Morris to the Commissioners, *PAL*, II, 637.

More/ to 6 axes belonging to y^e Province

More to 3 Shovells & 2 Spads

More—to 4 Maull rings

More to 3 Large brass Cattles

To 19^{lb} of Powder bagg & all

To 19 $\frac{3}{4}$ ^{lb} of Bullits Cattle and all

To 9 Gallons of Rum

To 3^{lb} of Nails

I Acknowledge that I have Rec^d y^e above articles which belongs to y^e Province Rec^d from Cap^t Tho^s McKee y^e Day & Year afs^d—Cap^t Nath^l Miles²⁰³

Just following this transfer of command, Captain Shippen wrote from John Harris' that Governor Morris, Colonel Clapham, and sixty men were going up to Hunter's. This in effect was the first short step in Clapham's march to Shamokin.²⁰⁴

It should be noted that the change of command at Hunter's took place before the organization of the 1st Pennsylvania Regiment, in which Conrad Weiser and John Armstrong were commissioned lieutenant colonels on May 5 and 11; in the defensive chain east of the Susquehanna as a consequence, only Fort Hunter did not come under Weiser's command.

For about a year Fort Hunter was garrisoned by detachments of Colonel William Clapham's Augusta Regiment, with headquarters at Fort Augusta. Before Clapham's troops set out from McKee's Store (present Dauphin) on June 5, 1756, for their march to Shamokin, the Colonel "station'd a Party of Twenty Four Men, under the command of M^r Johnson, at Hunters Fort, with orders to defend the Post and the Neighbourhood, and to escort any Provisions that should come up to him up to McKees Store."²⁰⁵ Ensign Johnson commanded apparently until about the beginning of November; orders of November 3, addressed to "M^r Johnson or M^r Mears," indicate a change of command about that date.

Ensign John Mears, the new commander, transferred here from McKee's Store, soon found himself in trouble. Clapham's order of November 3 instructed the commander at Fort Hunter to furnish fifteen men to escort the wagon master Robert Erwin to Fort Halifax.²⁰⁶ Ensign Mears informed Erwin, however, "that Col^o Clapham

²⁰³ PPC, May 11, 1756.

²⁰⁴ Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, May [15], 1756, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 377.

²⁰⁵ Clapham to Morris, June 11, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 663-64.

²⁰⁶ Copy enclosed with *id.* to *id.*, November 23, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 17, 65-66.

had no Command of him nor of his men: that he shou'd not pay any Regard to these Orders of Colonel Claphams or the Governours, for how cou'd the Governor give him the Command of that Fort and yet Command it himself."²⁰⁷ Clapham thereupon placed Mears under arrest and replaced him with Ensign Jacob Kern of Captain Busse's company, who had arrived at Fort Augusta on October 18 with reinforcements from Weiser's battalion. Kern's "Return of the State of the Garrison at Fort Hunter," dated November 13, gives the strength of the post at his arrival. The garrison comprised two sergeants and thirty-four "privet Men," two of whose time of service had expired; the ammunition included four and one-half pounds of powder and twenty-eight of lead; and the provisions consisted of one thousand pounds of flour and two thousand of beef.²⁰⁸

Busse's men left Fort Augusta on November 19 to return to their own posts. Mears, no doubt more appreciative than before of the facts of military command, apparently was returned to his post.

In consequence of an Indian attack in Hanover Township, Lancaster County, the people of Paxton Township maintained a guard of twenty men for the month of November 3 to December 3, in effect reinforcing the garrison at Fort Hunter.²⁰⁹

On January 26, 1757, Major Burd, commanding at Fort Augusta in Clapham's absence, sent Ensign Joseph Scott to Fort Hunter to relieve Ensign Mears, to whom Governor Denny had granted a leave of absence. At the same time Burd sent Lieutenant Patrick Davis with a party to build "a Room for the Officers & Barracks for the Soldiers . . . in Hunters Fort." Davis returned to Fort Augusta on February 16 and Scott two days later; presumably, Mears resumed command.²¹⁰

Not long afterward plans were made to abandon this post. On March 14 the British commander, the Earl of Loudoun, arrived at Philadelphia to discuss military plans with the governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina. In consultations with Clapham, Weiser, and Armstrong, proposals were drawn up for more effective concentration of the Pennsylvania forces. Of Clapham's regiment, four hundred men were to garrison Fort Augusta; and, to maintain communication with that post, "there shou'd be one hundred

²⁰⁷ Erwin to Clapham, undated copy enclosed with Clapham to Morris, November 23, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 64-65.

²⁰⁸ PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 52.

²⁰⁹ Harris to Peters, November 5, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 33-34.

²¹⁰ Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 757, 762 (1876 ed.); Burd to Scott and Burd to Davis, January 25, 1757, Burd Letter Book, Shippen Family Papers.

in Garrison at Fort Halifax, and for the present Fifty at Hunter's Mill. These last were to be otherwise disposed of when the Magasine shou'd be removed from Hunters, which it was determined shou'd be done as soon as possible, and the Fort there demolished."²¹¹

The date of the evacuation is uncertain; but the fact is reflected in an appeal addressed to Richard Peters by the Reverend John Elder of Paxton, dated July 30, 1757:

As we of this Township have Petition'd the Gov^r. for a removal of the Garrison from Halifax to Hunter's, I beg the favour of you to use your interest with his Hon^r on our behalf. The Defence of Halifax is of no advantage, but a Garrison at Hunter's, under the Command of an active Officer, will be of great Service; it will render the carriage of Provisions & Ammunition for the use of Augusta more easy & less expensive, and by encouraging the Inhabitants to continue in their Places, will prevent the weakening of the frontier Settlements; we have only hinted at these things in the Petition, which you'll please to enlarge on in Conversation with the Gov^r. . . .²¹²

On August 24 "A Petition from the Inhabitants of *Paxton Township*" was presented to the Assembly by Matthew Cowden, "setting forth, that the small Company of Provincials, stationed at Fort *Hunter*, being removed from thence, has left the neighbouring Settlements exposed to great Danger." A similar petition presented to the Governor was considered in Council the next day, when Commissary James Young reported that Fort Halifax was poorly placed and asserted "that tho' the Fort, or Blockhouse, at Hunter's was not tenable, being hastily erected, and not finished, yet the Situation was the best upon the River for every Service, as well as for the Protection of the Frontiers." On August 26 the "Petitioners from *Paxton* and *Derry Townships*" informed the Assembly "that the Governor had been pleased to appoint a Company of Fifty Men, under the Command of Captain *Bussé*, to range from Fort *Hunter* to *Mannida Gap*, for their Protection, which in great Measure answered the Prayer of their Petition."²¹³ For the time, the Fort Halifax garrison was continued.

This arrangement in fact proved satisfactory to no one. Weiser complained bitterly to the Governor about the further weakening of

²¹¹ Denny to the Proprietors, April 10, 1757, draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 119.

²¹² *Ibid.*, 251. The reference to a petition suggests the possibility, however, that this letter was misdated and should be a month later.

²¹³ *PA8*, VI, 4618-19, 4621-22; *CR*, VII, 724.

his 1st Battalion, a hundred men of which were then reinforcing Fort Augusta. Moreover, a new company under Captain James Patterson, commissioned December 10, 1756, and nominally assigned to the 1st Battalion, had in fact been sent to Fort Augusta instead of being placed at Weiser's disposal.²¹⁴ In May, 1757, the government had authorized the enlistment of 159 three-month men to reinforce Forts Lebanon, Henry, and Swatara; but now this benefit was partly cancelled by requiring Weiser to guard part of the frontier not previously under his supervision, and at the end of three months the short-term men were discharged.

On September 19 Indians killed two men and captured one woman in Lebanon Township; and a few days later Weiser drafted an angry letter to the Governor:

It is probably that if your Honour had permitted to recall my men from fort augusta according to my request the last murder on Suartara & ca would not have ben comited for how is it possible for to garrison fort Henry *with 30*. The fort on Suartaro *with 30* and Hunters fort with 100 men and also to Send out strong ranging parties between Said forts?

In his rough draft of the letter Weiser seems to say that there were a hundred men at Fort Hunter; more probably, he intended to strike out the phrases which he underlined, so that the final figure represents the total strength of the three forts.²¹⁵

On October 1 three Indians killed William Martin "within twenty rods of Hunter's Barn" and visible from the door of his house. Again the people of Paxton and Derry townships agreed to maintain a guard to reinforce the troops, who were weakened by patrolling and sickness.²¹⁶ By October 3 Busse had fourteen men sick; and just after this he himself lay "dangerously sick at John Harris."²¹⁷ Writing later to Commissary Young, Captain Busse, who was a doctor and German, described his illness in some detail.

As this hinders my from all Business, please Sir, to let me know before, the Time, when you expect to set out from there to Delaware. If it is very soon, then I must send for a English scolar to bring the Lists in Order, as I can't writ before

²¹⁴ *PA5*, I, 70. For Patterson's presence at Fort Augusta as late as September, 1757, see *PA2*, II, 816-17 (1876 ed.).

²¹⁵ Undated draft in Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 125, evidently written about September 25, 1757. Weiser's underlined phrases are printed in italics.

²¹⁶ Bartrem Galbreath to [], October 1, 1757, *PA1*, III, 277 (extract); Busse to Denny, October 3, 1757, *ibid.*, 279-80.

²¹⁷ Weiser to Peters, October 4, 1757, *ibid.*, 283.

evening, and that whit great Difficulty. Sickness and mortality increases daily in these neighbourhood. My Ensign, both Serjants, both Corporals are very sick in the Fort, but the greatest part seems to grow beter.²¹⁸

Busse returned to duty a few days afterward however. Lieutenant Martzloff had come from Fort Swatara to help him; and Weiser, who visited Busse at Harris', also sent Ensign Kern of Busse's own company to Fort Hunter.²¹⁹

Soon after this the place suffered another Indian visitation. On October 17, "as four of the Inhabitants, near Hunter's Fort, were pulling their Indian Corn, they were fired on by a Party of Indians, when two of them (Alexander Watt, and John McKennet) were killed and scalped, and their Heads cut off; the other two escaped. . . ." At Peters Mountain, however, about six or seven miles above Fort Hunter, the retreating Indians, some twenty in number, met Captain Patrick Work and his garrison marching down from Fort Halifax and were put to flight.²²⁰

At the end of October Ensign Kern and fifteen men of Busse's company were sent by Weiser to escort the commissioners appointed to build a town for Teedyuscung. These commissioners set out from Fort Hunter on November 3 to go by way of Fort Augusta to Wyoming; and they returned to Lancaster County on November 23 after accomplishing only part of their work.²²¹

Busse's detachments were succeeded at Fort Hunter by Captain James Patterson's company of rangers, brought down from Fort Augusta. Patterson's "second Journal," covering the period from December 5, 1757, to January 10, 1758, shows that patrols headed by Patterson and by Lieutenant Samuel Allen (formerly of Reynolds' company) patrolled "the Frontiers of Paxton and Mannadys" between Fort Hunter and Robinson's Fort. From December 20 to January 5, however, Patterson and fifteen men ranged twenty-five miles up Juniata River, apparently to the Captain's former post at Patterson's Fort.²²²

²¹⁸ Busse to Young, October 11, 1757, PPC.

²¹⁹ Weiser to Denny, October 16, 1757, *PAI*, III, 293. Martzloff had written Weiser on October 3 that he had twenty-one men at Hunter's Mill. See Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 93.

²²⁰ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 27, 1757. For the encounter between the Indians and Work's party, see also Work to Burd, "Fort at Hunters," October 18, 1757, Shippen Family Papers, III, 71.

²²¹ *PAI*, III, 316-17, 318-19.

²²² Patterson Journal, PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 331-32. His "first journal" has not been found.

In the military reorganization which became effective in January, 1758, Weiser's battalion was broken up and Patterson's company was assigned to Colonel Armstrong's new 1st Battalion. Patterson was recommissioned as of December 16, 1757, with Lieutenant Nicholas Conrad (December 22, from Orndt's company) and Ensign Edmund Mathews (March 14) as subalterns. Lieutenant Allen of Patterson's company was promoted as of January 9, 1758, to captain lieutenant of the "Governor's own" company (formerly Schmitt's) and was placed in command of Fort Swatara.²²³

Adjutant Jacob Kern, ordered by Lieutenant Colonel Burd on January 21 "to Visit all the Comp^{ys} of the Provincial Troops that are Stationed on the East Side of the River Susquahanna, from Hunters Fort to the River Delaware,"²²⁴ traveled along the defense line from east to west and in early February came here from Fort Lebanon:

D^o 3 I arrived at fort Hunter

D^o 4 I mustered that Comp^a they have no Ammission

D^o 5 I arrived at Lancaster²²⁵

In his return dated February 5 Kern reported Fort Hunter garrisoned by Captain Patterson and forty men; according to Commissary Young (February 9), there was "At the Fort at Hunter's Mill, one Comp^y 54 [men]." In a proposed distribution of troops of about this same date, Young recommended "at Hunters Fort one Company."²²⁶

Burd himself inspected the post on February 18:

. . . arrived at dark found the Capt^{ns} Patterson & Davis²²⁷ here with 80 men . . . Ordered a Review of the Garrison tomorrow Morning at 9 A:M

19th Sunday

Had a Review this morning of Captⁿ Patterson's Co and found them Compleat 53 men, 44 Province arms, & 44 Cartouch boxes, no powder, nor lead, divided 1½ pint of powder & lead in Proportion a man, found in this Fort 4 months Provision for the Garrison.

Captⁿ Patterson can't Scout at present for want of Officers, Ordered him to apply to the Country to Assist him to stockade

²²³ *Ibid.*, 337; *PA5*, I, 116-17, 128-29.

²²⁴ Burd, orders to Kern, *PA1*, III, 334-35.

²²⁵ Kern Journal, Gratz Collections.

²²⁶ *PA1*, III, 339-41; *PA5*, I, 362.

²²⁷ Captain Patrick Davis, of the former Augusta Regiment but now assigned to Armstrong's 1st Battalion, was not stationed at Fort Hunter; he and a party of fifty-five men were on the way to Fort Augusta.

the Fort agreeable to their promise to His Honr the Governr.
—3 men sick here²²⁸

Mobilization of forces for General Forbes' campaign occasioned further changes in the garrison at this post; in general, the seasoned troops were withdrawn from the forts to join Forbes and their places were taken by detachments of the new levies raised at this time. On May 11 the Governor ordered the five companies in the eastern part of the defense chain to march to Reading; as for the garrisons of Hunter, Swatara, and Henry, "The Governors Company and those of Busses Weisers and Pattersons are to hold themselves in readiness to march where the Paymaster shall give Notice to them to receive their Pay."²²⁹

Patterson was still in command here about May 25 when a party of Indians arrived at Fort Hunter on their way from Philadelphia. To Jagrea, a Six Nations Indian who had served the Province, Captain Patterson gave a flag for identification; and Jagrea and three other Indians left together. The next morning, however, "Jegra returned to the fort, beet in a most cruel manner, of which he died the next day."²³⁰ His Indian companions, who, as was learned later, also killed a "Dutch Man in Lancaster County," appeared at Fort Augusta on May 26, and on May 30 stopped for the night at Wyoming, where Provincial commissioners were completing the town for Teedyuscung and his followers. Teedyuscung, who mistook Jagrea's flag for "French Colours," took it from one of the party, a Conestoga Indian named Bill Sock, and sent the Governor this evidence of Bill Sock's activities.²³¹

A return of garrisons dated June 17, 1758, reports an officer and thirty men "At Fort Hunter in Lan^{er} [County]."²³² However, the arrival of a garrison of new levies is reported in a letter of July 1 from Captain Levi Trump at Fort Augusta to Governor Denny: "Cap^t. Rob^t Eastburn & Cap^t Jackson arrived here the 20th Ult^o, with part of their Companies. Thirty of their men, according to orders, they left at Hunter's Fort, under the Command of Ensign Price."²³³

²²⁸ Burd Journal, PPC, March 10, 1758; printed in *PAI*, III, 352.

²²⁹ Berks and Montgomery County Papers, 61.

²³⁰ Peter Bard to Denny, July 1, 1758, PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 433. See also *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 22, 1758.

²³¹ Joseph H. Coates (ed.), "Journal of Isaac Zane to Wyoming, 1758," in *PMHB*, XXX (1906), 423-24; John Hughes, report to Denny, June 7, 1758, *CR*, VIII, 135.

²³² [Peters], Stations . . . , PPC.

²³³ *PAI*, III, 430. See also Peter Bard to Denny, same date, *ibid.*, 432.

These were two of the twenty-three new companies, sixteen of which made up a new 3d Battalion under Colonel Hugh Mercer. Both companies were from Philadelphia; Jackson's was under Colonel Mercer, but Eastburn's, of which George Price was ensign, was assigned to Burd's 2d Battalion.²³⁴

The unfinished state of this fort after almost three years of use is reported in a letter of July 7, 1758, written from Carlisle by a British ensign, Richard Dudgeon:

Pursuant to an Order Received from Gen^l Forbes, the 5th Inst., I have been to Inspect the State of Fort Hunter, & am of Opinion that Stockading of it, & Opening & Deepning the Ditch, according to the Scheme left with the Commanding Officer there, will be sufficient to protect it against any Indian Attack. The said Commanding Officer, by the Gen^{ls} Order, is to see the Work Executed, by imploying the Country People. But as it's apprehended he may meet with difficultys in calling in this assistance, I am desired by the Gen^l to signify this to you.²³⁵

That Ensign Price had such difficulties is apparent in his own letter to the Governor dated July 22:

Whereas I have the honour to bear a Commission in your Regiment, I was left in the Garrison of Fort Hunter and received Orders from Gen^l Forbes to repair it, and sent an Engineer to inspect into the condition; who found Necessary to stockade it, for which Purpose I was to get the Country People; and accordingly apply'd to the several Justices of the Peace for the Townships of Paxton and Donegal, which latter I never had any answer from but was inform'd by Parson Elder of Paxton, whose word is the same wth that of the Justices, as they act in conjunction in such affairs, that till harvest be over the country People can do nothing; therefore thought proper to acquaint you of this as a duty incumbent, also that I am relieved and that should the work of the Fort be Pospon'd till harvest be over, 'twill be yet three Weeks before they begin.

.....
P.S. the stockades are Cut.²³⁶

General Forbes, it should be noted, had ordered the officers and seventy men of Eastburn's and Jackson's companies to join his forces at Raystown.²³⁷

²³⁴ *PA5*, I, 128-31, 174.

²³⁵ Dudgeon to Denny, PPC; printed in *PA1*, III, 422.

²³⁶ PPC; printed in *PA1*, III, 488.

²³⁷ Levi Trump to Denny, July 19, 1758, PPC; printed in *PA1*, III, 480.

In the month he had commanded at Fort Hunter, Ensign Price too had had some experience of Indian misbehavior, which Captain Levi Trump at Fort Augusta reported to the Governor in a letter of July 19: "On the 13th inst., Cap^t Hembus and Ja^s Cotas had some difference at hunters, and the former in the dead time of the night kill'd the latter."²³⁸ Both men were Delaware Indians. Hambus had come from Bethlehem to Fort Augusta in February; and from the latter place he had gone twice to scout the French posts, once accompanied by two other Indians to Fort Duquesne, once with two Indians and a white soldier to French Creek. Returned from the second expedition, he was on his way to join Forbes' army when he killed Cotas. According to a later account of this affair, "James Cotties" was the Indian who on October 1, 1757, had killed Martin near Fort Hunter.²³⁹

In the next change of garrisons here, the expected relief mentioned by Ensign Price in his letter of July 22, the command probably was taken over by Lieutenant Andrew Finley of Captain David Hunter's company, new levies assigned to Colonel Armstrong's 1st Battalion. Major Joseph Shippen's instructions for the garrisons east of Susquehanna, issued July 9, 1758, on General Forbes' orders, had assigned this lieutenant and twenty-eight men to Fort Hunter; and we may suppose that Finley took command before the end of the month.²⁴⁰

There are few later references to Fort Hunter between this time and the outbreak of Pontiac's War in 1763. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of October 5, 1758, contains one such report:

A letter from Fort-Hunter, dated the 15th ult. mentions, that a few Days before, one Walter Bell, and his Son, were killed and scalped by the Indians, in Hanover Township, Lancaster County; and that another Son of said Bell's, and a Soldier, were carried off by them.

The disbanding of the new levies near the end of this year may have ended for the time the maintenance of a regular garrison at this place. The name and the military value of the post are referred to in an appeal made to the Assembly on November 18 by the Commissioners for Indian Affairs. Referring to "the Disappointments and Delays which have already occurred in the Transportation of Goods from Fort *Hunter* to Fort *Augusta*," the commissioners urged that a road be cut from Berks County to the upper fort. Benjamin Lightfoot,

²³⁸ *Ibid.*

²³⁹ Loudon (ed.), *Narratives*, II, 184-85.

²⁴⁰ *PA1*, III, 449; *PA5*, I, 241.

ordered thereupon to survey the route, completed his work in 1759; but several years were to elapse before the road was opened and replaced the river route by way of Fort Hunter.²⁴¹

Once the garrison was removed and the danger of further attacks seemed past, the defensive works probably were regarded as interfering with normal use of the mill and therefore were removed. When Pontiac's War broke out in 1763 and troops were again stationed here, the Reverend John Elder wrote Governor Hamilton that "the Entrenchment thrown up there in the beginning of the late troubles [in 1755], is now level with the Ground."²⁴² The place was used as a patrol station during the period of renewed hostility, but although the designation Fort Hunter continued in use, there is no record of further defensive works at this place.

²⁴¹ *PA8*, VI, 4895, 4990, 5093; VII, 6381-82.

²⁴² Elder to Hamilton, October 25, 1763, *PA1*, IV, 127. When Elder says in this same letter that he has "alwise kept a small party of the men stationed at Hunter's," he is speaking of the period since July 11 of the same year when Governor Hamilton commissioned him commander of the two companies to be raised in Lancaster County. See *ibid.*, 114-17.

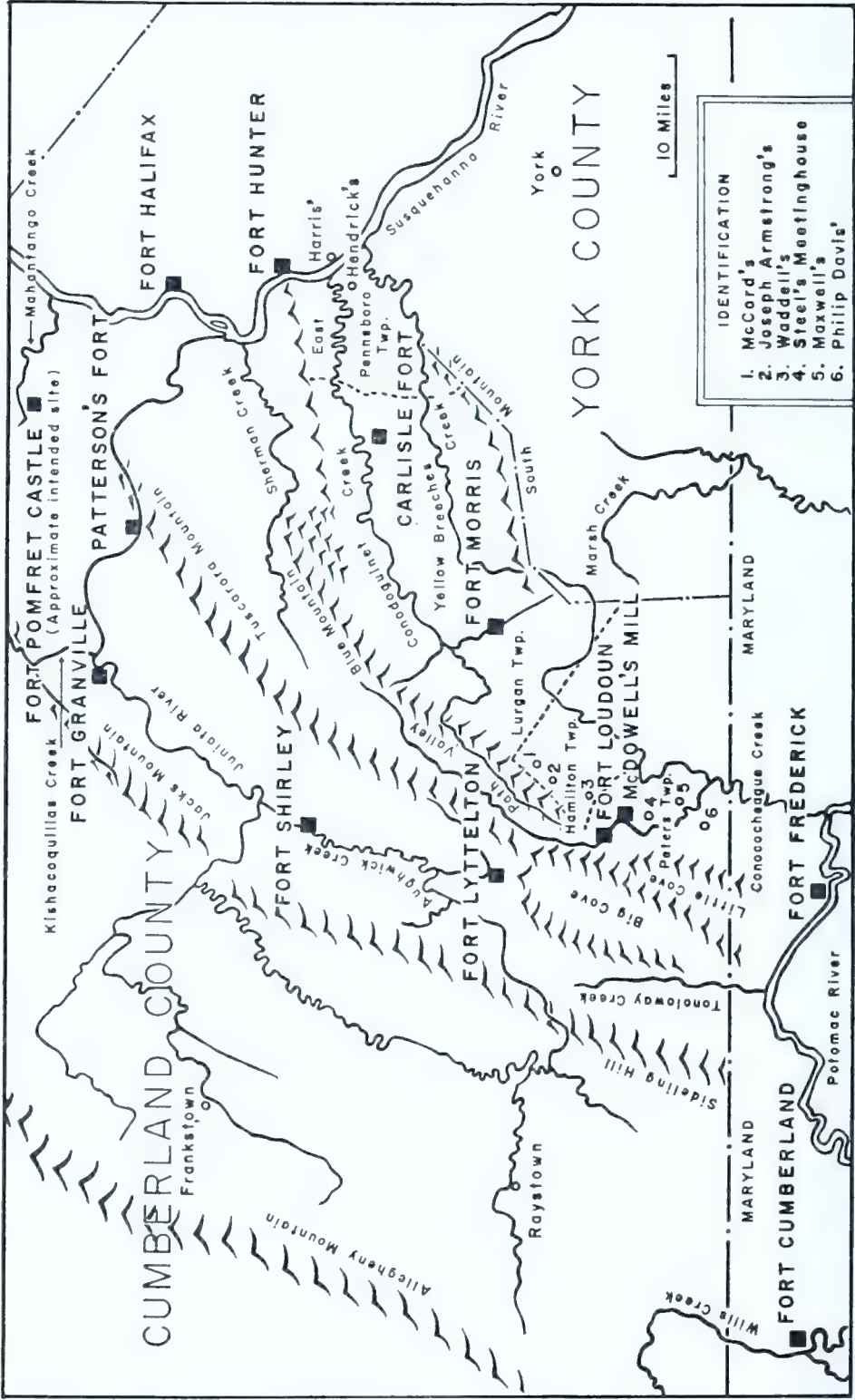
CHAPTER NINE

Provincial Forts in Cumberland County

AS APPROVED by Governor Morris in January, 1756, the part of the defensive chain lying west of the Susquehanna in Cumberland County was to include four forts: Fort Pomfret Castle on Mahantango Creek (perhaps near present Richfield, Juniata County), Fort Granville (near present Lewistown, Mifflin County), Fort Shirley (present Shirleysburg, Huntingdon County), and Fort Lyttelton (present Fort Littleton, Fulton County). Probably in recognition of their more advanced and more widely separated positions, these forts were assigned companies of seventy-five men each in contrast with the thirty- or fifty-man companies east of the river. The captains at the four forts were, respectively, James Patterson, James Burd, George Croghan, and Hance Hamilton; Croghan had been commissioned on December 17, 1755, and the others were commissioned in January, 1756.

The tone of satisfaction and self-congratulation apparent in the Governor's somewhat premature announcements of these military preparations is amusing. The men had been enlisted and the work carried forward by Croghan, who had been commissioned by James Hamilton in the Governor's absence. Morris' contribution in January was to commission additional officers, to name the forts, and to order Patterson's Fort on the Juniata near present Mexico, Juniata County, replaced by the proposed Fort Pomfret Castle. This part of the defensive line was not completed as soon as Morris first anticipated and later reported. On January 21 the Governor wrote from Carlisle to inform his Council that "three of these Forts are already in hand, and I hope will soon be finished, the fourth I have ordered to be laid out as soon as possible, and expect it will be complete in about ten days"; and on January 29 he informed Governor Sharpe of Maryland that "On the west side of Sasquehana the forts are already erected."¹ But Fort Pomfret Castle, though laid out, was never completed. On February 17 the Governor commissioned a fifth captain in this county, John

¹ Morris to the Council, *CR*, VI, 776; *id.* to Sharpe, *PAI*, II, 556.



FORTS IN CUMBERLAND COUNTY

Potter, whom he ordered to erect an additional fort "at an equal Distance between Fort Lyttleton . . . & a Maryland Fort near the Northern Bend of Patowmec";² but this fort, too, remained unbuilt. West of the Susquehanna the Provincial military story was to be one of retreat rather than of expansion.

Much more than the lands east of the Susquehanna, Cumberland County suffered severe and repeated enemy attacks. Apprehension of a French invasion, prevalent in this county after Braddock's defeat, is reflected in the strong reaction to the rumor in October, 1755, of fifteen hundred French and Indians descending the Susquehanna. Even after the experience of this deception, the idea of a French invasion died hard. Writing to General Shirley on February 9, 1756, Morris observed of Fort Lyttelton that, "being upon a road that within a few miles Joyns Gen^l Braddocks rout, it will prevent the march of any regulars that way into the Province."³ Several times in this and the following year, rumors of French invasion occasioned new alarms.

The actual attacks were not so much the work of the French, however, as of their allies, the Ohio Delawares. These Delawares had removed to the Ohio from eastern Pennsylvania. Long under English influence, linked with the Province by ties of trade and under the supervision of the Six Nations, these Indians had been accounted a friendly people. Subsequent to the death of the Delaware "king" (or diplomatic spokesman) Alumapees at Shamokin in 1747, the Ohio Iroquois, Virginia, and Pennsylvania had in 1752 recognized his nephew Shingas as "king" of the Ohio Delawares. The events of 1753-1755, however, took these Indians into the French camp. The military failures of Washington and Braddock and the withdrawal of the English traders and the pro-British Iroquois from the upper Ohio weakened the old ties; and the success of the French military occupation, dependence upon French trade, and fear of the invader's Indian allies were inducements to make the new alliance.

From headquarters at Kittanning, Delaware raiders led by Shingas and Captain Jacobs made severe inroads on Cumberland County. Winter interrupted their raids after the attack on the Coves and Tonoloway on November 1, 1755. On January 27, 1756, however, there were attacks on the lower Juniata and Shermans Creek,⁴ and in

² Richard Peters to the Proprietors, February 23, 1756, Peters Letter Book, Gratz Collections. For the date of the commission see *PA5*, I, 70.

³ *PA1*, II, 569.

⁴ Thomas Barton to Peters, "Redding" [Reading Township, York County], February 6, 1756, *ibid.*, 568; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 5 and 12, 1756.

early February on the Conococheague.⁵ Defying the offer made in Philadelphia of seven hundred dollars for their heads,⁶ Shingas and Jacobs on February 29 attacked David Davis' Fort in the Little Cove and McDowell's Mill on the Conococheague;⁷ on March 30 the Indians attacked Patterson's Fort;⁸ on April 1 they captured McCord's Fort, west of Chambers' Mill; and next day defeated a party of pursuing troops and militia at Sideling Hill.⁹ On April 18 Shingas was wounded near Fort Cumberland;¹⁰ but, despite new rewards offered by Virginia, the raids continued under Captain Jacobs' leadership. On June 11 the Indians took Bigham's Fort, a few miles west of Patterson's Fort.¹¹ On July 22 they challenged the garrison of Fort Granville to come out and fight.¹² Finally, on July 30 a force of French and Indians, the latter led by Captain Jacobs, besieged and took Fort Granville.

In the face of these setbacks, the Province attempted to shore up its defenses. The shortcomings of the widely spaced forts were painfully obvious. Almost on the heels of Governor Morris' pleased accounts of them, William Trent had written from Carlisle on February 15 that "I was of opinion the Forts, as they were built, would be of no service; I was laughed at for it, but now the Inhabitants here are convinced of it."¹³ To remedy the defects, "A Plan for the Defence of The Frontier of Cumberland County from Phillip Davies to Shippensburg" was submitted to the Governor. This plan recommended that one company stationed at McDowell's Mill range from Philip Davis' (southwest of Welch Run, Franklin County) to Thomas Waddle's (near St. Thomas) and that another range from Waddle's to Shippensburg. To man this additional line, the plan proposed a redistribution of forces rather than an increase in total strength. The first four companies in the county numbered seventy-five men each; Potter's apparently numbered about fifty. Seventeen men were to be drafted from each of the first four companies: "this leaves 60 in each Fort, and makes up a new Company of 60 men, and Eight to be added

⁵ William Trent to Peters, Carlisle, February 15, 1756, *PAI*, II, 575.

⁶ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, January 1, 1756. Virginia subsequently offered a hundred pistoles reward. *Ibid.*, April 30, 1756.

⁷ *Ibid.*, March 18, 1756.

⁸ *PAI*, II, 609, 611, 613, 617; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 8, 1756.

⁹ *PAI*, II, 611-12, 621-22, 642-43; III, 315; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 8, 15, 22, 29, September 9, 1756.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, October 21, 1756.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, June 17 and 24, 1756.

¹² *Ibid.*, August 5, 1756.

¹³ Trent to Peters, *PAI*, II, 575-76.

to Capⁿ Peter's Company." That is, there would then be six companies of sixty men each, one company at each of the four forts and the other two drawn back to form a second line of defense.¹⁴ On March 25 the Governor gave orders for adopting a modified form of this plan. Captain John Potter, his orders to build a fort near the Maryland line rescinded, was assigned to "the frontiers of Peters and Hamilton townships, taking such posts there, Erecting such Stuckados, and ordering such Patrolls as you shall think Best";¹⁵ and the Reverend John Steel was commissioned captain of a new company made up of thirteen men from each of the original four companies, "to take post at McDowell's mill, upon the road to the Ohio."¹⁶

During this spring the Pennsylvania forces were organized. Elisha Saltar, on March 28 commissioned "commissary Gen^l of the Musters" and ordered to Cumberland County to pay the garrisons there, found these western forts far from the state of readiness of which the Governor had boasted at the end of January.¹⁷ Struggling with tangled problems of manpower, logistics, and hostile attack, the captains had been hampered by lack of unified command. On March 29, however, William Clapham was commissioned colonel of the Pennsylvania forces, and in April thirty men of his new battalion, destined to build Fort Augusta, were assigned temporarily to Carlisle.¹⁸ On May 11 John Armstrong, a man then about forty years old, active and aggressive by nature, was commissioned lieutenant colonel of the 2d Battalion comprising the companies west of the Susquehanna.¹⁹ The creation of Armstrong's company, stationed at Carlisle, increased the size of this battalion to seven companies and marked a further step in the formation of a second Provincial line of defense.

Establishment of Clapham's forces at Shamokin in June led Governor Morris to revive his plan for Fort Pomfret Castle, which would have served as a link between Fort Augusta and the more western forts. The loss of Fort Granville at the end of July, however, occasioned not only the abandonment of this scheme but a complete revision of the western defenses as well.

¹⁴ PPC [March, 1756]; printed in *PA1*, II, 239 (where "Capⁿ Peter" is a misreading). Its date falls after February 17, when Potter was commissioned, and probably after the attacks of February 29.

¹⁵ Morris, orders to Potter, *PA1*, II, 602.

¹⁶ Morris, orders to Steel and Burd *et al.*, *ibid.*, 601-602.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 604-605, 611, 613.

¹⁸ Morris to the Commissioners, April 16, 1756, *ibid.*, 626.

¹⁹ *PA5*, I, 62, 70. The *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 353-55, cites three dates for Armstrong's birth, October 13, 1717, 1720, and 1725.

The defeat suffered at Fort Granville made some act of retaliation necessary; and retaliation took the form of a secretly planned attack on the Delaware headquarters at Kittanning. Carried out in September, 1756, by the greater part of Armstrong's battalion, the expedition struck an effective blow. Captain Jacobs was killed at Kittanning, and the Indians, their self-confidence badly shaken, abandoned their settlements there. Shingas apparently withdrew to the Scioto and later returned to the Beaver River, but did not resume attacks on the former scale. In November Colonel Clapham sent scouting expeditions to an Indian town near present Jersey Shore on the West Branch, but found it abandoned.²⁰ On March 12, 1757, the Reverend Thomas Barton could write from York to the Lord Bishop of Oxford:

I have the Honour & Pleasure to acquaint your Lordship, that affairs have taken a more favourable Turn than we expected. The Savages have suffer'd us to enjoy Quiet this winter; owing perhaps to our destroying the Kittanning an Indian Hamlet upon the River Ohio; and to the great Falls of Snow which the Season produc'd.²¹

But the action at Kittanning had been on a scale impossible for the Province to sustain; however successful, the undertaking had been costly and the expedition had no real sequel. If the Kittanning expedition had seemed to prove the Province's ability to carry offensive action to the Ohio, the loss of Fort Granville was evidence of its inability to maintain a defensive line on the Juniata. These two events, in fact, in the summer of 1756 date a general and marked alteration in the western system of defense.

During the first months of 1756, despite the failure of Governor Morris' plans for Fort Pomfret Castle and despite the need for additional posts within the settlements, the older companies in this county maintained the original line of defense based on Patterson's Fort (Fort George), Fort Granville, Fort Shirley, and Fort Lyttelton. In September, however, this line was abandoned and the companies were redistributed in greater concentration along what had been the secondary line of defense. Of the original forts, Lyttelton alone was retained. The battalion was then rebuilt to its maximum strength of eight companies; and in October Governor William Denny, recently arrived in the Province, conferred with Colonel Clapham and Colonel Armstrong at Carlisle and took with him a British military engineer, Lieutenant

²⁰ *PAI*, III, 42-43, 116.

²¹ "Some Documents Concerning York County and the French and Indian War," in *Historical Society of York County, Yearbook*, 1940, p. 20.

Elias Meyer, to inspect the western forts and to put them in better order.²²

Nonetheless, a report in December, 1756, that a French and Indian force had encamped at Raystown occasioned fresh alarm; a hundred men of Weiser's 1st Battalion were sent to reinforce Cumberland County and remained stationed at McDowell's Mill from February until April, 1757. Then Colonel John Stanwix was sent to the county with five companies of the Royal Americans, who arrived at Carlisle on May 30. Reinforced by seven more companies in September, this British contingent remained in the county until November. Furthermore, the Governor and the Provincial Commissioners authorized the raising of a ninety-day company at Marsh Creek (present Adams County), which served from July until October, 1757.²³ An attempt to enlist Cherokee Indians as auxiliaries was not very successful; the southern Indian agent objected to the Province's negotiating with his wards, the few Cherokees who came to Cumberland County accomplished little, and the scheme offended leaders of the remaining friendly Indians on the Susquehanna North Branch, who looked on the Cherokees as traditional enemies.

To hold some of the advantage gained through the Kittanning expedition, Armstrong proposed to establish an advance post at Raystown; and before the end of March, 1757, he received Governor Denny's orders to encamp there with three hundred men. The Provincial Commissioners, however, could not be induced to provide the necessary supplies, and on May 13 they also rejected a request to "defray the Expence of erecting a Fortification at *Ray's-Town* 'to be garrisoned with 500 Men.'" The commissioners' counterproposals offered on May 21 pleased neither Armstrong nor Stanwix.²⁴ However, a rumor of French troops having set out from Fort Duquesne on June 10 led both these commanders to prepare countermeasures; and two hundred of Armstrong's Provincial troops actually camped for a time at Raystown about the end of June.²⁵

The assemblage of British and Provincial troops in Cumberland County in 1757 foreshadowed the organization of General Forbes' army in 1758. In the interim the Provincial forces were reformed and the old territorial basis of organization was abandoned to obtain greater mobility. In effect, Weiser's battalion, standing guard on a

²² *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 7 and 21, 1756.

²³ *PA1*, II, 236, 290, 297.

²⁴ *CR*, VII, 504; *PA1*, III, 117, 163, 191-92, 202; *PA8*, VI, 4772.

²⁵ *PA1*, III, 188-89, 202, 212-14.

long and relatively inactive frontier, was broken up, reducing the three old battalions to two. This reorganization became effective in January, 1758, with Colonel Armstrong in command of a new 1st Battalion comprising the eight companies of his old 2d Battalion and five companies of Weiser's old 1st Battalion. This force afterward was further augmented by the assignment to it of three of the twenty-three companies of new levies raised for the campaign.

General Forbes' campaign is considered here only so far as it affected the Provincial forts and forces west of the Susquehanna. The effect on the posts east of the river has already been noted. In response to a Crown request of December 30, 1757, received by Governor Denny in March, 1758, the Assembly voted on March 23 to increase the Provincial forces from 1,400 to 2,700 officers and men by enlisting new levies for the duration of the campaign. By Forbes' order, four hundred of these troops were assigned to Fort Augusta and the eastern defense line, previously held by two battalions numbering some nine hundred officers and men. "About thirty-five Men, the best of each Company, are Drafted to go forward," Armstrong wrote from Carlisle in July, "and the residue to Stay upon the Eastern Frontier."²⁶ On the expedition these provincials and their officers were under General Forbes' command and served at Crown expense, clothing and pay excepted, and the Pennsylvania forces, together with those from the colonies to the southward, became part of a British expeditionary force. In this role, the subsequent history of the Cumberland County forts is related rather to that of the new British forts in southern and western Pennsylvania than to that of any Provincial plan of defense. A summary of this later phase of their history is included, however, at the end of the present chapter.

This chapter, it may be noted, concludes the survey of the Provincial defense line which, extending from the Delaware River west and southwest to the Maryland border, was established during the winter of 1755-1756, was maintained in its entirety until the middle of 1758, and was not entirely abandoned by the Province until 1761. The other Provincial military undertaking, the construction of Fort Augusta and its subsidiaries, begun in the summer of 1756 and having in the case of the chief structure a much longer history, is reserved for the following chapter.

²⁶ Armstrong to [Peters], July 8, 1758, *ibid.*, 447.

FORT POMFRET CASTLE

Since the evidence seems conclusive that this fort never was built, it may seem meaningless to speak of its location and futile to attempt its history.²⁷ However, it is known that the fort was laid out; so references to its site are valid, even though that site cannot now be precisely determined. Furthermore, the account of the attempts and failure to build this fort sheds its own light on the history of Provincial defense. The name of the intended fort, chosen by Governor Morris, presumably was in honor of Lady Juliana Penn, daughter of the Earl of Pomfret and wife of Thomas Penn.

The orders given Captain George Croghan by the Provincial Commissioners on December 17, 1755, called for the erection of three stockades (in addition to Croghan's post at Aughwick), including "One back of Patterson's," near present Lewistown.²⁸ But when Governor Morris went to Carlisle in January, 1756, to complete the defense plans for this area, he made one change in the commissioners' plan: the fort at Patterson's was to be replaced by one "at a River called Matchetongo, ab^t 12 miles from Susquehanah, w^{ch} I have called Pomfret Castle."²⁹ This change probably was designed to link the western forts more closely with the proposed fort at Shamokin. Captain James Patterson was commissioned to command the seventy-five men assigned to this fort, which Captain James Burd, who was assigned to the command of Fort Granville, was ordered to lay out:

As soon as Conveniently you can after you have laid out the Fort at Kishequakillis [Fort Granville], you are to give Notice to Captain Patterson that you are ready to proceed with him and his Company to Manitango—and when he is ready you are to Joyn him with such part of your Company as you may Judge proper and proceed to the River called Manitango and fix upon some Convenient place near that River or upon some of the branches of Middle Creek on which to erect a Fort

²⁷ A good account of this proposed fort has been in print since 1925 in Edmund Hayes Bell and Mary Hall Colwell, *James Patterson of Conestoga Manor and His Descendants*, 34-36. For a suggestion made in 1941 that an undocumented stone structure, "Winey's spring house," might represent remains of this fort, see Ellis E. Ferster, "Pomfret Castle," in Northumberland County Historical Society, *Proceedings and Addresses*, XIII (1943), 96-102; incorporated, with some minor corrections, in George Franklin Dunkelberger, *The Story of Snyder County*, 215-20. On this subject little can be added to Marvin W. Schlegel, "The Myth of Fort Pomfret Castle," *Pennsylvania History*, IX (1942), 129-33.

²⁸ I. D. Rupp, *History and Topography of Northumberland . . .*, 118; also in *PAI*, II, 536, without date and Franklin's name.

²⁹ Morris to Governor Dinwiddie, February 1, 1756, draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 561.

and you are to lay out the Fort there agreeable to the plan and dementions herewith which you are to call Pomfret Castle and having laid out the Barracks and Houses and given Captain Patterson your best advice and Assistance you are to leave him to finish the same and Return to Fort Granville.³⁰

Plans for building this fort, dependent upon Burd's convenience, were therefore somewhat indefinite; for the time, Patterson and his company remained at Patterson's Fort at the site designated by the Provincial Commissioners. On January 27, 1756, an Indian party fell upon settlers on the Juniata about three miles below this fort, killing six persons and capturing eleven.³¹ With the news of this attack, the Governor received word that Burd had for some reason gone to Fort Lyttelton. Probably chagrined by this apparent failure of the new defense system about which he was writing self-satisfied letters, the Governor on February 3 wrote a letter frankly critical of Burd's actions. He felt, he said,

. . . equally surprised & concerned to find (notwithstanding ye pressing Orders I gave so long ago . . .) That you were gone to ye Suggar Cabbins, and that nothing is yet done in pursuance of those orders.

As the Indians who committed those last murders must have pas'd near where ye Fort was order'd to be built at Matchitongo, will not a good deal of ye Mischief be imputed to yours & Cap^t Pattersons remissness? . . .

I have not had a line from you nor Cap^t Patterson since I left Cumber^d.³²

The letter disregards the fact that the Indians were undeterred by a fort only three miles from the scene of the attack.

Possibly the Governor was not fully informed; it is known that Burd did at some time lay out Fort Pomfret Castle, and a letter of February 5 addressed to Burd suggests that the site had then been chosen:

FORT POMFRET-CASTLE Febr^y 5th 1756

Sir

Excuse my not sending a Guard according to Your Request, I have to morrow morning [to send] a Detachement of 24

³⁰ Shippen Family Papers, II, 23.

³¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 5, 1756, quoting "a Letter from Carlisle, January 29, 1756"; Thomas Barton to Peters, "Redding" [Reading Township, York County], February 6, 1756, *PAI*, II, 568.

³² Draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 566. In *Frontier Forts*, I, 598, this letter is referred to as "written by Governor Morris to General Shirley."

men to Carlisle in order to Eschort Provisions From thence to my Fort, I have Sent You the Patren of two watch Coats I have Purchas't two Beeves, One of which I send You, as for the Mil[k] Cow, You wrote for, I Cannot Purchase without cash, the Nails & axes I have Sent By the men—The Rest of the tools I have I Cannot spare

Yours &c

JAMES PATTERSON³³

Patterson evidently wrote at the proposed site of the fort, but his use of the name does not prove that the buildings had been erected; indeed, there is proof that they had not been built. The phrase "my Fort," as used in the present letter, probably refers to Patterson's Fort on the Juniata which would have accommodations. The problem of supplies is mentioned also in a letter of February 9, written by Francis West at Carlisle to his brother William in Philadelphia:

Last Night I Got Home, and Found No Alteration Among the People, only Thirty or more of Cap^t Burd's & Cap^t Patterson's Men were obliged to Come here to Guard Provisions to the two Forts, w^{ch} they very much Want, the Country People not Daring to Venture over Since the Late Murders. . . .³⁴

On this same date Governor Morris was boasting to General Shirley that "about twelve [miles] from the River, another Fort is Erected that commands that country, and is intended to prevent the Indians from penetrating into the Settlements from that quarter. This I have called Pomfret Castle. . . ." ³⁵ Unappreciative of this paper defense, Captain Patterson on February 25 wrote from Fort George (Patterson's Fort) to Captain Burd: "This is to inform you that I returned yesterday from Scouring the Woods and about Eight or nine Miles from the place that Pomfret Castle is to be where I came upon the Tracks of several Indians." Following these Indians to an abandoned house, Patterson's men killed and scalped one; one of his own men was wounded.³⁶ The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of March 11 contained another account of this engagement, which it says took place on Middle Creek on February 20.

Burd on February 27 gave orders to his lieutenant, Edward Ward, giving him temporary command at Fort Granville: "As I shall march with 25 men of my Comp^y for Mahantango tomorrow I have left you

³³ Edward Shippen Thompson Collection, Public Records Division; facsimile in Bell and Colwell, *James Patterson*, 29.

³⁴ PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 571.

³⁵ Draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 569.

³⁶ Shippen Family Papers, II, 29.

41 men to Garison this Fort & Carry on the works here."³⁷ The indication of further attention to Fort Pomfret Castle appears also in Patterson's letter of March 7, 1756, written to Burd from Fort George: "Yesterday I sent a gaurd of men to Carlisle for Provision and Ammunition and assoon as it comes over I shall be ready to march to Moughontongoc."³⁸ The simplest explanation for Captain Burd's marches or intended marches to the Mahantango is that it was at this time that he marked out the plan for the proposed fort. Patterson and part of his company must have gone to the site at this time; and uncertainty about the position of Patterson's company is reflected in the instructions given respecting Paymaster General Elisha Saltar, who was sent on March 28 to pay the garrisons west of the river. Burd was ordered to provide Saltar an escort from Fort Granville "to Pomfret Castle or Pattersons fort"; and Patterson was to furnish an escort from his post to Harris' Ferry.³⁹

On Monday, March 29, a party of Indians boldly fired on Patterson's Fort and carried off a man who was within sight and calling distance of the garrison.⁴⁰ This second attack in that neighborhood probably lessened interest in an advanced and more exposed post such as Pomfret Castle.⁴¹

Patterson's successor at Fort George, Captain George Armstrong, was commissioned on May 22.⁴² On June 6 Colonel Clapham's force arrived at the later Fort Halifax on their advance toward Shamokin; and with his plans for a fort at that place nearing fruition, Governor Morris on June 14, 1756, sent orders to Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong:

You are immediately to send Captain George Armstrong to build Pomphret Castle where it was laid out by Major Burd,

³⁷*Ibid.*, 31.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 33.

³⁹Morris, orders to Potter *et al.* and to Saltar, drafts in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 602-605.

⁴⁰[Hermanus] Alricks to George Ross, March 31, 1756, excerpt enclosed with Shippen to Morris, April 4, 1756; Saltar to [Morris], April 4, 1756; [] to [], April 5, 1756; draft of Morris to the Commissioners, April 8, 1756, PPC (printed in *PAI*, II, 609, 611, 613, 617); *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 8, 1756. Saltar places the capture of Mitcheltree at Pomfret Castle; the writer of the letter of April 5, Morris, and the *Gazette* place it at Patterson's.

⁴¹A statement that "Governor Morris gave orders to General Shirley to order Captain Patterson to build Fort Pomfret Castle under date of March 29, 1756" (Ferster, "Pomfret Castle," 98) presents an impossible chain of command and perhaps derives ultimately from a misreading of *Frontier Forts*, I, 598; see n. 32 above.

⁴²*PA5*, I, 62, 70.

as Colonel Clapham's regiment is now in that Neighbourhood, and you will direct him to acquaint Colonel Clapham of all his Motions, and keep up a Correspondence with him, that they may mutually assist each other if needful.⁴³

Clapham's party arrived at Shamokin on July 6; ten days later it was reported that "This Day abo^t 2 o Clock P. M. Cap^t George Armstrong & Lieut Rob^t Calender arrived here with 45 Men from Fort George on Juniata. . . ." The next day, "Saturday July 17th day Cap^t Armstrong marched from hence with a Design to scour the Woods to Franks Town & from thence by the Way of Fort Granville to his Fort, on Juniata."⁴⁴ Despite the Governor's month-old orders, it is obvious that Captain Armstrong was still stationed at the old post at Patterson's.

Two events soon ended Governor Morris' efforts on behalf of Pomfret Castle. The first of these was the fall of Fort Granville, attacked on July 30, 1756, by a party of French and Indians; the second was Morris' own replacement by Governor William Denny on August 20. Despite Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong's retaliatory attack on Kittanning in September, the loss of Fort Granville led to the abandonment of both Fort Shirley and Fort George (Patterson's); and thereafter the establishment and maintenance of such an outpost as Pomfret Castle was not to be thought of.

Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong wrote on November 19, 1756, to tell Governor Denny of the selection of a site for the fort later named Fort Loudoun. At the end of this letter is the added note: "P. S. May this Fort be call'd Pomfret Castle, or what will you please to call it?"⁴⁵ Whether this is an example of the sarcastic humor occasionally shown by John Armstrong, or whether he candidly wondered if the Governor would like to make some use of this name, presumably in compliment to Thomas Penn, is not important; in either case, the note is a post-script not only to the letter but also to the history of an unbuilt fort.

PATTERSON'S FORT OR FORT GEORGE

Patterson's Fort, originally a "private fort" built not later than early December, 1755, took its name from James Patterson, who on February 4 of that year had obtained a warrant for land at present

⁴³ PR, O, 152-53; printed in *CR*, VII, 161.

⁴⁴ Shippen Journal, Shippen Family Papers.

⁴⁵ PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 58.

Mexico, Juniata County.⁴⁶ Garrisoned by Provincial troops from about the end of 1755 until the end of August, 1756, it was first regarded as a temporary post, but postponement of the building of Fort Pomfret Castle, to which this garrison was to have been moved, brought more settled status and the apparently official name of Fort George, presumably in honor of George II, the reigning monarch. The earlier designation continued in more common use, however.

Like all the other Provincial defenses, this was a stockaded timber fort, but details of its structure are lacking. It probably was made to conform to the instructions given Captain Croghan in December, but uncertainty about its permanent status may have discouraged more elaborate construction.

On December 16, 1755, Edward Shippen wrote from Lancaster to William Allen:

There is one James Patterson who Lives about 50 Miles from Harris's on Juniata, where he has built a Stockade fort and has 20 men with him, which has been the Only Means of protecting the Settlers thereabouts and Keeping them on their Plantations, He is a Courageous Resolute Fellow (and puts me in mind of Solomon Jennings)⁴⁷ and he is Resolved to stand his Ground, if he can be Encouraged with a few Arms and Some Ammunition, he wants very much to Know whether any handsome premium is Offered for Scalps because if there is he is very sure his force will soon be Augmented.⁴⁸

On the following day, George Croghan was commissioned a captain and was instructed by the Provincial Commissioners to build three stockades, "One back of Pattersons, One upon Kishecoquillas, and one Near Sideling Hill; Each of them Fifty feet Square, with a Block-house on two of the Corners, and a Barrack within, capable of Lodging Fifty Men."⁴⁹ Croghan also was to hire men and overseers for this work; and his recruits undoubtedly included Patterson and his fellows.

⁴⁶ Copied Surveys, C-155, p. 265, Bureau of Land Records. Samuel Evans' story of an Indian attack at Patterson's Fort on October 2, 1756, published in *Frontier Forts*, I, 600-601, involves a confusion regarding Patterson Creek, a branch of the Potomac; the attack in question took place near the present Cumberland, Maryland. See *CR*, VI, 641.

⁴⁷ Jennings probably is best known as one of the three men (with Edward Marshall and James Yeates) chosen to measure the "Walking Purchase" of 1737.

⁴⁸ Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, VII, 185.

⁴⁹ Provincial Commissioners, orders to Croghan; complete text in I. D. Rupp, *History and Topography of Northumberland . . .*, 118; in incomplete form in *PAI*, II, 536. Quoted from the latter.

As related in the account of Fort Pomfret Castle, Governor Morris undertook in January, 1756, to revise these arrangements by abandoning this fort at Patterson's in favor of a more advanced post on Mahantango Creek to be garrisoned by a company of seventy-five men under James Patterson, then commissioned as captain. Morris probably wanted a closer link between the western forts and the one he designed to build at Shamokin; but Fort Pomfret Castle was not built despite several attempts, and Patterson's men remained at Patterson's Fort.

Even here, Indian hostility contributed to the difficulties of obtaining supplies and of keeping up the strength of the garrison. On January 27, 1756, Indians killed six persons and captured eleven on the Juniata only three miles below the fort.⁵⁰ On February 5 Captain Patterson wrote Captain Burd at Fort Granville that "I have to morrow morning [to send] a Detachment of 24 men to Carlisle in order to Eschort Provisions From thence to my Fort";⁵¹ and four days later Francis West wrote from Carlisle that "Thirty or more of Cap^t Burd's & Cap^t Patterson's Men were obliged to Come here to Guard Provisions to the two Forts, w^{ch} they very much Want, the Country People not Daring to Venture over [the mountain] Since the Late Murders. . . ." ⁵²

Later this month Patterson led a scouting party of his company to the neighborhood of Shamokin. On their return, at a place "about Eight or nine Miles from the place that Pomfret Castle is to be," they found the tracks of Indians which they followed to an abandoned house at Middle Creek or, according to another account, at Penns Creek. In the skirmish that followed on February 20, one Indian was killed and scalped and one of Patterson's men wounded;⁵³ according to a later report, the Indian was a grandson of Shikellamy, the former Six Nations representative at Shamokin.⁵⁴

The letter of February 25 in which Captain Patterson told Captain Burd of this encounter is dated at Fort George, and it is the earliest instance of the use of the name, which perhaps implies a recognition of this place as a regular post, pending some later removal to Pomfret

⁵⁰ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 5, 1756; Thomas Barton to Peters, February 6, 1756, *PAI*, II, 568.

⁵¹ E. S. Thompson Collection.

⁵² PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 571.

⁵³ Patterson to "Capt. James Bird at Fort Granville," February 25, 1756, Shippen Family Papers, II, 29; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 11, 1756.

⁵⁴ Thomas McKee to Shippen, April 5, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 616.

Castle. On March 7 Patterson again wrote from Fort George, informing Burd that "Yesterday I sent a gaurd of men to Carlisle for Provision and Ammunition and assoon as it comes over I shall be ready to march to Moughontongoe."⁵⁵

When Paymaster Saltar was sent to Cumberland County on March 28, 1756, to pay the western garrisons, it seemed uncertain whether he would find Patterson's company at "Pomfret Castle or Pattersons fort";⁵⁶ but Indian incursions discouraged removal to the more advanced post. In giving an account of Patterson's brush with the Indians on February 20, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported: "That the Woods, from Juniata to Shamokin are full of Indians, seeking for Plunder and Scalps: That they found many Houses burnt, and some burning; and that it was feared but few in a short Time would be standing, and that all the Grain would be destroyed."⁵⁷ Saltar was only started on his trip when on March 29 "Patterson's Fort was attacked . . . by a considerable Number of Indians on the opposite Side of the Creek, but received no Damage, and several Shotts were heard towards M^r Burd's Fort."⁵⁸ Within sight of Patterson's Fort the Indians seized Hugh Mitcheltree going out to tend his cattle, although he "call'd to the Garrison, told them the Indians were but six in number, and desired to be rescued, but none went."⁵⁹ Such was the story that greeted Saltar, who on April 4 reported to the Governor from Carlisle that "they are Verry scarce of provisions & Amunition."⁶⁰

Meanwhile, the Reverend John Steel had been commissioned on March 25 as captain of a new company composed of contingents of thirteen men from each of the original four companies of this county, including Captain Patterson's. However, as Steel reported to the Governor on April 11, Burd and Patterson could not comply: "the time for which most of their men had been Enlisted, Being Expired. . . . Most of the Forts had not Receiv'd their full Compliment of Guns, But were in a great measure Supplied by the Arms the Young

⁵⁵ Shippen Family Papers, II, 33.

⁵⁶ Morris ordered Saltar to go to Pomfret Castle, but he ordered Burd to escort Saltar from Fort Granville "to Pomfret Castle or Pattersons fort." See *PAI*, II, 603-604.

⁵⁷ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 11, 1756.

⁵⁸ [Hermanus] Alricks to George Ross, March 31, 1756, enclosed in Shippen to Morris, April 4, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 609.

⁵⁹ Morris to the Commissioners, April 8, 1756, draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 617.

⁶⁰ PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 611.

men brought wth them. Cap^t Patterson had Receiv'd but thirty fire Arms. . . ." ⁶¹

It appears that Patterson's service in this area ended not long after this. He is mentioned in a letter of April 19; but his successor at Fort George, Captain George Armstrong, was commissioned on May 22.⁶² Patterson continued in service elsewhere, however. In the fall of 1756 he was at Fort Augusta, and on December 10 he was recommissioned in Lieutenant Colonel Weiser's 1st Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment.⁶³ By the date of George Armstrong's commission, the Provincial companies, previously linked by little more than the Governor's over-all authority, had field commanders, and Captain Armstrong's company was included in the 2d Battalion, commanded by his brother Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong.

Bigham's Fort, a "private fort" a few miles west of Patterson's, fell on June 11, 1756, to an enemy party which had found itself too weak to attempt an intended blow against Fort Shirley; and twenty-three settlers who had taken refuge there were killed or taken captive.⁶⁴ Possibly in consequence of this, Governor Morris' orders of June 14 to Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong directed Captain George Armstrong to proceed at once to build Pomfret Castle.⁶⁵ Subsequently, Captain Armstrong (still stationed at Fort George) and Lieutenant Callender of Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong's company conducted a forty-five-man scouting party to Fort Augusta, where the two officers stayed the night of July 16. They talked of going to Frankstown (near present Hollidaysburg) before returning home by way of Fort Granville, but it appears they did not go so far; from Shamokin "they went 50 miles due West, and then down to Pattersons Fort, but saw no Enemy."⁶⁶ They heard enough of the enemy soon afterward. On July 22, 1756, the day after Lieutenant Callender's return to Carlisle, a party of

⁶¹ Autograph Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; printed in *PAI*, II, 623.

⁶² Mercer to Morris, April 19, 1756, Dreer Collection, *Generals of the Revolution*, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (printed in *PAI*, II, 633); *PA5*, I, 62, 70.

⁶³ On November 4, 1756, Patterson went on an expedition from Fort Augusta as is shown by a map of the march; see also *PAI*, III, 42-43, 60. For the date of his new commission, see *PA5*, I, 62, 70.

⁶⁴ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 17 and 24, 1756; Governor Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, August 8, 1756, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 94.

⁶⁵ *CR*, VII, 161.

⁶⁶ Shippen Journal, Shippen Family Papers; Young to [Morris], July 22, 1756, PPC (printed in *PAI*, II, 717).

sixty Indians appeared at Fort Granville and challenged the commander to come out and fight; and on July 30 a force of French and Indians besieged this fort, which was surrendered next morning.

After the fall of Fort Granville, Captain Ward and the remainder of his company from that place probably were stationed at Patterson's. In the latter part of August, 1756, when the 2d Battalion was assembling for the attack on Kittanning, Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong ordered Ward and Captain Armstrong to inspect the ruins of Fort Granville on their way to Fort Shirley. Fort George (Patterson's) was abandoned either then or soon after the expedition, in which Captain Armstrong's lieutenant, James Hogg, was killed.⁶⁷

Of the abandoned fort, Captain Lloyd wrote to Governor Denny on October 14 that Colonel Clapham "has been informed, that there are Twenty Thousand Weight of the Provincial Flour left at Captain Pattersons, on the Western Frontier, and in the Route from Duquesne to Shamokin, or near it—of which he commanded me to make a minute, and know whether it was your Honor's Pleasure that the House should be burnt & the Flour destroy'd or not."⁶⁸ Presumably, the Governor's reply of October 24 is reflected in Colonel Clapham's letter of November 19. Reporting the return of a scouting party, the Colonel relates that "immediately on their return I detach'd two more Partys, one to the Place where the Allegany Road crosses Juniata, wth Orders to examine into the State of the Flour at Capt. Pattersons, and if possible to Ambuscade the Enemy—the other to Hunters to Escort Provisions."⁶⁹ Finally, there is information in another letter from Clapham, written November 23 and delivered to the Governor by Patterson:

The Bearer, Capt Patterson, has been very serviceable on two Detachments of great fatigue, and has in every other Respect, during his stay here, behaved himself like a brave and an Honest Man. As he is owner of the House where I mentioned the flour was left and accompany'd the Detachment sent to

⁶⁷ Armstrong to Morris, August 20, 1756, *CR*, VII, 232. A French report of the attack on Kittanning supplies the information, presumably obtained from prisoners, that "At the departure of this detachment Fort George was abandoned." Bougainville Journal, *RAPQ*, 1923-1924, p. 234. The French may have confused Fort George with Fort Shirley, "George Croghan's Fort." For Lieutenant Hogg's death, see *PAI*, II, 767 ff.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, III, 11-12.

⁶⁹ PPC [November 19, 1756]; printed in *PAI*, III, 65. For the date, see reference in Clapham to Denny, November 23, 1756, *ibid.*, 59.

that Place, he will be able to inform your Honour more particularly on that Head.⁷⁰

Captain George Armstrong's company had in the meantime been reassigned to Fort Morris at Shippensburg; for, despite the success at Kittanning, the loss of Fort Granville had convinced Provincial officials that ordinary posts so far north of the mountain were dangerously exposed and ineffectual in defense. The abandonment of Fort George was part of a general retreat from the Juniata to the Cumberland Valley.

FORT GRANVILLE

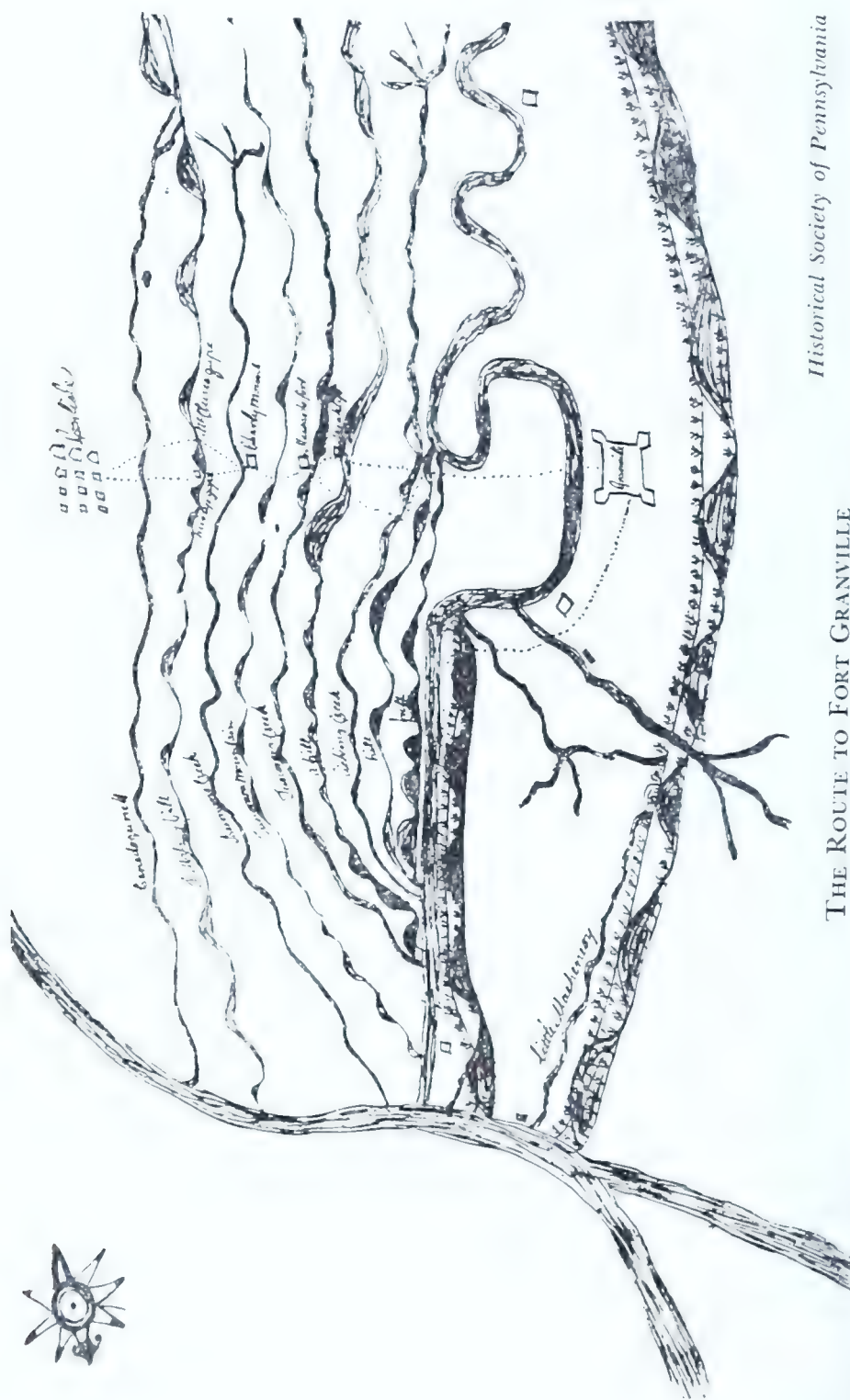
Fort Granville, which stood about a mile southwest of present Lewistown, Mifflin County, was begun by George Croghan, probably in December, 1755, and in January, 1756, was named by Governor Morris in honor of John Carteret, Earl of Granville. It was garrisoned by Provincial troops until the end of July, 1756, when it was attacked and taken by a party of French and Indians.

In construction and design this fort resembled the other Provincial posts of the same date. By the Provincial Commissioners' orders of December 17, 1755, Croghan was to have erected stockades "Fifty feet Square, with a Block-house on two of the Corners, and a Barrack within, capable of Lodging Fifty Men." That Governor Morris gave Captain Burd a different plan is indicated by his orders of January 17; and the increase of the garrison to seventy-five men of course called for some alteration. According to the French report of August, 1756, the fort as constructed was a square, the sides measuring eighty-three paces, with a bastion at each of the four corners. An important natural feature of the fort site was a ravine which, since its slope had not been graded to form a glacis, furnished cover for the enemy party to whom the fort fell.

This fort was one of those included in the orders of December 17, 1755, in which the Provincial Commissioners instructed Captain George Croghan to build three stockades, including "One upon Kish-coquillas."⁷¹ Notified to meet Governor Morris at Carlisle in January, 1756, Croghan did not appear there until January 11, after the Governor's arrival; and he excused his tardiness by explaining that "he was employed in raising Men and building Forts, according to

⁷⁰ PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 60.

⁷¹ I. D. Rupp, *History and Topography of Northumberland* . . . , 118; *PAI*, II, 536. Quoted from the latter.



Historical Society of Pennsylvania

THE ROUTE TO FORT GRANVILLE

Not drawn to scale, this crude map in the Lamberton Scotch-Irish Collection shows little more than the streams and mountains to be crossed in journeying from Carlisle to Fort Granville. Note "Stewart's fort," a private fort on Tuscarora Creek.

his Instructions at Philadelphia; that he was at Kishycoquillas when the Letter was delivered to him.”⁷² Richard Peters subsequently reported that Croghan had by this time enlisted three hundred men, fifty or sixty of whom he had posted “at a Place called Coshicoquillas.”⁷³

As designated and named by Governor Morris, Fort Pomfret Castle, Fort Granville, Fort Shirley, and Fort Lyttelton were to constitute the line of defense west of the Susquehanna. In a letter of February 9 the Governor, who probably had his information from Croghan, described the site to General William Shirley:

Fifteen miles northeast of Fort Shirley, near the mouth of a Branch of the Juniata called Kishequokilis, a third fort is erected, which I have called Fort Granville. This Fort commands a narrow pass where the Juniata falls through the mountains which is so circumstanced that a few men can maintain it against a much greater number, as the rocks are very High on each side, not above a gun shot assunder, and thus extended for six miles, and leads to a considerable settlement upon the Juniata, between Fort Granville and where that River falls into the Susquehanna.⁷⁴

On January 17, 1756, Governor Morris commissioned Captain James Burd, Lieutenant Edward Ward, and Ensign James Potter officers of a company of seventy-five men “enlisted in the County of Cumberland &c., & some now doing Duty near the Mouth of Kishecoquillas” to garrison this fort. Of the orders then given Burd, typical of those issued by Morris to his new captains, one or two articles may be quoted:

3^d You are as soon as possible to proceed with your Company to the Place called Kishecoquillas and to take upon You the Care and direction of the Fort now erecting there, which you are to cause to be built with all possible Dispatch, as near as may be in the Form herewith given You, and which I have named Fort Granville.

6th As soon as the Fort is finished and the Ground about it cleared You are then to detach Partys from time to time to range & scour the Woods from Fort Granville

⁷² Minutes of Indian Conference, Carlisle, January 13-17, 1756, PPC; printed in I. D. Rupp, *History and Topography of Dauphin . . .*, 583-91. This varies from the official minutes printed in *CR*, VI, 781-84; VII, 1-7.

⁷³ Peters to the Proprietors, February 23, 1756, Peters Letter Book, Gratz Collections.

⁷⁴ Draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 569.

towards Fort Shirley at Aughwick & Pomfret Castle near Manitango—. . .⁷⁵

The additional orders instructing Burd to assist Captain Patterson in laying out Fort Pomfret Castle have been noted in the sketch of that post. Burd's trip to the Sugar Cabins (Fort Lyttelton), to which the Governor took exception, must have taken place soon after this; for Burd was at Fort Granville in time to sign "A Return of the Arms Ammunition Stores Provisions &c^a at Fort Granville the 1st February 1756."⁷⁶

In the light of Francis West's report on February 9 that both Burd and Patterson had to send detachments to Carlisle for provisions "w^{ch} they very much Want,"⁷⁷ it may be noted that according to the return of February 1, Burd had at the fort seventy-three guns but only two pounds of powder, 176 $\frac{3}{4}$ pounds of lead, no flour, and no meal.

The orders given by Burd to Lieutenant Ward on February 27, when Burd was about to take a detachment to Mahantango, picture the construction and state of the fort on that date:

As I shall march with 25 men of my Comp^y for Mahantango tomorrow I have left with you 41 men to Garison this Fort & Carry on the works here—You'l every day mount a Gaird of 1 Serg^t or Corporall & 12 men, as Usuell, & give the Serg^t or Corporall of the Gaird your orders in writing—You'l Endeavour to gett all the buildings finished first, & then gett the Fort Cleared of all the Chips &c then you'l begin the trinch for the Stockade, you'l digg it 4 foott deep in the outside of the Stakes I have drove in the Ground & line your Trinch—you'l Cutt the loggs 16 foott long & lett them be quite Streight and of a good Size—When the party returns from Carlisle you'l immediately draught a New gaird of 12 men under Corporall Donihow & send them to Carlisle the Road that you find the party has Cutt & write to M^r Buchannan to send by them for the use of this Garison one whole Barrell of Gun poudder letting him know that we have not one ounce in store there. . .⁷⁸

Elisha Saltar, commissioned "Commissary Gen^l of the Musters for the Province of Pensilvania," was sent on March 28, 1756, to pay the

⁷⁵ Shippen Family Papers, II, 21.

⁷⁶ PPC. The list includes "73 Gunns, 75 Pouches," and ends with the acknowledgment, "Reced from Cap^{tn} Croghan an order on John Smith for one Cask of Naills." The document seems to reflect Burd's assumption of active command. Burd's manuscript account book at Fort Granville, preserved at the American Philosophical Society, covers the period February 19-May 21, 1756.

⁷⁷ Francis West to William West, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 571.

⁷⁸ Shippen Family Papers, II, 31.

garrisons west of the Susquehanna. Ordered to go by way of Lancaster and York to McDowell's Mill, Fort Lyttelton, Fort Shirley, Fort Granville, and Pomfret Castle or Patterson's in that sequence, Saltar annoyed the Governor by going directly to Carlisle, where upon his arrival at noon on April 4 he heard

From Fort Granville, 31st March, There was a party of Indians, 4 in number, within one mile of the fort, which fort is so Badly stor'd with Amunition, Not having three Rounds
 ¶ man, they thought it not prudent to Venture after them.

. . . . I think it highly Necessary, & shall, if possible, get an Escort from Adam Hoop's, to go the Rounds with me as I am Verry Sencible Great part of the Souldiers have left their posts & Come to the inhabitants, particularly from fort Granville.⁷⁹

This was about the time of the Indian capture of McCord's Fort, a "private fort" in the northern part of present Franklin County. On March 29, 1756, a party of Indians had fired on Patterson's Fort, "and several Shotts were heard towards Mr Burd's Fort."⁸⁰ According to information from Captain Patterson, "about Ten a Clock the Same night the Soldiers heard a firing, which they supposed to be at Fort Granville, or the fort at Tuskarora, & imagine it is taken. They imagine the Firing was Canon or Plattoons."⁸¹

There can be no doubt that Patterson's men imagined things; and it is possible that Saltar's story refers to the same incident. Such circumstances may well have persuaded Lieutenant Ward's detachment to lag at Carlisle; and they had their effect on enlistments, as Captain Burd found when his men's term of service expired. Neither Burd nor Patterson, according to a report of April 11, could spare his quota of thirteen men for Captain John Steel's new company;⁸² and on Monday, April 19, Burd wrote from Carlisle to tell the Governor of his difficulties:

I arrived here on Friday evening and began Immediately to Recruit, but found few Volunteers, and all that I have been able to Enlist is 4 men for 12 mo^s. . . .

I intended to have March'd this Morning for Fort Granville, but the Creeks is so high that the Carriers can't attempt to gett their horses & loads over, but hope to be able to go

⁷⁹ Saltar to [Morris], PPC; printed in *PAL*, II, 611.

⁸⁰ [Hermanus] Alricks to George Ross, March 31, 1756, excerpt in Shippen to Morris, April 4, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAL*, II, 609.

⁸¹ [] to [], April 5, 1756, citing letter from Captain Patterson, PPC; printed in *PAL*, II, 613.

⁸² Steel to Morris, April 11, 1756, *ibid.*, 623.

tomorrow Morning, I shall Return here with M^r Salter towards the latter end of this week, or y^e begining of the week following, in order to Recruit my Comp^y.

I am inform'd that they are entirely out of all manner of Provisions at Fort Granville which is a very bad Situation, as the Enemy are Constantly Visiting them, they have wounded two men within sight of y^e Fort & one of y^e mens lives are dispair'd off, they would have Carried off one of them had not Lew^t Ward rushed out of the Fort & Rescued him, M^r Ward sent a Detatchem^t under y^e Com^d of Ensigne Clark after the Enemy but Could not Come up with them⁸³

It will be noted that by this date Burd had a new ensign. James Potter had been recommissioned February 17 in the new company of which his father John Potter was on the same date commissioned captain; Daniel Clark, in turn, was on May 1 promoted to a lieutenancy in the Augusta Regiment. There were other changes in Burd's company. With the erection of Captain Steel's company, commissioned March 25, the size of the four original companies had been reduced from seventy-five to sixty men each. With the commissioning of Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong on May 11, the companies west of the river became the 2d Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment. Finally, Fort Granville itself received a new commander.

Colonel William Clapham had been commissioned on March 29, 1756, and ordered to head the battalion destined to build and garrison Fort Augusta at Shamokin. Chosen as second in command of this force, Burd was promoted to the rank of major by a commission evidently predated as of April 24; and on May 1 Daniel Clark was commissioned a lieutenant in this battalion. To replace Burd, Edward Ward was on May 22 commissioned captain of the company at Fort Granville, with Edward Armstrong, a brother of Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong, as lieutenant.⁸⁴ On May 20, after Burd had joined Clapham's forces but before the other new commissions became effective, Ward wrote "to Major James Burd at Camp at Harris s Ferry":

There is nothing Extroderney Hapened since my last to you, I have Acted Agreeable to his hounours the Governors Instructions. I have but 30 men to garrison This fort at present I hope sir youl send Up the command, as soon as posable, I have wrote to his hounour the Governor by Ensign Clark, I hope I shall never Desarve Any other than his good Will.

⁸³ PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 631-32.

⁸⁴ For these new commissions, see *PA5*, I, 62, 70. During the later dispute between Clapham and Burd, Clark requested transfer to Armstrong's battalion (Clark to Peters, November 3, 1756, PPC); however, he remained at Fort Augusta.

Youl plase to send Up the particklars You brought for me;
I shall write to Major Burd by all opertunitys.

D^r Major you may allways Depend Upon my been deligent
in My Duty⁸⁵

The new commander faced difficulties; his post was still short of supplies; and Burd, going to his new assignment, apparently took with him the records and some of the men of his old company. In a letter of May 29 delivered by John Donaghew, Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong wrote from Carlisle to Major Burd at Harris' Ferry:

I have rec^d from Cap^t Ward the most mournfull letter that the Subject can admit, shewing his want of men and other necessarys at F Granville and beging particularly that Shepherd & Joⁿ Donaghew may be continued there assuring me he has not One man at the Fort fit for a Serjeant, or that can give him y^e least assistance in teaching the new recruits. . . .

Cap^t Ward writes me that nothing can be Settled by the pay master nor himself with that Company for want of the Attestations and other necessary papers yet in your hands. these you'l please to Send Over with proper remarks on each that justice may be done both your selfe & the men.⁸⁶

In his reply on June 3, Burd supplied a record of thirty-nine men "Enlisted by James Burd at Fort Granvile, with an Amount of Money Advanced."⁸⁷

Difficulties with men and supplies were aggravated by the more serious problem of renewed enemy attack. An enemy party, finding itself unequal to its plan of attacking Fort Shirley, on June 11 took Bigham's Fort, a private defense less than fifteen miles south of Fort Granville; and in the following month Granville itself was attacked. Writing on July 31, 1756, to Colonel George Washington, Captain Robert Stewart reported that "Fort Granvile on the Frontier of Pensylvania was last week attack'd by a large Body but the Pensilvanians after sustaining a constant Fire for five hours repuls'd the Enemy chiefly by the Assistance of some Swivells that were well serv'd. . . ."⁸⁸ The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of August 5 gave a more detailed account:

We have Advice from Cumberland County, that on the 22d ult. about 60 Indians appeared before Fort Granville, and challenged the Commander of it to come out and fight them; but that he being but weak handed, did not think proper to

⁸⁵ Burd-Shippen Papers, I, 22.

⁸⁶ E. S. Thompson Collection.

⁸⁷ PA5, I, 64-65.

⁸⁸ Hamilton (ed.), *Letters to Washington*, I, 327-28.

accept of the Challenge; that they fired at, and wounded, one of the Men that belonged to the Fort in the Thigh, who happened to be a little Way from it, but not so badly but that he got safe in; that they lurked about the Place for some Time, expecting to catch some of our People, but that they being upon their Guard, were disappointed; and that then they went off, after shooting down all the Cattle they could find.

The final blow was struck soon afterward; unknown on August 5 to the printer of the *Gazette*, Fort Granville had in fact already fallen. The story appeared at length in the *Gazette* for August 19, 1756:

Since our last, we have received several Letters relating to the taking Fort Granville, in Cumberland County, the Substance of which is as Follows, viz. That on the 30th ult. Captain Ward marched from the Fort, with his Ensign, and all the Men that belonged to it, except 24, under the Command of Lieutenant Armstrong, to guard some Reapers in Shearman's Valley:⁸⁹ That soon after he left the Fort, it was attacked by 100 French and Indians,⁹⁰ who were bravely kept at a Distance all that Afternoon and Night by our People: That the next Morning⁹¹ the Enemy took Juniata Creek, and came under its Bank to a Gutt (said to be about 12 Feet deep) and crept up till they came within about 30 or 40 Feet of the Fort, where the Shot from our Men could not hurt them: That into that Gutt they carried a Quantity of Pine Knots, and other combustible Matter, which they threw against the Fort, till they made a Pile and Train from the Fort to the Gutt, to which they set Fire, and by that Means the Logs of the Stockade caught, and a Hole was made, through which the Lieutenant and a Soldier were shot, and three others wounded, while they were endeavouring to extinguish the Flames: That the Enemy then called to the Besieged, and told them, they should have Quarter, if they would surrender; upon which, it is said, one John Turner immediately opened the Gates, and they took Possession of the Fort: That they made Prisoners 22 Soldiers, 3 Women, and 5 or 6 Children,⁹² of which the French took the young Men and Women, and

⁸⁹ It will be noted that the French report, subsequently quoted in translation, says, probably on the authority of prisoners, that Ward went to Carlisle for his company's pay. The commissioners' funds were at this date practically exhausted. See *PAI*, II, 742-43; *PA8*, V, 4369.

⁹⁰ On this point the French report probably is more reliable: fifty-five men, including twenty-three French and thirty-two Indians.

⁹¹ July 31. The French account differs by three days, placing the attack on August 2-3. The Provincial date seems better attested, since Captain Ward must have known on what day he left the fort. Some references cite merely the date of the first attack; see the unentered Council minute printed in *PAI*, II, 743.

⁹² A total of thirty or thirty-one, agreeing well with the French report of twenty-seven prisoners and four scalps.

the Indians the older Men and Children; and having loaded them with Flour, &c. they set off, after setting up French Colours near the Fort, on which they left a Shot Pouch, with a written Paper in it: That when they had marched a little Way from the Fort, the French Commander ordered Captain Jacobs back to burn the Fort, which he did: That the Prisoners travelled five Days with them, till they came to the Place where they had left their Baggage and Horses, where they found ten Indians, and some white Prisoners, and heard that a Number of Indians, with more Prisoners, had left that Place the Day before they got there: That one of our Soldiers growing weak, and not able to keep up with them, they killed and scalped on the Top of a high Hill; And that another Man, named Barnhold, being wounded in the Arm, they did not tie him in the Night, by which he made his Escape, after being six Days with them, and brought the above Intelligence. It is said one of the Indians was slightly wounded.

Fort Granville was not rebuilt; and during August, 1756, Captain Ward and the remainder of his company apparently were stationed with Captain George Armstrong's company at Fort George (Patterson's). Writing to Governor Morris on August 20, Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong, reporting his troops' progress toward their Fort Shirley rendezvous for the Kittanning expedition, stated that Captains Ward and Armstrong had, as ordered, stopped to examine the ruins of Fort Granville.⁹³ Subsequent to their return from Kittanning, Captain Ward's men were stationed at Fort Lyttelton.

The loss of this fort was a stunning blow; and it is interesting to observe that neither the secretary's notation recording the news of the defeat nor the Governor's message reporting it to the Assembly was entered in the Provincial Record.⁹⁴ The shock was followed by recriminations. Colonel Clapham wrote from Fort Augusta on August 14 that he was "well Assured that this Loss was entirely occasioned by a Want of Ammunition, having receiv'd a Letter two or three days ago from Colonel John Armstrong, that they had in that Fort only one Pound of Powder & fourteen Pounds of Lead."⁹⁵ Benjamin Franklin, one of the Provincial Commissioners, countered by printing

⁹³ *CR*, VII, 232.

⁹⁴ There is a gap in the official minutes between July 31 and August 20, 1756. See *CR*, VII, 220. Draft of minute, August 14, 1756, in William Peters' handwriting, in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 743. For Morris' message to the Assembly on August 16, see *PA8*, V, 4286-87.

⁹⁵ Clapham to Morris, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 744. See *ibid.*, 753, for Captain Hamilton's reference to this.

in his *Gazette* an account of the arms and ammunition recently sent Armstrong for this and the other western forts: "By Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong's Returns, it appears that there was on the 11th of last Month 57 effective Arms, 50 Pound of Powder, and 100 Weight of Lead, in Fort Granville."⁹⁶ Major Burd's fellow officer and brother-in-law, Captain Joseph Shippen, condemned Captain Ward for neglecting the "Gutt" (which Burd himself had previously neglected); and he assured Edward Shippen (Burd's father-in-law) that "I agree with you that it was a scandalous thing to leave the Gully near Fort Granville just as Nature left it . . . he had time enough since March (when Mr Burd left that Fort) . . . Mr Burd was not long enough there to finish the Fort & do the necessary work at the Bank too."⁹⁷

There were other consequences, more important than these petty accusations. The military and psychological necessity of retaliation took the form of the 2d Battalion's attack on Kittanning in September. But Fort Granville's fate demonstrated the weakness of a line of posts widely spaced, lightly garrisoned, and difficult to supply and to reinforce. Granville was not rebuilt; Shirley, Patterson's, and the proposed Pomfret Castle were all abandoned; and Armstrong's battalion withdrew to the line of the Cumberland Valley.

Gradually, the story of Fort Granville's fall, first told by the escaped prisoner Barnhold, became known in fuller detail. Captains George Armstrong and Ward inspected the burnt ruins; and Captain Hamilton sent Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong "the Orriginal of the French Letter, left at Fort Granvil"—a puzzle in that day, a mystery in ours.⁹⁸ Others of the captured garrison escaped: Peter Walker, at Carlisle by August 20; "Jn^o Rodmon a Dutchman," at Fort Augusta on August 31; John Hogan, at Carlisle by June 1, 1757; John Street, at Fort Cumberland by July 10; and two soldiers who escaped to Fort Lyttelton in September, 1757.⁹⁹ Prisoners rescued by Armstrong's battalion at

⁹⁶ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 19, 1756.

⁹⁷ Dated September 3, 1756; printed in *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 398.

⁹⁸ Hamilton to Armstrong, from [Adam] Hoops's, August 19, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 753-54, where by error it is identified as to Hoops. The "French Letter," which has since disappeared, was copied by I. D. Rupp in December, 1844, and the best description of it is in his *History and Topography of Northumberland* . . . , 122. There is a contemporary attempt at translation in Joseph Shippen's journal under date of August 18 (Shippen Family Papers). The letter, which was damaged, seems to be a woman's dismissal to her lover; whether it was left accidentally or as a practical joke would be hard to say.

⁹⁹ For Walker, see *CR*, VII, 232; for Rodmon, Shippen Journal, Shippen Family Papers, and *PAI*, II, 765; for Hogan *CR*, VII, 561-62; for Street, Hamilton (ed.), *Letters to Washington*, II, 136-37, and *CR*, VII, 716; for the two soldiers, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 6, 1757; and for Girty, *PAI*, II, 775.

Kittanning, including "Tho^s Girty taken at Fort Granville," helped fill in the story as reported by the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, quoting a letter of October 12, 1756, from Lancaster:

They say that Turner, the Corporal at Fort Granville, who ordered the Gate to be opened to the Enemy, was put to Death by the Indians when they got him to Kittanning. They tied him to a black Post, danced round him, made a great Fire, and having heated Gun-barrels red hot, they run them through his Body; they tormented him thus near three Hours, then scalped him alive; and at last held up a Boy, with a Hatchet in his Hand, to give him the finishing Stroke.¹⁰⁰

Finally, to these accounts known to Pennsylvanians of that day may be added the French report of the affair, drawn partly from French participants and partly it would seem from captives. It is dated at Fort Duquesne on August 23, 1756.

Day before yesterday, at one o'clock, arrived here the Chevalier de Villiers,¹⁰¹ the 30th day after his departure, with 27 prisoners and 4 scalps. He had 55 men, 23 of whom were French and the rest Indians, Shawnees, Delawares, or Illinois. With these, on the 2d of this month, he attacked le fort de la Grand' Ville in Pennsylvania, 60,000 [*sic*]¹⁰² miles from Philadelphia. He commenced his attack at 11 o'clock and continued firing, without effect, until evening, when he had dry wood cut up and hauled near one of the bastions, taking advantage of a gully 15 paces from the fort which provided cover from the enemy. At sunrise he kindled a fire which was so fanned by the wind that after Mr. Braford [i. e. *bras fort*, strong arm], the lieutenant in temporary command of the fort, had been killed, the gates of the fort were opened to him. He found there two swivel guns, 100 kegs of powder, some ammunition, and six months' provisions for the garrison. All this was burned. This fort was a square flanked by 4 bastions, the sides measuring 83 paces. Captain Eward who commanded there, had left two hours before the attack for Carlisle to get money for the garrison, which had gone 6 months unpaid. It was composed of 64 men and the store-keeper, who also was captured. The captive sergeant who had surrendered after the lieutenant's death was recognized at Fort Duquesne by some of the Delaware Indians, who in

¹⁰⁰ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 14, 1756.

¹⁰¹ Louis Coulon de Villiers, who two years previously had taken Fort Necessity. William Johnson, *alias* Marshall called him "Captain Sterit." *CR*, VII, 342.

¹⁰² Apparently a clerical error resulting from a repetition of the word *milles*, thousands or miles.

peacetime had often been among the English, as a man who had killed one of his comrades in order to marry his widow.¹⁰³ They charged him with this crime; his reasons and excuses were neither heard nor accepted, and without much formality the Indian tribunal condemned him to the fire, and they began to grill him with red-hot gun barrels.¹⁰⁴

FORT SHIRLEY

Fort Shirley was built on Aughwick Creek at the site of present Shirleysburg, Huntingdon County, at a place where George Croghan had lived since leaving eastern Cumberland County in 1751. Stockaded by Croghan in September, 1755, it became a Provincial post in December, when Croghan received a captain's commission, and it was garrisoned by Pennsylvania troops until abandoned in September, 1756. It was named by Governor Morris in January, 1756, for General William Shirley, governor of Massachusetts since 1741 and recently placed in command of the British forces in North America. Unofficially, it sometimes was referred to as "Croghan's Fort." Except that it was a stockade fort and that it was "something larger than fort Lyttelton," little is definitely known of the structure of this defense.

George Croghan's trading post at Aughwick was an important place beyond the English settlements, which in 1754 became the refuge of the pro-British Six Nations Indians who, with Tanaghrisson the Half King, abandoned their Ohio home after Washington's defeat at Fort Necessity. At Aughwick these Indians were for a time maintained by the Province; here in September, 1754, Tanaghrisson and Conrad Weiser tried unsuccessfully to secure Delaware and Shawnee leaders to the English side; and from here in the summer of 1755 Croghan and a few of the Six Nations Indians went to join Braddock.

Proposals to fortify Aughwick appear first in correspondence between Richard Peters and Croghan regarding the Indians supported there. The Assembly proposed that these Indians be brought nearer the settlements to save expense. Relaying this suggestion from the

¹⁰³ John Turner had married the widow of Simon Girty, "an Indian Traider who was killed at the Ohio." *Pennsylvania Archives*, Third Series (PA3), II, 322. Samuel Saunders was charged with the murder in 1751 (PA8, IV, 3427, 3494). The baptism of Turner's son "Jean," two and a half years old, was recorded at Fort Duquesne under date of August 18, 1756. Lambing (ed.), *Baptismal Register of Fort Duquesne*, 78-79. Unless there is an error of date, the child and his mother arrived at Fort Duquesne three days before De Villiers, who stopped at Kittanning.

¹⁰⁴ Le Chevalier de la Pause, "Memoire et observations sur mon voyage en Canada," *RAPQ*, 1931-1932, p. 43.

Governor to Croghan, Peters also on December 10, 1754, wrote over his own name:

If notwithstanding what the Governor has said at the instance of the Assembly concerning the Removal of the Indians . . . you shall be of Opinion that Auckquick is the best place and ought to be fortified for the Security of the Provinces, pray tell your mind freely to the Governor. . . .

Is it not absolutely necessary for the Settlers in Cumberland County to have a Place of Security to the West of the Blue Hills, and on this side the Allegeny Hills? if so, Can there be a more proper place than Auckquick? . . .

Auckquick ought to be made strong, and then it will be a good Barrier—indeed, there should be two places over the Blue Hills well fortified, or we shall lose the Indians.¹⁰⁵

Replying on December 23, Croghan complaisantly doubted the wisdom of moving the Indians nearer the inhabitants and assured Peters that "I Don't know what will be Come of the Back parts, unless there be a Stockado fort putt on this Side y^e Blue hills. . . ." ¹⁰⁶

Braddock's defeat and the departure of the Indians from Aughwick turned the Province's attention elsewhere and left Croghan more to his own devices. What these were appears in his letter of September 10, 1755, to William Johnson: "as I live 30 Miles back of all Inhabitation on y^e frontiers I have been oblig^d. to Rase a Volunteer Company on My own Expence and am building a Small Stockade fort to Secure what Litle Estate I have left which Men and My Self will be Ready att any time to Serve his Magesty when Call^d. On." ¹⁰⁷ Croghan was at Shippensburg on Monday, October 6, where he talked with Charles Swaine, sent earlier to manage the supplies intended for Braddock. Three days later, having returned to Aughwick, Croghan wrote to warn Swaine of possible Indian attacks and added a note regarding his own preparations: "Sir, if you could possibly Lend me 6 guns with powder, 20 of Lead by the bearer, I will return them in about 15 days, when I can get some from the Mouth of Conegochege. I hope to have my Stockade finished by the middle of next week." ¹⁰⁸

The Indian attack at Penns Creek on October 16, 1755, and that of November 1 on the Coves and Tonoloway gave rise to reports that

¹⁰⁵ Morris to Croghan, December 10, 1754, and Peters to Croghan, same date, both in PPC; latter printed in *PAI*, II, 214-15.

¹⁰⁶ Croghan to Peters, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 218.

¹⁰⁷ *Johnson Papers*, II, 30.

¹⁰⁸ *CR*, VI, 642-43.

Croghan's post had fallen or was in great danger.¹⁰⁹ On November 12, however, Croghan wrote from Shippensburg to James Hamilton: "I have butt a Stockcade fort at Aughick, and have about 40 men with me there, butt how long I shall be able to keep itt, I realy can't tell."¹¹⁰

Following passage of the Supply Act on November 27, Croghan was one of those consulted by the Provincial Commissioners about defense measures. On December 18 James Hamilton wrote Governor Morris, then absent in New York: "Since you left us, Conrad Weiser, James Galbraith, & Geo. Croghan have been in Town, and have been fully examined by the Councils upon all the Points we thought necessary to be known, but I cannot say We have received much Satisfaction from them."¹¹¹ However, Hamilton had thought sufficiently well of Croghan to give him a captain's commission, "as I knew not whom else to employ, and upon Supposition that He is honest, no body is fitter for that Service"; and on December 17 the commissioners ordered Croghan to raise men and to erect three more stockades to constitute, with the one built at Aughwick, a defense line west of the river.¹¹² In the month before the Governor's visit to Carlisle in January, 1756, Croghan seems to have raised three hundred men "in a very Expeditious manner, but not so frugally as the Commissioners . . . thought he might have done," of whom one hundred were at Aughwick.¹¹³

The Governor, who named the four western forts, commissioned three more sets of officers, assigning a company of seventy-five men to each fort and Captain Croghan to his old post; he expressed satisfaction that the men of these garrisons, unlike some of those east of the Susquehanna, were "all regularly inlisted in the King's Service for a certain Term, and the Officers were chose by the Government, and

¹⁰⁹ John Potts *et al.* to Morris, October 31, 1755, *ibid.*, 667; John Armstrong to *id.*, November 2, 1755, *PAI*, II, 452; Adam Hoops to *id.*, November 3, 1755, *ibid.*, 463.

¹¹⁰ PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 484.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 537.

¹¹² I. D. Rupp, *History and Topography of Northumberland . . .*, 118; *PAI*, II, 536, 538. On the same date the commissioners supplied Croghan with two hundred guns, three hundredweight of powder, five hundredweight of lead, sixteen pieces of blanketing, "which make 240 Blankets," twenty-six brass kettles, and two thousand flints. See *PA2*, II, 695 (1876 ed.), and *PAI*, III, 95, where the issue of blanketing is dated December 23.

¹¹³ Morris to Governor Hardy, July 5, 1756, draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 689-90. In the interim the commissioners on January 1, 1756, furnished Croghan "One Drum; 3 Casks of 10 p' Nailes; 4c: 2:2 lb. of Lead; 1 Barrel of Powder." *PA2*, II, 696 (1876 ed.).

not by themselves.”¹¹⁴ Writing on February 9 to General William Shirley, Governor Morris described the fort which he had named for him:

About twenty miles northward of Fort Lytellton, at a place calld Aughwick, another fort is Erected something larger than fort Lytellton, which I have taken the Liberty to Honour with the name of Fort Shirley. This stands near the great Path used by the Indians and Indian Traders, to and from the Ohio, and consequently the easiest way of access for the Indians into the settlements of this Province.¹¹⁵

The advanced position of the fort and the traffic on the path to the Ohio are reflected in the early reports from this post. About January 27 “*John Baker, a Servant to Capt. Croghan, . . . being out of Sight of this Fort, upon some Business, he was seized by an Indian, a Son of John Hickman, and another Indian coming up, he was carried off to Kittatinnin*” (Kittanning).¹¹⁶ Escaping in March, Baker returned home with an Indian scalp and the information on which Armstrong based his plans for the fall attack on Kittanning. On February 5 Croghan sent a messenger to Captain Burd at Fort Granville:

I have Sent you 60^{lb} of Mate which is all he Could Carrey—the White Mingo¹¹⁷ and all the Indians that was out ahunting is Come in one of them tells Me that there was 20 Indians all otaways pass by the forks of y^e Standing Stone Creek¹¹⁸ Some time ago and Apon Reckoning the Time I find itt to be y^e Day before the pople was kill^d below patersons they Towld y^e Man that See them that they was Not Coming to Aughick butt that there was a party of french and Indians Repeating att fort Duquesne to Come and attack My fort which they Soposed wold be Down in about 20 Days. . . .¹¹⁹

About this same time there were at Croghan's fort two Delaware Indians, who were known to their white neighbors by the name of Lackins or Lakens and who lived near present Academia, Juniata County. When leaving, these Indians attacked a soldier a little distance

¹¹⁴ Morris to the Council, January 21, 1756, *CR*, VI, 776.

¹¹⁵ Draft in PPC; printed in *PAL*, II, 569.

¹¹⁶ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 1, 1756. There are manuscript copies of Baker's deposition in Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, VIII, 63, and Indian Affairs, II, 78.

¹¹⁷ One of the Ohio Iroquois. Croghan had told Governor Morris at Carlisle on January 14 “that great Differences had arose between the White Mingo and the Belt about a Successor to Tanacharisson.” *CR*, VI, 784; see also *PAL*, II, 571.

¹¹⁸ A tributary of the Frankstown Branch of the Juniata at the present Huntingdon, Pennsylvania.

¹¹⁹ Shippen Family Papers, II, 25.

from the fort; but a friendly Indian rescued the wounded man, and others of the garrison killed and scalped his attackers.¹²⁰ On March 1, 1756, fourteen of Croghan's company were at McDowell's Mill when that place was attacked by Indians, said to have been armed with Braddock's guns, who in un-Indian fashion made a direct charge against the troops but finally withdrew.¹²¹ Writing from Shippensburg four days later to James Burd, Benjamin Blyth reported that two of Croghan's men had been killed.¹²²

Croghan had other difficulties not occasioned by the enemy. On February 25, 1756, the Provincial Commissioners paid £77 7s. "To Capt. George Croghan, his Balance for the Pay of four Companies"; and on March 15, £213 11s. 10d. "in full for Necessaries and Diet furnished the Forces."¹²³ Croghan's charges were the subject of dispute, and with this dispute his military services to the Province ended. Edward Shippen wrote from Lancaster on March 24 to James Burd: "I suppose you have heard that Mr. Croghan threw up his commission. He is expected here every day. I shall endeavor to persuade him to do something, before he goes to General Shirley."¹²⁴ Three days later Croghan attended a Council meeting in Philadelphia to act as interpreter for some Six Nations Indians then in town.¹²⁵ On June 1, 1756, finally, the commissioners paid Croghan £200 "for sundry Accounts, building Fort Shirley, &c."¹²⁶ Writing on July 5 to Governor Sir Charles Hardy of New York, Governor Morris gave a brief summary of Croghan's military services:

he continued in the Command of one of the Companies he had raised, and of Fort Shirley, on the Western frontier about three months, during which time he sent, by my direction, Indian Messengers to the Ohio for Intelligence, but never procured me any that was very material, and having a dispute with the Commiss^{rs} about some accounts between them, in which he thought himself ill-used; he resigned his commission.

...¹²⁷

¹²⁰ Francis West to William West, February 9, 1756, *PAI*, II, 571; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 19, 1756. The Lakens' settlement is identified in Copied Warrants, Cumberland County, 1-A, Nos. 34 and 40, Bureau of Land Records.

¹²¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 18, 1756.

¹²² Shippen Family Papers, II, 33.

¹²³ *PA8*, V, 4358-59.

¹²⁴ Shippen Family Papers, II, 35.

¹²⁵ *CR*, VII, 64.

¹²⁶ *PA8*, V, 4366.

¹²⁷ Draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 690.

Croghan's successor, Captain Hugh Mercer, was commissioned on March 6, 1756, with Hugh Crawford as lieutenant and Thomas Smallman as ensign.¹²⁸ Not long afterward the size of this garrison was reduced to sixty men in consequence of orders sent by the Governor on March 25 to Captains Burd, Hamilton, Patterson, and Mercer "to draught thirteen private men out of the Company under your Command, which you are to deliver to John Steel, Esq^r, who I have appointed Captain of a Company. . . ." ¹²⁹ Steel's company was to be stationed at McDowell's Mill, and the reassignment of troops was a step toward the build-up of a second line of Provincial defense below the Blue Mountain. Three days later Morris sent these same captains orders regarding Commissary Saltar, who was to be escorted to Fort Shirley from Fort Lyttelton and from Shirley to Fort Granville as he inspected and paid the troops.¹³⁰ Saltar found the western captains hard pressed by their problems; and it is not surprising to find Captain Steel reporting on April 11 that he could not get his drafts of men from the other captains: "Most of the Forts had not Receiv'd their full Compliment of Guns, But were in a great measure Supplied by the Arms the Young men had brought wth them. Cap^t. Patterson had Reciev'd but thirty three fire Arms, Cap^t. Mercer has not so many, but is Supplied by M^r. Croghan's Arms. . . ." ¹³¹

In fact, Mercer had to recruit for his own company. On Monday, April 19, 1756, Captain Burd wrote to the Governor from Carlisle: "On Saturday Afternoon Captⁿ Mercer Arrived here, and is Recruiting for his Comp^y at Fort Shirley, & as he was a Stranger in Town, I have procured him Thirty pound from M^r Francis West upon my Obligation, & for which Captⁿ Mercer gives M^r West a Draught upon the Commiss^{rs}. . . ." ¹³² On the same day Mercer himself wrote the Governor a letter so filled with the details of his problems of command as to deserve full quotation:

The Commissary General of the Musters, with your Honour's Instructions to review and Pay off the Garrison att Fort Shirley, arrived in a very lucky time, when the greater part of our Men were about to abandon the Fort for want of Pay, It was with great difficulty I could prevent their doing

¹²⁸ Mercer to Morris, April 19, 1756, *ibid.*, 633.

¹²⁹ Draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 601.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 604-605.

¹³¹ Steel to Morris, *ibid.*, 623.

¹³² PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 631.

so for three Weeks before, that is ever since the time of enlistment had been expired. I am sorry to observe that numbers of our best men have declined the Service, and reduced me to the necessity of recruiting anew, thro' diffidence with regard to their Pay, and I have been obliged to engage that even such as left us when paid off, should have the same allowance as formerly for their Overplus time, depending upon my being reimbursed, as without such ingagement it was impossible to prevent the fort from falling into the Enemy's hands. I am now about filling up my Company to Sixty Men, agreeable to your Orders, And have drawn upon the Commissioners for £30 for this purpose. A Garrison of thirty Men are now at Fort Shirley, engaged to remain there till the first of May, by which time I am in hopes of completing the Company, And shall immediately thereupon repair thither; It is to be feared that Our Communication with the Settlement will soon be cut off, unless a greater force is Ordered for the Garrison, As Your Honour is sensible that I can send no detachment to escort provisions, equal in force to Parties of the Enemy who have lately made Attempts upon our frontiers, and considering how short of Provisions we have hitherto been kept, the Loss of One Party upon this duty must reduce us to the last necessity.

Mr. Hugh Crawford is upon the Return of Lieutenant, and Mr. Thos. Smallman, who acted before as Commissary in the Fort, as Ensign to my Company; It will be a particular obligation laid upon me to have an Exchange of Mr. James Hays for Lieutenant, and Mr. Smallman continued. And Perhaps Mr. Crawford would be satisfied to fill Mr. Hays' Place with Captⁿ. Paterson, as numbers of that Company are of his Acquaintance.¹³³ I have given Mr. Croghan a Receipt for what Arms and other necessary Articles belonging to him are at Fort Shirley, a Copy of which, together with my Journall and General Return, shall be sent by Cap^t. Salter; and find it impossible to Arm my Men or compleat what yet remains of our Outworks without them. The Guns are preferable to those belonging to the Government, and I hope will be purchased for our Use.

Cap^t. Salter will inform your Honour how unfitt the Arms in General are for Use, even after being righted by a Gunsmith, whose Account is very Considerable; besides, We have no Cartridge Boxes, nor any convenient pouches for Powder

¹³³ Some reassignment apparently was made, but the details are not clear. A later list of officers omits Crawford but shows James Hayes and Thomas Smallman recommissioned as of May 22, 1756 (*PA5*, I, 70-71); on October 30 Smallman was commissioned a lieutenant, evidently in Mercer's company (*ibid.*, 62-63, 89). Before this last date, however, Mercer had been assigned Ensign John Scott, killed at Kittanning on September 8. Perhaps Smallman had been promoted earlier.

& Lead, so that in complying with Your Instructions of giving a Detail of what is wanting for the Company, I may mention in General, Arms and Accoutrements, besides Orders to the Commissary for a large Supply of Provisions att Once, And regular pay Once a Month; it will put me to extream difficulty if the Commissioners do not think proper to remit me Money to pay my Men by the first of May. I have wrote them to this purpose, and beg Your Honour will enable me to fulfill my engagements with the Company, without which I can hope for very little Satisfaction in serving the Publick.

The trust your Honour has been pleas'd to repose in me in giving me the Command of Fort Shirley, calls for my warm Acknowledgements, and cannot fail of engaging my utmost attention and zeal in the execution of your Orders.¹³⁴

With the commissioning of Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong on May 11, 1756, Mercer's company became part of the 2d Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment. The formation of Armstrong's company, stationed at Carlisle, was a further strengthening of a second line of defense below the mountain, which was later to supersede the original line of which Fort Shirley was a part.

Fort Shirley had the good fortune to escape such attacks as those made on Granville and Patterson's in July, 1756, but incidents were not lacking. In early June an enemy party had intended an attack but had reconsidered; as the French governor, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, was informed, "M. de Montisambert could not approach George Craon's fort as near as had been recommended, because he had only 7 Frenchmen and 20 savages. He attacked the settlements, after which he attacked a little fort, took it, burned it, and returned with 18 prisoners and 5 scalps." This apparently was Bigham's Fort in the Tuscarora Valley, captured on June 11.¹³⁵

On Thursday, July 22, Commissary James Young (Saltar's successor) wrote from Carlisle that

Lieut^{nt} Callender [of John Armstrong's company] came here last night . . . he informs me that last Monday two Indian Squas that were at Fort Sherley went off with one of our men, a fellow that had formerly been an Indian trader; the Squas are the Daughters of the Indian half King that was

¹³⁴ *PAI*, II, 632-33.

¹³⁵ Vaudreuil to the Minister of the Marine, August 8, 1756, *Wilderness Chronicles*, 94. The editors of this work suggest that the "little fort" taken by this party was McCord's Fort, taken April 1, 1756, but it must be noted how closely the French account agrees with the English one of twenty-two casualties at Bigham's Fort. See *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 24, 1756.

killed last Winter. I fear that fellow may be of bad Consequence to us, as he knows our Situation well.¹³⁶

Another letter of this date, quoted by the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, adds some details: "The Indian Wife of John Owen, and another Indian Woman, have left Fort Shirley, and it is imagined are gone to the Ohio with one McLure, a Soldier, who has deserted."¹³⁷ The "Indian half King" referred to by Young apparently is Tanaghrisson, head of the refugee Six Nations band from the Ohio, who died at Harris' Ferry on October 4, 1754; according to Harris, the Indians suspected that the French had poisoned him.¹³⁸

Indirectly, the fall of Fort Granville at the end of July, 1756, led to the evacuation of Fort Shirley. Retaliation, in the form of a secretly planned attack on Kittanning, required the use of advanced forts as bases; so, despite the now obvious danger of maintaining Shirley and Lyttelton, these posts were stored with supplies for the expedition. On August 17 detachments from both these forts were at Adam Hoops's near McDowell's Mill to get supplies. Receiving word from his lieutenant that Indians had been seen at Fort Lyttelton, Captain Hamilton next day wrote from Hoops's to Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong:

I have Last night Rec^d a Letter by Express from my Lieut. . . . We are Scarce of Powder and Lead at our Forts; I am obliged to get a little from M^r Hoops, and give my Receipt as for the Expedition

There is a party of Cap^t Mercers Company here, and on our Receiving this Letter we march Directly, taking with us Twelve Beef Cattle, and what Pack Horses belongs to the two Forts. The rest is to be brought up by Cap^t Potters and Steels men.¹³⁹

Armstrong himself wrote on August 20, 1756, from Carlisle to Governor Morris: "To-Morrow, God willing, the Men Marches from McDowell's for Fort Shirley. . . . This Night I expected to have been at Fort Shirley, but am much disappointed in getting in of the Strays." He complained of Hamilton and Mercer having drawn upon expedition supplies for use at their own forts. One of the Fort Granville garrison, recently escaped from the Indians, had told Armstrong that the enemy "designed very soon to attack Fort Shirley with four

¹³⁶ Young to [Morris], PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 717.

¹³⁷ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 29, 1756.

¹³⁸ Harris to Governor Hamilton, October 5, 1754, *PAI*, II, 178.

¹³⁹ PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 753.

hundred Men." Continuing his letter, Armstrong then recommended that

As Fort Shirley is not easily defended, and their Water may be taken possession of by the Enemy it running at the Foot of a high bank Eastward of the Fort and no well Dugg, I am of Opinion from its remote situation that it can't serve the Country in the present Circumstances, and if Attacked, I doubt will be taken if not strongly Garrisoned, but (extremities excepted) I cannot evacuate this without your Honor's Orders.¹⁴⁰

However, Governor Morris on this same day turned over the government to his successor William Denny; so the orders were not immediately given.

Meantime Fort Shirley served as the advance base for the attack on Kittanning, though even after the troops had been assembled there Armstrong had to deal with an almost chronic difficulty. As former Governor Morris reported the matter to the Proprietors:

on the 25: of July [*sic*] he got the troops together at fort Shirley with the necessary Provisions and Horses but the commissioners not having been punctual in the payment of the men there was great uneasiness among them upon that score which was too general to admit of harsh treatment especially as their complaints were Just, coll Armstrong therefore quieted them by giving assurances that they should be regularly paid upon their return but unless the assembly alter their conduct I do not see how that can be done as there is no money but in their treasury & Loan office—However that matter being settled the first and second Division moved of on the 29 of August and the third on the 30:— . . .¹⁴¹

Although Armstrong did not destroy the fort at this time, he had the gates removed, probably to discourage loitering or desertion by any of his men, and the fort stood empty during his absence. Morris, who of course had told Denny of the undertaking,

recomended it to him to send a hundred men and a quantity of Provisions to fort shirley to supply armstrongs men on their return to cover their retreat in case they should be repulsed and to secure that Fortress—this he was very inclinable to do but the Commissioners declined entering into the expence not caring to trust the assembly and having no

¹⁴⁰ Entered in PR, P, 12; printed in CR, VII, 231-33.

¹⁴¹ Rough draft in Gratz Collections, French and Indian Wars, 1756. The information undoubtedly derives from Armstrong's missing letter of August 29. See *PAL*, II, 767.

money in hand However that Necessary service is undertaken by a hundred Volunteers from York & Cumberland who have carryd with them to fort shirley a quantity of Provisions chiefly their own—. . .¹⁴²

Although Morris wrote this before Armstrong's return, it may be assumed that the troops received these provisions as planned. The soldiers did not remain at Fort Shirley, however, but marched on to Fort Lyttelton, where they arrived on the night of September 12, the fourth day after the fight at Kittanning.¹⁴³

Informed of Armstrong's return, Denny set out from Philadelphia on October 2, accompanied by James Hamilton and Benjamin Franklin, to inspect the western defenses.¹⁴⁴ Returned from this trip, on October 15 "The Governor then related to the Council that he found the Frontiers in a deplo[rable] Condition: Fort Granville burnt by the Enemy: Fort Shirley evacuated by his Order, and the Country People dispirited and running into little Forts for a present security. . . ."¹⁴⁵ The apprehensive mood of these people, in spite of Armstrong's success, is understandable. Near Kittanning his men had encountered a small advance party of Indian warriors, and from white captives rescued during the attack he had learned "that that very Day [September 8] two Battoes of French Men, with a large Party of Delaware and French Indians were to join Cap^t Jacob at the Kittanning and to set out early the next morning to take Fort Shirley, or as they called it, George Croghan's Fort."¹⁴⁶ An attack in the Conococheague area on September 20, 1756, showed the Indians still capable of inflicting injury.¹⁴⁷

Accordingly, Governor Denny gave the orders that Armstrong had asked of Morris. Writing to Thomas Penn on November 4, Denny reported the end of this post:

Fort Shirly was the place of Rendezvous for the Forces, engaged in the Expedition to meet at from the several Posts whence they were draughted. at setting out by order of the

¹⁴² Ten manuscript lines between this and the previous excerpt relate Morris' disclosure of the plans to Denny.

¹⁴³ Armstrong to Denny, September 14, 1756, *PAI*, II, 772. September 14 was a Tuesday (compare *CR*, VII, 251), so the "Sunday Night" of this letter was September 12.

¹⁴⁴ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 7, 1756. He returned on Thursday, October 14. *Ibid.*, October 21.

¹⁴⁵ *PR*, P, 50; printed in *CR*, VII, 278.

¹⁴⁶ Armstrong to Denny, September 14, 1756, *PPC*; printed in *PAI*, II, 770.

¹⁴⁷ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 7, 1756. The story of Philip Bäder, whose wife and children were taken at this time, is told in the account of Fort Lyttelton.

Colonel, the Gates were taken off, finding the Fort untenable and of no further use, the Inhabitants of Shurmans Valley, having entirely abandoned their Plantations, for whose Protection it was Built and left it open, without any Garrison, and on the Report of Colonel Armstrong made to me at Carlisle, and with the advice of the Commissioners, I have ordered it to be destroyed, as being at too great a distance from the present Inhabitants, and of no real service, in the Defence of the Frontiers.¹⁴⁸

In the reorganization that followed the Kittanning expedition, Captain Mercer's company was one of the two assigned to Fort Morris at Shippensburg. Mercer himself had had an arm broken at Kittanning, and in the confusion of the retreat from the town he had become separated from the main body of the troops and had been two weeks in the woods before arriving at Fort Lyttelton.¹⁴⁹

As in other instances, the name of Fort Shirley survived the destruction of the defense itself, and in time it replaced Aughwick, the older name for the locality. In September, 1763, when Armstrong, again commanding the western companies, led an expedition to the Big Island near the present Lock Haven, his men assembled at "Fort Shirley, on Aughwick";¹⁵⁰ and the name is perpetuated today in the present Shirleysburg.

THE KITTANNING EXPEDITION

The story of the attack on Kittanning,¹⁵¹ an aggressive action carried on at a considerable distance from the Provincial defense line, cannot readily be related to the accounts of the individual western forts, though men from all their garrisons participated in it. It was significant, however, not merely for its success as the only real attack delivered by the Province but also as one of a pair of incidents which mark a distinct break in military policy in the western part of the Province. Until the fall of Fort Granville the Provincial troops attempted to hold a line of defense well beyond the Blue Mountain; following this defeat and the compensatory success at Kittanning, the garrisons were redeployed south and east of the mountain, retaining Fort Lyttelton alone of the original line.

¹⁴⁸ *PMHB*, XLIV (1920), 108.

¹⁴⁹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 30, 1756.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, October 13, 1763. See also Robert Callender to Bouquet, October 12, 1763, *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21649, Part II, 94, where the name was misread as "Fort Shirto."

¹⁵¹ For a more detailed account of this expedition, see William A. Hunter, "Victory at Kittanning," *Pennsylvania History*, XXIII (1956), 376-407.

Contrary to a common impression, the proposal to attack Kittanning antedated the fall of Fort Granville. John Armstrong, commissioned on May 11, 1756, to command the 2d Battalion, was a man temperamentally disposed to aggressive action. Sometime in the next month or two he recommended to the Governor that attacks be made against not only Kittanning but also Chinc lacamoose on the West Branch of the Susquehanna.¹⁵² The Provincial Commissioners having given their approval, Governor Morris on July 31 ordered Armstrong to make the attack with a force of 250 men.¹⁵³ The fall of Fort Granville, which took place just at this time, was not learned of by Morris until some days later, but it made the undertaking all the more necessary as a retaliatory measure.¹⁵⁴ For the battalion commander himself retaliation became more personal since his brother Lieutenant Edward Armstrong was killed at Fort Granville.

According to the first plans, Armstrong's force was to include 250 men of his battalion, nominally 420 strong, and was to include the companies of Captains Hamilton, Mercer, Ward, and Potter.¹⁵⁵ The other three companies—George Armstrong's at Patterson's (Fort George), John Armstrong's at Carlisle, and Steel's at McDowell's Mill—would remain to guard the frontier. However, the companies were not at full strength—the loss at Fort Granville had left Captain Ward only half a company, Potter had forty-seven men, and Steel only about thirty—¹⁵⁶ and Governor Morris authorized Armstrong to increase his force to three hundred men by taking volunteers. It is quite possible that the additional men were in fact troops who were replaced by volunteers doing garrison duty; the casualty list shows that men of all seven companies participated in the attack and that George Armstrong's company, which was not originally assigned to the expedition, was one of the two suffering the heaviest losses.¹⁵⁷

Who guarded the settlements in the troops' absence is thus unclear, though hints are supplied by one or two details. The Reverend Thomas Barton, an Anglican clergyman who preached in York and Cumberland counties, wrote from Carlisle on August 22, 1756, to

¹⁵² John Armstrong: Scheme of an Expedition to Kittanning, Miscellaneous Manuscripts Collection, American Philosophical Society.

¹⁵³ Morris to the Proprietors, n. d., rough draft in Gratz Collections, French and Indian Wars, 1756.

¹⁵⁴ The fall of Fort Granville was discussed in Council on August 14, 1756. See *PAI*, II, 743.

¹⁵⁵ *CR*, VII, 230.

¹⁵⁶ Hoops to Armstrong, August 18, 1756, *PAI*, II, 752.

¹⁵⁷ Enclosed with Armstrong to Denny, September 14, 1756, *ibid.*, 773-75.

ask Richard Peters "whether to quit this Place, or to remain a little longer."¹⁵⁸ Barton may have come only to preach, but he was also a militia leader who, as Peters wrote on September 16, had marched with his congregations on every alarm.¹⁵⁹ Joseph Armstrong also may have provided a guard at this time. A militia captain at that date, he was commissioned in the Provincial forces on October 1, 1756, less than a month after the attack on Kittanning,¹⁶⁰ and later was paid "for keeping a Guard in Cumberland County, settled by the late Commissioners," that is, by the commissioners who, though they had prepared for the Kittanning expedition, had had no funds to settle the accounts.¹⁶¹

The expedition itself, despite last-minute complaints because the men had not been paid, marched from Fort Shirley in three detachments, two on August 29 and the third, apparently the largest, with Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong himself on August 30. The troops followed the usual route to Kittanning; so large a number of men must necessarily have used such a well-defined path, and the way must have been familiar to some of the officers and men who in previous years had been active in the Indian trade. On Friday, September 3, the main body of troops overtook the advance party at the Beaver Dams near the present Hollidaysburg, Blair County.¹⁶²

From this place the united force resumed its march toward Kittanning on the following day. Scouts of the advance party had seen the tracks of two Indian hunters east of the Allegheny Mountain, but the troops made their march undetected and encountered no Indians until the night of September 7, when a few were discovered about a campfire a few miles east of Kittanning.

This Indian party, it was later learned, had set out in advance of a French and Indian war party which was to have left a day or two

¹⁵⁸ Barton to Peters, *ibid.*, 756.

¹⁵⁹ Peters to Thomas Penn, Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, VIII, 157.

¹⁶⁰ PA5, I, 62, 70.

¹⁶¹ PA8, VI, 4879; payment dated September 6, 1757. These commissioners had informed Morris on August 12, 1756, that the money was all spent. See PA1, II, 742-43. It should be noted, however, that on September 6, 1756, while the troops were away on the expedition, Joseph Armstrong himself was in Philadelphia. See CR, VII, 242.

¹⁶² Morris to the Proprietors, n. d., Gratz Collections, French and Indian War, 1756; Armstrong to Denny, September 14, 1756, PPC (printed in PA1, II, 767, and CR, VII, 257). Armstrong's report speaks erroneously of "Wednesday, the Third Instant"; that the day and not the date is in error is shown by the account of the subsequent day-by-day progress. The Council minutes compound this confusion by referring to September 2 and 6 as Friday and Tuesday instead of Thursday and Monday. See CR, VII, 238, 241.

later to attack Fort Shirley. Underestimating the size of this Indian party, Armstrong left a few soldiers to attack it at daybreak, and under cover of darkness advanced with the main force to the Allegheny River just below the main Indian settlement.

The attack began at dawn on Wednesday, September 8. Kittanning was in fact a cluster of settlements, one of which, Shingas' town, was on the west side of the river. Armstrong's attack seems to have been limited to the main settlement, the home of Captain Jacobs. An attempt to surround this place before the attack was not successful, probably because the flanking party was hampered by darkness and rough, unfamiliar ground. Armstrong's men probably outnumbered the Indian warriors about three to one and had the advantage of surprise; the Indians on the other hand were on familiar ground and had the protection of their cabins. A few Frenchmen who were in the town to recruit a war party seem to have taken little part in the affair.¹⁶³ By the time the engagement ended about noon, the main Indian settlement was in flames, and Captain Jacobs, a few of his warriors, and some other Indians were dead; the attackers had seventeen known dead and almost as many wounded, including Armstrong himself and Captain Mercer.

The outcome probably could not have been really decisive. Armstrong's men could not undertake to hold their ground and had to retreat early and rapidly enough to discourage pursuit. Most of the residents of the town had made their escape when the attempt at encirclement failed, and the warriors from the outlying settlements soon began to rally to the attack. Of the hundred white captives who had been reported held at Kittanning, only eleven fell into Armstrong's hands, and four of these were lost again. The troops' retreat became more precipitate when these captives reported French and Indian preparations for an imminent attack on Fort Shirley and when it was learned that the Indian party at the campfire had worsted their attackers. In this confused withdrawal, Mercer, his ensign, and seven of his company were lost as a group, and other men became scattered.

The main body of the troops kept together and, traveling light, returned home in less than half the time required for their westward

¹⁶³ Armstrong's report shows no knowledge of them. Their presence is referred to in the French accounts, which probably are largely on their authority; and a captive Delaware stated at Fort Lyttelton on May 26, 1757, that "A Number of French were at the Kittanning, but run off when it was Attack'd, only one French Man fought." See Bougainville Journal, *RAPQ*, 1923-1924, p. 234; Renaud Journal, *ibid.*, 1928-1929, pp. 23-24; examination of Delaware prisoner, *PAI*, III, 148.

march. They presumably came by way of Fort Shirley, where a volunteer party was to have met them with provisions. On the night of Sunday, September 12, they arrived at Fort Lyttelton where, two days later, Armstrong signed the report which Lieutenant Robert Callender wrote for him.¹⁶⁴ Captain Mercer made his way to the same fort on September 22, and a few more of the nineteen men originally reported missing reached safety at places as widely separated as Fort Cumberland and Fort Augusta.¹⁶⁵

The most obvious advantages gained by the raid were the killing of Captain Jacobs, regarded as one of the two greatest Indian war leaders, and the dispersal of the hostile Delawares from Kittanning to more sheltered towns on the Beaver River and in the vicinity of Venango. Less easily evaluated but also important were the blow dealt the hostile Indians' self-assurance and the official acclaim of Armstrong's exploit as a significant victory. Had it been possible to follow this raid with other equally effective attacks, the significance of the undertaking might have been even greater, but neither Provincial finances nor legislative opinion would permit such a sequel.

The expedition did stimulate some further action, it is true. Two months after the Kittanning expedition Colonel Clapham sent a detachment of fifty men up the West Branch from Fort Augusta, but they did not go as far as Chinlacamoose, as Armstrong had recommended, and the town they went to near the present Jersey Shore was found deserted.¹⁶⁶ Armstrong had also proposed the building of a fort "betwixt the Reas Town and the Allegany Mountain," and Governor Denny advocated this project in the spring of 1757, but the Provincial Commissioners declined to provide the necessary funds.¹⁶⁷

The blow against Kittanning was in fact accompanied and followed by a withdrawal of the garrisons from the more exposed Provincial

¹⁶⁴ The manuscript, preserved in PPC, September 14, 1756, is in Callender's handwriting, but the signature is Armstrong's. The report is paraphrased in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 23, 1756; as copied into PR, P, 34-38 (without the lists of casualties and prisoners), it is printed in CR, VII, 257-63. It is printed from the manuscript in PA1, II, 767-75. Prior printings include those in Neville B. Craig, *The Olden Time*, I (1846), 76-82, and [I. D. Rupp], *Early History of Western Pennsylvania . . .*, 121-29.

¹⁶⁵ For accounts of these stragglers, see *Pennsylvania History*, XXIII (1956), 398-401.

¹⁶⁶ Clapham to Denny, November 8, 1756, and enclosure, PA1, III, 41-43; Denny to the Proprietors, April 9, 1757, *ibid.*, 116.

¹⁶⁷ Commissioners to Speaker of Assembly, April 5, 1758, PA8, VI, 4772.

posts west of the Susquehanna to bases within the partially depopulated settlements. That this strategic retreat coincided with a change of Provincial governors is probably coincidental, though the change may have expedited this revision of the defense system. Governor Morris himself, who had advocated the more advanced line of forts, had subsequently placed garrisons at McDowell's Mill and Carlisle, and the blow at Fort Granville had made a post so remote as the proposed Fort Pomfret Castle unthinkable.

Carefully planned and ably executed, the Kittanning expedition which Morris had authorized may be rated as a victory, but only in a limited sense. Neither a conversion to offensive warfare nor an attempt to shore up an untenable line of defense, it offset in a measure the defeat at Fort Granville, restored some confidence to the discouraged and harried settlers, and provided a better situation for the necessary revision of the western defenses.

FORT LYTTTELTON

Fort Lyttelton stood just northeast of the present town of Fort Littleton, Fulton County, a community which has inherited the name. Earlier the locality was known as the Sugar Cabins.¹⁶⁸ The fort was begun by George Croghan in December, 1755, and was named by Governor Morris a month later in honor of Sir George Lyttelton, Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1755-1756.¹⁶⁹ Of the original forts west of the Susquehanna, this was the only one maintained after the Kittanning expedition. It was garrisoned by Pennsylvania troops until the Forbes campaign in 1758 and by various detachments of regular and Provincial troops until 1760. At the outbreak of Pontiac's War in 1763 it was occupied briefly by local volunteers, but in the following year it was described as "deserted and in Ruins."¹⁷⁰ Fort Lyttelton was a stockaded fort of the usual form with bastions at the four corners, but was somewhat smaller than Fort Shirley; General Forbes

¹⁶⁸ Richard Peters had met the builders of "Burd's Road," the intended supply route for Braddock, "near the Sugar Cabbins, in Auckquick," in May, 1755. See *PAI*, II, 320. In 1761 a caveat was entered in the Land Office relative to "a Tract of Land situate on the West Side of the Great Cove Mountain, commonly Called the Sugar Cabbins, and on which said Tract is erected Fort Littleton." See *PA3*, II, 245.

¹⁶⁹ On his retirement he became Baron Lyttelton, November 18, 1756.

¹⁷⁰ William Peters to Richard Peters, May 5, 1764, Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, IX, 222.

described it and Fort Loudoun as consisting in 1758 of "only two or three houses each, inclosed with a Stockade of 100 feet square."¹⁷¹

Captain George Croghan on December 17, 1755, was ordered to build three stockades, including "one Near Sideling Hill; Each of them Fifty feet Square, with a Block-house on two of the Corners, and a Barrack within, capable of Lodging Fifty Men."¹⁷² By the time Governor Morris visited Carlisle about a month later, Croghan reported "y^t he had raised 300 Men, y^t he had in part built a Fort at the Sugar Cabbins on the new Road cut for the Use of Gen^l Braddock, distant 12 Miles from the Path Valley, . . . & had left 70 Men there."¹⁷³ Writing on February 9, 1756, to General Shirley, the Governor elaborated:

For the defence of our western frontiers I have caused four forts to be Built beyond the Kitticktiny Hills The one stands upon the new Road opend by this Province towards the Ohio and about twenty miles from the settlements And I have calld it Fort Lyttelton in Honour of my friend S^r George This fort will not only Protect the inhabitants in that part of the Province but being upon a road that within a few miles Joyns Gen^l Braddocks rout it will prevent the march of any regulars that way into the Province and at the same time serve as an advanced post or magazine in case of an attempt to the westward. For these reasons I have Caused it to be built in a regular form, so that it may in little time and at a small expence be so strengthened as to hold out against cannon.¹⁷⁴

This letter suggests that Morris had revised the original plans for this fort. His decision to increase the western garrisons from fifty to seventy-five men each probably would have required some change, and the allusion to "a regular form" probably reflects the provision of four bastions in place of the two opposite blockhouses of the original instructions. In addition to naming the forts, the Governor at this time commissioned officers for their garrisons. For Fort Lyttelton

¹⁷¹ Forbes to William Pitt, in James (ed.), *Writings of General John Forbes*, 141. A drawing identified as "Plan of Fort Lyttleton—1755," in William H. Egle, *An Illustrated History of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, 765, is a misrepresented plan of Fort Ligonier; compare the plan of the latter in *Frontier Forts*, II, 288.

¹⁷² I. D. Rupp, *History and Topography of Northumberland* . . . , 118; *PAI*, II, 536. Quoted from the latter.

¹⁷³ Peters to the Proprietors, February 23, 1756, Peters Letter Book, Gratz Collections.

¹⁷⁴ Draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 569.

these were Captain Hance Hamilton, commissioned January 16, Lieutenant William Thompson, and Ensign David Jameson.¹⁷⁵

Fort Lyttelton remained until 1758 the southwest end of the fortified line in Pennsylvania; for Captain John Potter's assignment in February, 1756, to build a fort midway between this and Fort Frederick, Maryland, was abandoned a month later,¹⁷⁶ and the proposal to build a fort at or near present Bedford was not carried out until 1758.

A letter from Governor Morris discloses that Captain James Burd, assigned to Fort Granville, visited "ye Suggar Cabbins" sometime in January, 1756.¹⁷⁷ This trip, though made without the Governor's knowledge, may have been for the purpose of assisting with the construction of the fort, or it may have had some connection with Burd's previous work on the road intended to carry supplies to General Braddock.

Croghan had enlisted the men, like the rest of the first Pennsylvania troops, for a short term of service, and by spring their time was expiring and they had to be re-enlisted or replaced. This problem was complicated by the Governor's order of March 25, 1756, reducing the original western companies to sixty men each and assigning the overplus to a new company commanded by John Steel.¹⁷⁸ At Fort Lyttelton the situation was further aggravated when on April 2 Captain Hamilton lost men and guns in an encounter with Indians.

Indians captured William McCord's Fort, a "private fort" a few miles northwest of present Chambersburg, on Thursday, April 1, and killed or carried off twenty-seven persons.¹⁷⁹ In their retreat the Indians were pursued by Captain Alexander Culbertson with thirty men of his militia company of Lurgan Township, joined at Fort Lyttelton on April 2 by nineteen men of Hamilton's company under Ensign Jameson. At Sideling Hill the troops overtook and attacked a party of the Indians, but found themselves at a disadvantage when another enemy party led by Shingas entered the battle. Captain Culbertson and eleven of his men were killed and seven wounded; of Hamilton's men, eight were killed and Ensign Jameson and four others wounded. The early belief that Isaac, a friendly Delaware

¹⁷⁵ "Instructions to Hance Hamilton Esqr" [January, 1756], Gratz Collections, Colonial Wars, 1745-1763. For Hamilton's and Thompson's commissions, see *PA5*, I, 70-71.

¹⁷⁶ Morris to Potter, March 25, 1756, *PA1*, II, 602.

¹⁷⁷ *Id.* to Burd, February 3, 1756, *ibid.*, 566.

¹⁷⁸ *Id.* to Steel and to Burd *et al.*, March 25, 1756, *ibid.*, 601-602.

¹⁷⁹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 8, 1756.

Indian with Hamilton's men, had in this battle killed and scalped Captain Jacobs, the Delaware leader, later proved a mistake.¹⁸⁰ Five persons who made their escape from the Indians during the engagement found their way to Fort Lyttelton.¹⁸¹

On the heels of this confusion, Commissary Elisha Saltar arrived in Cumberland County. Saltar had been ordered on March 28 to go to the county by way of Lancaster and York and to inspect and pay the garrisons, beginning at McDowell's Mill and continuing to Lyttelton, Shirley, Granville, and Pomfret Castle (or Patterson's). Instead, Saltar chose to go first to Carlisle, where he arrived on April 4, and decided to get an escort from Adam Hoops's near McDowell's Mill "as I am Verry Sencible Great part of the Souldiers have left their posts & Come to the Inhabitants."¹⁸² Saltar reported to the Governor the next day that "The Indians have been seen on this Road Verry lately; I have prevaild on the People that Left the forts to Escort me as far as fort Littleton, which Cou'd not Gett others to do."¹⁸³ In reply, the Governor ordered Saltar on April 10 that "When you get to fort Lytellton you will take upon oath what proofs you can of the certainty of Indian Isaacs having taken the scalp of Captain Jacobs, . . . that Isaac may be entitled to the reward. . . ."¹⁸⁴ Apparently, Saltar got to Fort Lyttelton without further incident, for by April 19 he had paid the garrison at Fort Shirley.¹⁸⁵

The following months saw the build-up of Colonel Clapham's regiment to be sent to Shamokin; and several older officers were reassigned to this force. As noted in the account of Fort Granville, Captain Burd became major in the new battalion, and his ensign, Clark, a lieutenant. Commissary Saltar and Ensign Jameson, the later of Hamilton's company, received captains' commissions; Jameson, whose new commission was dated May 19, apparently was replaced by Ensign William

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, April 15 and 22, 1756; Hamilton to Potter, April 4, 1756, *CR*, VII, 77 (date misprinted April 9); *id.* to [], April 4, 1756, *PAI*, II, 611-12; Shippen to Morris, April 24, 1756, *ibid.*, 642-43. For Captain Jacobs, see also *ibid.*, II, 621-22; III, 315.

¹⁸¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 22, 1756. An escaped prisoner, John Cox, subsequently asserted "that in the Engagement at Sideling Hill in April last there were only three Indians killed; and that they carried but five of the Prisoners they took there to Kittatinning [*sic*: Kittanning], having lost about 20 of them in the Woods." *Ibid.*, September 9, 1756. Cox's statement as published here is otherwise almost identical with that in *CR*, VII, 242-43.

¹⁸² Saltar to [Morris], Carlisle, April 4, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 611.

¹⁸³ *Id.* to Morris, Carlisle, April 5, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 613. See also Morris to Saltar, April 8, 1756, draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 618.

¹⁸⁴ Draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 621-22.

¹⁸⁵ Mercer to Morris, April 19, 1756, *ibid.*, 632.

Lyon on May 22. Meanwhile, these western garrisons were joined into the 2d Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment.¹⁸⁶

Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong, commissioned on May 11 to command this battalion and stationed with his company at Carlisle, faced problems which came to a climax with the fall of Fort Granville on July 31, 1756. The effects of this defeat are reflected in Captain Hamilton's letter of August 18 to Armstrong:

Sir there Was five of My Men that Was free, about the Seventh of July, wich promiss'd to inlist again and they Continued in the Service, until they heard of Fort Granvil being taken (and not being Quallified they Went off) as it is Reported for want of Ammunition, and we being So Scarce they plainly Refused to Serve longer under Such Circumstances.¹⁸⁷

Hamilton wrote this letter from Adam Hoops's near McDowell's Mill, where he had gone to draw on the supplies designed for the retaliatory Kittanning expedition. While here, he received a letter dated August 17 from Lieutenant Thompson, left in command at the fort. There had been an alarm during the night and in the morning the garrison "found Tracks, and following them down the Creek the[y] increased to a larger Number, and Several Shoe Tracks with Narrow Toes being among them, there is no doubt both French and Indians are in the Gang. . . . P. S. Our horses are all Taken."¹⁸⁸

Captain Hamilton's company was among those originally assigned to go to Kittanning, but its reported loss of one man killed in the engagement there on September 8 is so small as to suggest that this company was either not well represented or not heavily engaged.¹⁸⁹ Returning from the expedition, Armstrong's men arrived at Fort Lyttelton on September 12, 1756, and it was from this place that Armstrong sent Governor Denny a report of the success of his venture.¹⁹⁰ Captain Mercer had been wounded in the action, and his company scattered; and when Armstrong wrote, Mercer, his ensign, and seven of his company were missing. However, Mercer arrived at Lyttelton on September 22 after traveling two weeks through the woods with a broken arm.¹⁹¹

A consequence of the loss of Fort Granville was the reorganization

¹⁸⁶ *PA5*, I, 70-71.

¹⁸⁷ PPC; printed in *PA1*, II, 753, where it is wrongly identified as to Adam Hoops.

¹⁸⁸ Thompson to [Hamilton], *ibid.*, 752.

¹⁸⁹ *CR*, VII, 230; *PA1*, II, 774.

¹⁹⁰ Armstrong to Denny, September 14, 1756, PPC; manuscript in Robert Callender's handwriting, signed by Armstrong.

¹⁹¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 30, 1756.

of the western defenses, effected after the return of the battalion from Kittanning. Armstrong had written on August 20 to Governor Morris (replaced that day by Governor Denny) that "Lyttelton, Shippensburg, and Carlisle (the two last not finished) are the only Forts now built that will, in my Opinion, be Serviceable to the publick. McDowell's or thereabouts is a necessary Post, but the present Fort not defencible."¹⁹² On September 29 John Harris wrote from Paxton to Major Burd at Fort Augusta that "there is Two Companys Stationed at fort Littleton Two D^o at Jn^o McDowels Mill one D^o at Shippensborrow & one at Carlisle. . . ."¹⁹³ The additional company at Lyttelton was that of Captain Edward Ward, formerly stationed at Fort Granville. The redistribution of troops increased the Fort Lyttelton garrison to about one hundred men; Captain Hamilton, the senior officer, continued in command.¹⁹⁴

When Governor Denny, James Hamilton, and Benjamin Franklin left Philadelphia on October 2, 1756, to interview Armstrong and to examine the prisoners rescued from Kittanning, they took with them Lieutenant Elias Meyer, a British army engineer, to examine the forts, "that such as were tenable and placed at proper distances and in good places, might be continued and the rest to be demolished."¹⁹⁵ In general, Meyer seems to have approved the changes recently made, and he agreed that McDowell's Mill should be replaced by a new fort. In effect, the original line of defense was replaced by a more strongly held line within the Cumberland Valley. Patterson's, Granville, and Shirley were not reoccupied, and of the original line only Fort Lyttelton remained garrisoned.

A month later the Philip Pather episode caught the attention of this fort and, in widening circles, that of the western garrisons and of the Provincial authorities. Of no real military significance, the incident is nonetheless interesting for its relation to some of the more obscure aspects of colonial war.

On November 10, 1756, men of the Fort Lyttelton garrison intercepted a one-eyed man on a stallion, riding westward past the fort and carrying with him "Boild Meat Butter and Sundry other provisions

¹⁹² *CR*, VII, 233.

¹⁹³ Shippen Family Papers, II, 73.

¹⁹⁴ The identity of the second company is indicated by Armstrong's letter of November 21, 1756, *PAI*, III, 59. Hamilton's commission antedated Ward's, and Denny, writing on January 26, 1758, to General Loudoun, refers specifically to "Captain Hamilton of the Provincial Forces who Commands at Fort Lyttelton." Loudoun Papers, Box 118, No. 5470.

¹⁹⁵ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 7, 1756; *CR*, VII, 278.

Sufft to Carry Him to the Ohio, with A Kettle bedcloths Onions and Sundry Sorts of Garden Seeds—And provinder for his Stallion.”¹⁹⁶ He also had, as they discovered, a German letter of introduction from one Friederich Kraft of Conococheague to some of Kraft’s relatives supposed to be serving with the French garrison at Fort Duquesne.¹⁹⁷

All this was highly incriminating and was not wholly offset by the story the prisoner told his captors. His name, he said, was Philip Bäder (or Pather); he had come from Germany about 1742 and settled at the Conococheague in 1750. Less than two months ago on September 20 Indians had burned the house and mill of George Brown, whom they had killed, and had carried off Bäder’s wife and two children. In his distress Bäder had consulted a friend, Kraft, who had encouraged him to go to the French fort, where, having “Swapt a Still for a Stallion To Carry him out,” Bäder had undertaken to go.¹⁹⁸

Cumberland County had been hard pressed by savage attacks, and the people’s mood was one of apprehension rather than of sympathy. Roman Catholic settlers near the Maryland border had been suspected of disaffection, and only the month before, in October, one William Johnson had reported a plan for these people to desert to the French. “Johnson,” upon being identified as William Marshall, a deserter from the British garrison at Fort Cumberland, then repudiated this story, but the incident illustrates the mood of the day.¹⁹⁹

Bäder’s subsequent experiences were not happy. Captain Ward wrote from Fort Lyttelton to report the affair to Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong, who was then at McDowell’s, and Armstrong wrote Governor Denny on November 21, 1756, that he had “detached a party of Men for Frederick Croft [Kraft], with Orders to Deliver him to the Commanding Officer at this place, which was done, and this morning has Sent Pather & Croft to Carlisle Goal, where they must be confined untill your Hon^{rs} pleasure is known.”²⁰⁰ What happened to Bäder thereafter is disclosed by an appeal which on January 24, 1757, he sent from the Philadelphia jail to the Governor:

¹⁹⁶ Examination of Philip Pather [*sic*], Fort Lyttelton, November 10, 1756, PPC; enclosed with Armstrong to Denny, November 21, 1756.

¹⁹⁷ Friederich Kraft to [cousins at Fort Duquesne], Kanacasick [Conococheague], November 10, 1756, in German, PPC; enclosed with Armstrong to Denny, November 21, 1756. According to Armstrong’s letter Kraft had heard of his relatives through a French deserter. See *PAI*, III, 59.

¹⁹⁸ Examination of Philip Pather, November 10, 1756, PPC.

¹⁹⁹ The story of Johnson, *alias* Marshall, has been noted in the account of Fort Machault. See especially Marshall’s confession, *Maryland Archives*, XXXI, 176-77.

²⁰⁰ *PAI*, III, 59.

That Your unfortuner petitioner has been Confinet, one week in mettols [McDowell's] fort, one week in LittelTwon, Three week in Carleile, and five weeks in This Common Goal. . . . between Cristmess and New Year, I was Brought before Mr allen, and he Told me that I was Cleart from Your honnour, but I Shall give Security that I wont go over agin, or Else Serve the King. . . .

His blindness, however, unfitted him for military service, he said, and he had no property to offer as security; so he must rely on the Governor's mercy.²⁰¹

During this time Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong had taken steps to strengthen Fort Lyttelton. On November 12 he had reported to the Governor from Carlisle that "At present we have 100 men at McDowels, Guarding and Escorting the Publick Provisions to Fort Lyttleton, and are now on their way there. . . . I am with a Detachment from each Fort to meet the Escort now set out for Lyttleton on Tuesday next [Nov. 16], at Barrs place. . . ."; and a week later he had written from McDowell's Mill that "Yesterday the Escort of one hundred men returned from Lyttleton who left the Chattle, &c., safe there. . . ." ²⁰²

Fort Lyttelton's position as the farthest south and west of the Provincial posts colors its later history. The fort became almost a "port of entry" for southern Indians, chiefly Cherokees, cultivated by the English colonies as potential auxiliaries; and, though extremely sensitive to reports of French military movements, it was correspondingly useful as a base for scouting expeditions. One of the alarms in this region resulted from the discovery on December 23, 1756, that a party of French and Indians had encamped at Raystown;²⁰³ and although no enemy incursions followed this alarm, June brought new threats of danger. An escaped prisoner told Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong on June 1, 1757, that the French garrison at Fort Duquesne "expected a large Reinforcement of French and Indians from Canada & Mississippi; and That they wou'd then endeavor to cutt off the back Inhabitants."²⁰⁴ A Provincial detachment from Fort Loudoun was surprised on June 8 and lost seven men.²⁰⁵ A few Cherokees reported

²⁰¹ Original manuscript in PPC; entered in PR with some corrections and printed in *CR*, VII, 399.

²⁰² Armstrong to Denny, November 12, 1756, *PAI*, III, 51. *Id.* to *id.*, November 19, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 58.

²⁰³ *CR*, VII, 395.

²⁰⁴ Deposition of John Hogan, *ibid.*, 562.

²⁰⁵ Armstrong to Denny, June 19, 1757, *PAI*, III, 188.

on June 15 at Fort Cumberland (as it was understood) that they had seen "a large Body of French and Indians, and a great Number of Carriages & Horses" at Fort Duquesne; and that about June 10 a large enemy force had set out from that place, following Braddock's road toward Fort Cumberland.²⁰⁶

Upon receipt of this news at Winchester, Virginia, where he had gone to deliver a gift to the Cherokees, Armstrong "order'd Spys from Fort Lyttleton to the Alleghany Hills, least the whole, or any part [of the enemy force] shou'd be Destin'd to this Province";²⁰⁷ and Colonel John Stanwix, then encamped near Carlisle with five companies of the Royal American (62d) Regiment, prepared to march toward Fort Cumberland with these British troops and 250 men of Armstrong's battalion.²⁰⁸ However, according to word received at Lancaster, Stanwix heard on June 21, 1757,

. . . that the Enemy had altered their Route having left General Braddock's Road & crossed thro' the Country to the Penns^a Road cut by M^r Burd. . . .

This Intelligence determined Col^o Stanwix not to move from Carlisle . . . But he dispatched off 2 Companies of Col^o Armstrongs Battalion to Fort Littleton with orders to destroy it & bring away all the Provisions & Stores to Fort Loudoun.²⁰⁹

If such orders actually were given, they were countermanded. On June 23-24, 1757, Indians made minor attacks along the Maryland-Pennsylvania frontier, and on the latter date "a Daughter of Gerrard Pendergrass was killed, and scalped, in Sight of Fort Lyttleton";²¹⁰ but these incidents were not the work of any large force, and the fort certainly was not destroyed. Stanwix himself wrote to the Governor on June 28:

[I] Am of Opinion that a large Party of French and Indians did leave Fort DuQuesne the 10th Instant, but without Artillery or Waggon; but what is become of them I cannot yet learn: As it was probable they might appear towards Rays Town I augmented the Garrison at Fort Lyttleton, 150 Men; And ordered Scouts out towards Rays Town, but no Intelligence of them, tho' now 18 Days since the Enemy was supposed to be in Motion. . . .²¹¹

²⁰⁶ William Trent to William Cox, June 16, 1757, *CR*, VII, 601.

²⁰⁷ Armstrong to Denny, June 19, 1757, *PAI*, III, 189.

²⁰⁸ Denny to the Proprietors, June 30, 1757, *ibid.*, 196.

²⁰⁹ Joseph Shippen to William Shippen, June 24, 1757, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 438.

²¹⁰ Croghan to Armstrong, June 28, 1757, *PR*, P, 340; printed in *CR*, VII, 632.

²¹¹ Stanwix to Denny, June 28, 1757, *PR*, P, 338; printed in *CR*, VII, 629.

On the same day Lieutenant Potter at Fort Lyttelton sent a report of the scouts and of the troops who were to follow them:

he writes, that Ensign Hays was return'd from Juniata, where he had been to see if he cou'd discover any of the Enemy, he says he discover'd a great many Indian Tracks, and heard several Guns fired there: An other Party return'd who say, they saw Two Indians fishing in Juniata, at the Ford; He writes the Troops were to march from Fort Lyttleton, this Morning, in Quest of the Enemy.²¹²

Two days later Armstrong added further details which corrected and clarified the earlier stories:

Tis now said that the First Party of those Indians who brought Cap^t Dagworthy the Intelligence of the Enemy's March with Artillery, was not rightly understood for want of a proper Interpreter and that a party later from Duquesne than they and who had been nearer that Fort, say there was no great Guns nor wheel'd Carriages with the Enemy, but that a large Number, consisting of French and Indians with Baggage Horses did actually leave Fort Duquesne about the 9th Inst^t, bending their Course by the old Alleghenny Path which leads from that place towards Reas Town, on the Departure of which Detachment the French fir'd their Cannon. This later and surer Intelligence put a Stop to Colonel Stanwix's March to Winchester. . . . But least Loudoun or Lyttleton shou'd be attack'd he allow'd me to send all I cou'd from this Battalion as far as Lyttleton and as much farther as I might think requisite, not to exceed three Days March from the Inhabitants, but oblig'd me to stay with him least he shou'd be suddenly call'd to take some Rout which he, being a Stranger might not understand— Cap^t Hamilton therefore commands the party consisting of 200 private Men and a sufficient Number of officers— They have the best general Orders I cou'd give them, but in this Service much must be left to the Commanding officer. They are now encamp'd some where near Reas Town, and Nothing yet heard from them, save that one of our Spies had discover'd some Tracks and saw two Indians fishing in Juniata. . . .²¹³

On July 11, 1757, finally, Armstrong wrote that

Our People are return'd from Reas Town without making any other discoveries than the Tracks of very small parties at a considerable distance, tho' our spys were thirty Miles on all

²¹² Croghan to Armstrong, June 28, 1757, PR, P, 340; printed in *CR*, VII, 631-32.

²¹³ Unsigned manuscript in handwriting of Robert Callender, Carlisle, June 30, 1757, endorsed by Peters as from "Lieut^t Coll^l Armstrong," PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 201-202.

hands from the Camp, so that I take the party from Duquesne only to have Patrol'd a Certain distance & return'd, or to have March'd up the River towards Winango. Cap^t Dagworthy's Spys from Fort Cumberland have also return'd without making any discoveries.²¹⁴

The following months saw continued precautions for the security of this post. When, for example, the garrisons of the other three forts under Armstrong's command were assigned to guard parties of harvesters, the companies at Fort Lyttelton were exempted because of the more advanced position of this fort. About the beginning of October the garrison welcomed two soldiers who had been taken at the fall of Fort Granville but had recently made their escape; they were questioned about the strength of Fort Duquesne, and gave the somewhat reassuring news "that the Garrison of that Place did not exceed 200 Men," half the strength of Armstrong's battalion.²¹⁵

On October 17, 1757, Captain Hamilton was reported to be paying off the men of his company; and at such times men whose time had expired might not re-enlist, particularly since all enlistments after June, 1757, had to be for a term of three years. To balance this drawback a bounty of one pistole (four dollars) was paid to each three-year volunteer and a half-pistole to the officer who recruited him. Taking advantage of the fact that a three-month company raised at Marsh Creek in July as an emergency measure was about to be disbanded, Armstrong ordered Captain Hamilton "to repair with all expedition to Marsh Creek, in York County, . . . to give him (as he's acquainted) an Opportunity of Enlisting some of them for three Years, which it's probable he may do."²¹⁶ His success is attested by the Provincial Commissioners' payment on November 8 of £59, 3s, 8d to "Hance Hamilton, for Recruiting and for Sundries for the Use of his Company."²¹⁷

Fort Lyttelton had another visit from the Cherokees on December 26, according to Captain Hamilton's letter of December 29, apparently directed to Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong:

On Monday last arrived at this Fort, George McSwaine and four White Men, with 45 Cherokees, this Party, and Lieutenant Shelby with 8 white Men and 55 Cherokees, left Fort Frederick the 26th of November last, in order to make discovery at Fort Duquesne, but the Snow falling soon after they

²¹⁴ Armstrong to Denny, PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 212.

PAI, III, 296; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 6, 1757.

²¹⁶ Armstrong to Denny, October 17, 1757, *PAI*, III, 297.

²¹⁷ *PAI*, VI, 4884.

got over the Allegany Hills, obliged them to stay several Days, and then marched within about thirty Miles of the French Fort, and a Captain and fourteen Warriors set out to View the Fort, and stayed in sight of it Two days, and discovered great Numbers of Indians and French about the Fort, but they kept so close that they could neither get any Prisoners, or Scalps, and the Snow getting so deep they were obliged to retreat, but they inform me they will stay till the Spring and purpose to send home three of their Warriors to bring a sufficient number of their Friends, that will drive out all the Indians from their Cabbins about the French Fort. They are in want of Cloathing suiteable to so brave a people We are under a great difficulty not having any Interpreter to Inform us of their Wants or Intentions. We are in want of Lead at Garrison. My Complements to Mad^m Armstrong, and likewise to the Gentlemen of your Choir.²¹⁸

The reorganization of the Pennsylvania troops effected about the end of January, 1758, in which Armstrong's 2d Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment, augmented by five companies of the old 1st Battalion became the new 1st Battalion, left the same garrison at Fort Lyttelton, but gave the captains new subalterns. Captain Hamilton, recommissioned as of December 6, 1757, was assigned Lieutenant Jacob Schneider (December 13) and Ensign Hugh Crawford (March 11, 1758); Captain Ward (December 13) was assigned Lieutenant Henry Geiger (December 21) and Ensign James Pollock (January 11, 1758). Both these lieutenants had served previously in Weiser's battalion east of the Susquehanna, Schneider as ensign under Captain Reynolds, Geiger as ensign in Wetterholt's company.²¹⁹ Commissary James Young's return dated February 9, 1758, reported "At Fort Littlyton, two Comp^s [containing] 110 [men]."²²⁰

In April and May, 1758, small parties of French and Indians sifted past Fort Lyttelton to attack the settlements. James McCullough of Conococheague (whose two sons had been taken by Indians in July, 1756) made a record of these incidents:

April 3, 1758, two men killed near Shippensburg.

April 5, 1758, one man killed and ten taken near Black's gap, south mountain.

April 13, 1758, one man killed and nine taken near Archibald Bard's south mountain.

²¹⁸ Copy in Loudoun Papers, Box 113, No. 5137; enclosed with Denny to Loudoun, January 26, 1758.

²¹⁹ *PAI*, III, 336. Crawford had served previously as lieutenant in Mercer's company at Fort Shirley. See *PAI*, II, 633.

²²⁰ PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 341.

May 21, 1758, one woman and five children taken from yellow breeches.

May 23, 1758, Joseph Gallady killed, his wife and one child taken from Conococheague.²²¹

These attacks brought into action the garrisons of Forts Morris, Loudoun, and Lyttelton. Major Hugh Mercer and soldiers from Fort Morris set out in pursuit of the first Indian party, which in Path Valley was headed off by a patrol under Captain Ward; unfortunately, a soldier signaling that he had sighted the enemy was seen by the Indians who, fleeing precipitately, made their escape from the trap.²²²

The attack of April 5, as reported by the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, was made on the home of Thomas Jamieson. Among the prisoners carried off by the attackers, who included four Frenchmen and six Shawnees, was Mary Jemison, who spent most of her remaining years among the Senecas and became famous as the "White Woman of the Genesee."²²³

Eight days later a party of nineteen Delawares attacked the home of Richard Bard (or Baird) and captured nine persons, three of whom they afterward killed, including a son of Captain Potter, former commander at Fort Loudoun. In their retreat these Indians evaded a party of Captain Thompson's men from that fort. Bard himself made his escape four days later and on April 27 was brought to Lyttelton by three Cherokees who happened to meet him some two miles from the fort. Bard's captors had come from the Delaware towns on Beaver River; and one of them, James Linganoa, was a brother of "Indian Isaac," who had served with the Fort Lyttelton garrison.²²⁴

By this time General John Forbes, appointed to command the British forces in the southern district of North America (including Pennsylvania), was in Philadelphia preparing for his march against Fort Duquesne. In this campaign the Provincial troops and their officers were incorporated into the British forces; they served under General Forbes' command and were supplied by the Crown, though they were paid by the Province. With the assembling of Forbes' forces in Cumberland County, the four forts west of the Susquehanna—

²²¹ Loudon (ed.), *Narratives*, II, 209. For Gallidy [sic] see *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 22, 1758.

²²² See the account of Fort Morris in the present chapter.

²²³ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 13, 1758; James E. Seaver, *Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison* (1918 ed.), 24-34.

²²⁴ For Bard, see *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 11, 1756 (where he is called Thomas Baird); Richard Baird [sic] deposition, *PAI*, III, 396-97; Loudon (ed.), *Narratives*, II, 57-75; James Potter to Bouquet, May 3, 1762, *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21648, Part I, 92. For James Linganoa, or Delaware Jamy, see *PAI*, III, 83; *CR*, VII, 381.

Carlisle, Morris, Loudoun, and Lyttelton—lost their old status as Provincial defenses and took on new roles, first that of bases for the campaign and then that of posts on the line of communication to Pittsburgh. It is as a British post that the further story of Fort Lyttelton is best told; and if a date be fixed for the change from the old to the new status, June 16, 1758, would be appropriate since Colonel Henry Bouquet marched on that day from Fort Loudoun to Fort Lyttelton with Forbes' advance force, including the Provincial troops.

In preparation for the westward advance, the Provincial troops were assembled at Carlisle, from which place Colonel Bouquet intended to march with men of Colonel Burd's 2d Battalion to meet a detachment of Virginia troops and take possession of the Juniata Crossings on the road to Raystown. Originally Bouquet planned to be at Fort Lyttelton on June 7, but he was delayed by the condition of the road between Loudoun and Lyttelton, which he found "almost impassable."²²⁵ On June 3, however, a detachment of Colonel Armstrong's 1st Battalion was ordered up to repair this road, and on the following day Colonel Hugh Mercer of the new 3d Battalion passed over it, meeting along the way a party of six Cherokees who, having just returned to Fort Lyttelton from scouting the French at Fort de la Rivière au Boeuf, were on their way to join a larger body of warriors at Fort Loudoun.²²⁶

Burd's 2d Battalion set out from Carlisle on June 8 to overtake Armstrong's men at Fort Lyttelton, and on June 16 Bouquet himself and his Royal Americans marched here from Fort Loudoun.²²⁷ It may be supposed that Hamilton's and Ward's companies joined him at Fort Lyttelton. When the troops left on June 19, Bouquet ordered Captain Jacob Morgan's company of Burd's 2d Battalion to remain here in garrison, but these provincials apparently were relieved a few days later by a detachment of General Forbes' Highlanders.²²⁸

With these replacements and reassignments of troops the history of Fort Lyttelton as part of the Provincial defenses came to an end; and

²²⁵ Bouquet to Forbes, June 3, 1758, *Bouquet Papers*, II, 11; *id.* to *id.*, June 11, 1758, *ibid.*, 68.

²²⁶ Callender to Bouquet, June 2, 1758, *ibid.*, 5; Mercer to *id.*, June 5, 1758, *ibid.*, 34; William Trent to *id.*, June 5, 1758, *ibid.*, 37.

²²⁷ Bouquet to Forbes, June 7, 1758, *ibid.*, 42; *id.* to *id.*, June 16, 1758, *ibid.*, 94.

²²⁸ Bouquet Orderly Book, *ibid.*, 657; St. Clair to Bouquet, June 22, 1758, *ibid.*, 130; *id.* to *id.*, June 27, 1758, *ibid.*, 138; Forbes to *id.*, July 6, 1758, *ibid.*, 164; Bouquet to Forbes, July 15, 1758, *ibid.*, 213. By July 7 Morgan was at Juniata Crossings. *Ibid.*, 165-66.

with the construction of Fort Juniata, begun on June 21,²²⁹ it lost even the distinction of being the westernmost of the English forts in Pennsylvania. Its subsequent history is to be traced in the flow and ebb of troop movements in the Forbes expedition and the other British campaigns that followed it.

MCDOWELL'S MILL

McDowell's Mill, at the site of the present village of Markes, Franklin County, was originally a "private fort" constructed in November, 1755, on the property of John McDowell. Garrisoned by Provincial troops from March until December, 1756, it was then replaced by Fort Loudoun, erected a short distance away. Still later, in February-April, 1757, reinforcements from Weiser's battalion were stationed here. Governor Morris' plan of "the fort or stucado" which he proposed to have built here seems to have disappeared; but the structure erected by the settlers is known to have "included the Mill and with it several little Houses."

The mill first appears in military plans as a proposed supply depot for the Braddock campaign. Richard Peters, who on May 20, 1755, conferred with James Burd's road builders "near the Sugar Cabbins in Auckquick" (present Fort Littleton), recommended the site; and on June 3 Governor Morris wrote of it to General Braddock:

Mr. Peters, who in his Way from the Camp came through Cumberland County, judges that a Place called McDowell's Mill, situate upon the new Road about twenty Miles Westward of Shippensburg, is much more convenient for the Magazine than Shippensburg, which if You approve of, You will let your Secretary notify your Approbation, by the Return of this Express, to Charles Swaine at Shippensburg, who, by my Instructions, is to wait that Approbation before he begins to build, or hire Store-Houses. . . .²³⁰

Braddock expressed approval in his reply of June 11 and on June 30 asked Morris to arrange for horses and wagons to carry supplies forward from McDowell's.²³¹ The new depot had not yet been set up, of course, and on July 3, 1755, Morris wrote to Braddock of the shipment of supplies which, he said

²²⁹ Bouquet to Forbes, [June 21, 1758], rough draft, *ibid.*, 118. The date is supplied by Forbes to Bouquet, June 27, 1758, *ibid.*, 135.

²³⁰ PR, N, 44; printed in CR, VI, 407.

²³¹ Braddock to Morris, June 11, 1755, *ibid.*, 431; *id.* to *id.*, June 30, 1755, *ibid.*, 175-76.

will remain at Shippensburg till I go up into the Country, which will be on Tuesday next [July 8] and then I shall form the Magazine at or near McDowalls Mill, and put some stucado's round it to protect the Magazine and the people that will have the care of it; for without some thing of the kind as we have no militia and the Assembly will maintain no men four or five Indians may destroy the magazine whenever they Please, as the inhabitants of that part of the Province are very much scatterd. Inclosed I send you a plan of the fort or stucado which I shall make by setting Logs of about ten foot long in the ground so as to inclose the store houses. I think to place two swivil guns in two of the oposite Bastions which will be sufficient to gaurd it against any attack of small arms.²³²

Edward Shippen agreed on the need for defense; "the Magazine ought to be protected by at least 20 or 30 Soldiers," he wrote William Allen on July 4.²³³

Plans for this depot came to nothing, however. About June 21-22 Indians attacked settlers on the western borders of Maryland and Virginia, and receipt of this news alarmed the back settlers of Pennsylvania.²³⁴ The Governor went to Cumberland County "to build a wooden fort as well to protect the settlements as to secure a Magazine of Provisions";²³⁵ but while there he received word of Braddock's defeat. Subsequently, the Governor asked that the remnants of Braddock's force be posted "at or near the place called McDowell's Mill, at the Town of Shippensburg and the Town of Carlisle";²³⁶ but these troops were ordered to New York.

Nevertheless, a fort was built at McDowell's not long after this, but through local initiative. At the time of his visit to Carlisle in July, 1755, the Governor directed forts to be built there and at Shippensburg and formed four companies of militia. One of the latter was in Peters Township and was headed by William Maxwell.²³⁷ According to Maxwell's announcement of November 3, "We the Inhabitance of

²³² PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 372.

²³³ *CR*, VI, 460.

²³⁴ Morris to Braddock, July 6, 1755, *ibid.*, 462.

²³⁵ *Id.* to Governor Charles Lawrence of Nova Scotia, July 9, 1755, draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 375. See also *id.* to Innes, July 14, 1755, *ibid.*, 376; *id.* to Braddock, same date, *CR*, VI, 476-77.

²³⁶ *Id.* to Dunbar, July 31, 1755, *ibid.*, 516; Dunbar to Morris, August 7, 1755, *ibid.*, 547-48.

²³⁷ On July 25, 1755, a committee of the Assembly supplied Justice Maxwell fifty guns, one and a half hundredweight of powder, and two and a half hundredweight of lead for Peters Township. See Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, III, 28, and *PA8*, V, 4357.

this township meet the first Inst^t at John McDowells Mill in order to build a fort"; and here they received news of the hostile Indians who on November 1 devastated the Coves and Tonoloway.²³⁸ In all, some four hundred men from Cumberland and York assembled at McDowell's in the next few days, but the Indians meanwhile had retreated toward the Ohio. John Craig of Peters Township later deposed on March 30, 1756, "that after the Murders committed by the Indians in the great Cove he and the other Inhabitants of Peters Township contiguous to McDowells Mill erected a Fort which included the Mill and with it several little Houses that they built themselves and retired into it with their Families. . . ." ²³⁹

Here as elsewhere on the frontier the government attempted to assist local defense groups until it became possible to provide regular protection. The nature of this official aid is illustrated in the present instance by a record of delivery on "November ye 25th, 1755. To James Burd, Adam Hoops, John Potter and Joseph Armstrong; Four Swivel Guns; 5 Quarter Casks of Powder; 5 hundred w't of Lead; 2 Quarter Casks powder; 2 hundred of Lead, for Chambers & M'Dowell's Mills."²⁴⁰ The significance of this record is more apparent when it is recalled that Joseph Armstrong commanded the militia of Hamilton Township, which bordered Peters Township on the north; that Hamilton Township extended west from Chambers' Mill; and that the four men named were among those who had assembled the militia at McDowell's Mill earlier in the month.

Establishment of the western forts in the Provincial chain of defense did not save this region from Indian attacks. On January 28, 1756, Indians killed three persons and captured two at Tonoloway.²⁴¹ On February 11 a party of Delaware Indians attacked the home of the Widow Cox about two miles from McDowell's and carried off her two sons, John and Richard; and John Craig, who set out from McDowell's in search of the boys, also fell into the Indians' hands.²⁴² William Trent, who wrote from Carlisle to report the incident, observed that "I was of opinion the Forts, as they were built, would be of no service;

²³⁸ Maxwell, "To the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania," Peters Township, November 3, 1755, Lamberton Scotch-Irish Collection, I, 25, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

²³⁹ Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, III, 77.

²⁴⁰ PA2, II, 695 (1876 ed.).

²⁴¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 12, 1756.

²⁴² Craig escaped from Kiskiminetas. See his deposition of March 30, 1756, in Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, III, 77, and *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 1, 1756. John Cox escaped from Tioga. See his deposition of September 6, 1756, in *CR*, VII, 242-43, and *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 9, 1756.

I was laughed at for it, but now the Inhabitants here are convinced of it."²⁴³

The Governor thereupon gave a captain's commission (dated February 17) to Sheriff John Potter of Cumberland County and sent him to close the breach in the defensive line. Richard Peters wrote on February 23, 1756, that

lately on some fresh Murders being committed at Conegochege and in the Conollaways another Fort is ordered with a Garrison of 50 Men to be built at the most convenient Place at an equal Distance between Fort Lyttleton at the Sugar Cabins & a Maryland Fort near the Northern Bend of Patowmec, abt 30 Miles from one another, which last Fort will cover & protect the Conollaways & the Big & Little Coves, where, when this is built, some People intend to return to their deserted Habitations.²⁴⁴

This move was not a success; on February 29 Shingas' and Captain Jacobs' warriors attacked both David Davis' Fort in the Little Cove and McDowell's Mill. At the former place the raiders were pursued by a party of forty-six men from Peters Township and by a detachment of Captain Potter's company, but to little effect. At McDowell's on March 1 a detachment of fourteen of Croghan's men from Fort Shirley and of twelve local residents engaged the enemy who, armed with guns identified as Braddock's, "ran directly to the Place from which the Soldiers fired, and briskly fired on the Soldiers," driving them back. The Indians then attempted to rush the fort, but withdrew when reinforcements arrived.²⁴⁵

Benjamin Blyth, writing to Captain Burd from Shippensburg on March 5, 1756, supplies further details in a letter perhaps as interesting for its language as for its information:

I just give you a Short account of our afears I Came home Last knight from M^cDowels mill where we ware going to thire asistance but was too Late y^e indians being gon where we found y^e Pople in grate un easy ness y^e Indians having killed two of Colanol Crohans men and one Cuntry man killed wounded Aran Rily and one bar a yong Lad. had not providence prevented by Snow it being y^e first of this instant the wholl Vally would have Sufred there bing about 80 of y^e inamy I am going of to morow to Lancaster Count^y to gett

²⁴³ Trent to Peters, February 15, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAL*, II, 575-76.

²⁴⁴ Peters to the Proprietors, February 23, 1756, Peters Letter Book, Gratz Collections.

²⁴⁵ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 18, 1756.

help if psable to Act Either one y^e A fencife ore Defencif
as ned Requires I am inphormed that y^e have takne of horces
equel to thire numbre they had beset all ye Rods in to the
fort of Said mill y^e pople have Sent apiticion to the govinor
which piticion Rev M^r Steel and M^r Armstrong Carres down
in ordure to Call in you of y^e block houses to oure Vally. . . .²⁴⁶

This petition seems to be the undated "Plan for the Defence of The Frontier of Cumberland County from Phillip Davies to Shippensburgh," which proposed that a company be stationed at "John M^cDowell's mill," which "has a Fort already made about it," to patrol from Davies' (or Davis', west of present Welch Run) to Thomas Waddle's (west of present St. Thomas) and to maintain outposts at Davies', William Marshall's (south of present Mercersburg), and Waddle's; and that a second company patrol from Waddle's "towards and back of Shippensburgh," with one post at Joseph Armstrong's and another at the other extreme, with headquarters midway between. Of the two companies so disposed, one was to be Captain Potter's, the other a new company "lurnished by deducting 17 out of Each of ye four Forts back off our Frontier. this leaves 60 in each Fort, and makes up a new Company of 60 men, and Eight to be added to Capⁿ Poter's Company."²⁴⁷

To what extent the patrol system proposed here was effected is not known;²⁴⁸ but the plan is important for two reasons: first, because it marks the beginning of the inner line of Provincial defense to which the troops west of the Susquehanna later withdrew; second, because it led to the establishment of McDowell's Mill as a Provincial, rather than a local, fort.

On March 25, 1756, Governor Morris issued orders inspired by this plan. One to Captain Potter "postponed" the building of the new

²⁴⁶ Shippen Family Papers, II, 33.

²⁴⁷ PPC [March, 1756]; printed out of order in *PAI*, II, 239. This proposal must of course be later than the date of Captain Potter's commission, February 17, 1756, but earlier than the Governor's orders of March 25, referred to hereafter. Of the places here proposed as patrol stations, only Philip Davis' and Shippensburg at the extreme ends of the line are certainly known to have been the sites of settlers' forts. Joseph Armstrong was captain of the Hamilton Township militia company, but his house is not known to have been fortified, and it seems unlikely that two settlers' forts would have been maintained as close as Armstrong's and William McCord's.

²⁴⁸ A ranging plan in which Joseph Armstrong's militia participated may be implied by a shipment of ammunition on March 29, 1756, to "John Potter Esqr, & Compv . . . Joseph Armstrong & his neighbours . . . Capt John Steel. . . ." *PAI*, II, 614. Armstrong later was paid on two accounts for ranging approved by the Commissioners on September 11, 1756. Norris Papers, Orders of Commissioners, I, 31, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; see also *PA8*, VI, 4879. However, this service, or part of it, may have been associated with the attack on Kittanning.

fort, which Potter had not yet begun, and ordered him to protect "the frontiers of Peters and Hamilton townships, taking such posts there, Erecting such Stuckados, and ordering such Patrolls as you shall think Best."²⁴⁹ Another to the Reverend John Steel, at this time commissioned as captain, ordered him to make up a company of contingents of thirteen men each from the companies of Burd, Hamilton, Patterson, and Mercer, and "to take post at McDowell's mill, upon the road to the Ohio, which you are to make your Head Quarters, and to detach Patrolling partys from time to time to scour the woods, in such manner as you shall Judge most consistant with the safety of the Inhabitants."²⁵⁰ While these orders follow the "Plan for Defence" in general, they depart from it in the size of the drafts from the old companies and in not setting up the system of patrols as recommended.

That both Potter's and Steel's companies in fact had their headquarters at McDowell's is shown by the orders given Elisha Saltar, commissioned on March 28, 1756, as Commissary General. Saltar was "to proceed into Cumberland County by the way of Lancaster & York, and so to McDowell's Mills . . . where you will find some men under the Command of John Potter, Esq^r." If Steel's company was formed, Saltar was to pay it as well as Potter's; and Potter was to furnish an escort to Fort Lyttelton.²⁵¹

Saltar found a difficult situation in this country. On April 1 Shingas' Delawares captured William McCord's Fort (a "private fort" two and a half miles northeast of present Edenville) and killed or carried off twenty-seven persons. Captain Alexander Culbertson and thirty militia men of Lurgan and Hamilton townships, joined by twenty men of the Fort Lyttelton garrison, pursued and overtook the retreating Indians at Sideling Hill. In an encounter there Captain Culbertson of Lurgan, Ensign John Reynolds of Hamilton, and eighteen others were killed, and twelve wounded.²⁵² An escaped prisoner later reported that "there were only three Indians killed; and that they carried but five of the Prisoners they took there to Kittanning [Kittanning], having lost about 20 of them in the Woods."²⁵³ Reporting this engagement, Captain Hamilton wrote from Fort Lyttelton that "I have sent a Letter to Captn Potter, Desiring him

²⁴⁹ Draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 602.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 601.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 604-605.

²⁵² *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 8 and 15, 1756.

²⁵³ Information of John Cox, *ibid.*, September 9, 1756.

to Come & Assist us to bury the Dead.”²⁵⁴ McCord's Fort stood in northern Hamilton Township, which Captain Potter had been ordered to protect; and in the face of some criticism Potter was so ill-advised as to publish a notice:

Cumberland County, April 17, 1756.

WHEREAS my Character has of late suffered, either by the Malice or Weakness of sundry Persons, respecting my Conduct at the Time that William McCord's Fort was destroyed; This is to give Notice to all Persons, that on Friday, the Fourteenth of May, I intend to clear myself before three Magistrates, at the House of John Mushett; where all Persons are invited to come and evidence against me, as I intend to summon Persons of Credit, in order to clear my Character. I am the Publick's most obedient and humble Servant.

JOHN POTTER,

N. B. As soon as the evidence is heard on both sides, the whole shall be transmitted to the Publick.²⁵⁵

Captain Steel had other difficulties. He was pastor of the Presbyterian church at present Church Hill (two and a half miles east of Mercersburg), which had been adapted for use as a local refuge. The church stood five miles south of McDowell's, and after Steel's assignment to the latter place it probably fell into disuse except perhaps as a ranging station. Captain Steel had trouble raising his company since Burd and Patterson could not supply their quotas of men. On April 11 Steel reported that he had enlisted half his company and had borrowed guns. "I pray that wth all possible Expedition, fifty four fire arms, & as many Blankets & a Quantity of flints, may be sent to me." James Holliday had been commissioned with Steel as his lieutenant, but no provision had been made for an ensign; now Steel recommended Archibald Erwin for this place.²⁵⁶

With the commissioning of Lieutenant Colonel John Armstrong on May 11, 1756, Potter's and Steel's companies, with those of Hamilton, Mercer, Burd, Patterson, and that of Armstrong himself, became the 2d Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment. Establishment of Armstrong's company at Carlisle marked a second step in the formation of

²⁵⁴ Hamilton to [], April 4, 1756, copy in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 611-12. See also *id.* to Potter, same date, printed in *CR*, VII, 77, where by error it is dated April 9, 1756.

²⁵⁵ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 29, 1756.

²⁵⁶ Steel to Morris, *PAI*, II, 623. The statement in *PA5*, I, 46, that "Archibald Irwin" was commissioned in April, 1756, apparently rests on assumption rather than on any documentary source; the list, pp. 42-47, in which this entry appears is a late and inaccurate compilation.

an inner Provincial defense line, of which the placing of the garrison at McDowell's had marked the beginning.

Indian attacks continued in the county, increasing in severity. On May 29 Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong wrote to Captain Burd that

by Capt^t Mercer I have advice that on wednesday last [May 26] John Wason about three miles from McDowels Mill was found kill'd & his body inhumanly mangled, and his wives tracts found going off with the Tract of an Indian on each Side & the House burn'd. a detachment from Cap^t Steel & potters company are going in Quest of the Enemy.²⁵⁷

And on July 22 Commissary Young wrote from Carlisle:

By the Winchester Post we have Advice that the 20 Inst^t in the Morning a party of Indians Surprizd two of Cap^{tn} Steels men as they were Guarding some Reapers 4 miles on this side M'ckdowels mill, they killd and Scalpd one, the other, they Carried off, the Reapers made their Escape, also that one of the Soldiers from M'ckowels mill that went with two Women to the Spring for some water is missing the Women got in safe to the fort, and allmost at the same time a man and a Woman were Scalp'd a few miles on the Other side the mill. . . .

Cap^{tn} Potter was here yesterday I paid him £100. — of the money I had left from Col^t Claphams Reg^t in Case I should not get up to him,—²⁵⁸

The heaviest blow struck against Pennsylvania by the enemy was the capture on July 31, 1756, of Fort Granville. Writing to General Loudoun about this on August 15, Governor Morris added:

Since writing the above I am informed that another Fort on the Western Frontier at a Place called McDowells Mill is actually evacuated and that the People in those parts, who have hitherto maintain'd their Ground, are now moveing down into the thicker settled Parts of the Province on this side the Susquehannah; And as by the Evacuation of that Fort our Communication with the Forts Lyttelton and Shirley will be cut off, it will be very difficult in our present Circumstances to hinder them from falling into the Enemys Hands.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ E. S. Thompson Collection.

²⁵⁸ Young to [Morris], PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 716-17. See also *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 29, 1756.

²⁵⁹ Loudoun Papers, Box 34, No. 1493. See also Loudoun to the Duke of Cumberland, August 20, 1756, printed in Pargellis (ed.), *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765*, p. 230.

No doubt this report was exaggerated, and it is partly contradicted by a report "that on the Fifth Instant [August] two Soldiers were killed, and another wounded, within two Miles of McDowell's Fort";²⁶⁰ but there was a general civilian evacuation of this country. On August 19, 1756, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* printed a report "that from Carlisle to Swearingham's Ferry, in Virginia, there is not an Inhabitant to be seen, a few in Shippensburg excepted"; and on September 6 Joseph Armstrong and Adam Hoops, both from this region, told the Governor and Council

that a Year ago there were three thousand Men fit to bear Arms livers in that County, and now, exclusive of the Provincial Forces, they were certain they did not amount to an hundred— that there never was in the memory of Man a more abundant harvest, [but] that after the burning of Fort Granville by the Indians, which was done whilst the Country People, guarded by Detachments of the Forces, were employed in reaping,—The Farmers abandoned their Plantations, and left what Corn was not then stacked or carried into Barnes, to perish on the Ground. . . .²⁶¹

The need to revamp the western defenses was obvious. On August 20 Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong, then preparing for his retaliatory attack on Kittanning, advised the Governor that "Lyttelton, Shippensburg, and Carlisle (the two last not finished) are the only Forts, now built, that will in my Opinion be Serviceable to the publick. McDowels or thereabouts is a necessary Post, but the present Fort not defencible";²⁶² and on September 6 (a day on which most of Armstrong's battalion was on its way to Kittanning) there was read by the Provincial Council "A Petition from the Reverend John Steel Captain of a Company at Conegochege in the Pay of the Province representing the most miserable condition of which the upper part of Cumberland County bordering on Maryland was reduced to by the ravages of the Indians and the numbers killed and taken into Captivity."²⁶³

Although the facts are somewhat obscure, it is clear that coinciding with the Kittanning expedition changes were made in the McDowell's Mill garrison. On the eve of the expedition it was well below full strength, with Potter reported on August 18, 1756, as having forty-seven men and Steel as having little better than thirty.²⁶⁴ The losses

²⁶⁰ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, August 19, 1756.

²⁶¹ PR, P, 21; printed in CR, VII, 242.

²⁶² PR, P, 12; printed in CR, VII, 233.

²⁶³ PR, P, 20; printed in CR, VII, 241.

²⁶⁴ Hoops to Armstrong, PAI, II, 752.

of both companies at Kittanning were very light, suggesting that these companies were perhaps poorly represented; of Potter's company, Ensign James Potter and one other were wounded, and of Steel's company, one man was reported missing.²⁶⁵ Steel cannot have retained his command much later, for he was replaced by Captain Joseph Armstrong, commissioned as of October 1, 1756; Steel's lieutenant, James Holliday, remained with the company.²⁶⁶

After the Kittanning expedition the companies of Armstrong's battalion were redistributed, and on September 29, 1756, John Harris wrote Major James Burd that "there is Two Companys Stationed at fort Littleton Two D° at Jn° McDowels Mill one D° at Shippens-borrow & one at Carlisle."²⁶⁷ This, it will be noted, enumerates only six companies instead of seven, and it is not clear which is omitted, though it may have been Mercer's, later one of the two stationed at Shippensburg.²⁶⁸

Though not immediately, this reorganization of defenses resulted in McDowell's replacement in the defense system. When Governor Denny left Philadelphia on October 2 to consult with Armstrong, he took with him a British army engineer, Lieutenant Elias Meyer, lent by General Loudoun to inspect the western forts and offer recommendations.²⁶⁹ Among the engineer's proposals was one that McDowell's be replaced by a fort to be built at Barr's, a short distance away.²⁷⁰ Eventually this advice resulted in the construction of Fort Loudoun to which the Provincial garrison removed from McDowell's in December, 1756.

In the interim the Provincial career of Captain Joseph Armstrong, previously captain of the Hamilton Township militia company, began on an inauspicious note. About the beginning of November, 1756, hostile Indians appeared near McDowell's Mill. Samuel Perry and a boy left the fort on an errand; and when they did not return Captain

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 775.

²⁶⁶ *PA5*, I, 70-71.

²⁶⁷ Shippen Family Papers, II, 73.

²⁶⁸ The alternative possibility is that the omitted company is Steel's (later Joseph Armstrong's); in this case, the assignment of two companies to McDowell's might imply that George Armstrong's company was there temporarily before going to Fort Morris.

²⁶⁹ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 7, 1756.

²⁷⁰ Armstrong to Denny, November 8 and 19, 1756, *PA1*, III, 40, 58.

Potter sent a corporal and fourteen men of his company, who found Perry killed and scalped. On their return the soldiers were waylaid by Indians and suffered the loss of four men killed and two missing. In addition, eight settlers were killed and six taken.²⁷¹ Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong wrote the Governor on November 8 that "this misfortune is happen'd thro' the weakness of the Garrison, neither Potter's nor [Joseph] Armstrong's Company being compleat, and the latter having been Station'd in different parts of the Frontier was not convenient enough to assist, but they shall be no longer Separate."²⁷²

It appears that with Richard Peters' approval Captain Armstrong and twenty of his men were in fact stationed at Armstrong's own home near the present Edenville. Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong reminded the Secretary of this in a letter dated November 30:

You may remember, Sir, your letter to me in favour of Joseph Armstrong, and I believe Mr. [James] Hamilton promis'd him also that some men shou'd for a time be stationed at his House, in Consequence whereof the 20 men were order'd there untill the New Fort was laid out. I shall write his Honr. [Governor Denny] a few lines as prudently as I can on y^t subject, not throwing too much of the weight on you.²⁷³

On the same date Armstrong wrote to the Governor that "at present there is detach'd from each of the other Garrisons twenty men & a Commissioned officer, to the assistance of the Cap^{ts} Potter & Armstrong, in Building the New Fort."²⁷⁴ On December 22, 1756, he reported that "The Publick Stores are safely removed from McDowels Mill to Fort Loudon, the barracks for the soldiers are built, and some proficiency made in the Stockado, the finishing of which will doubtless be Retarded by the inclemency of the weather, the Snow with us being upward of a foot deep."²⁷⁵

Although this removal ends the story of McDowell's Mill as a regular Provincial post, the story has a postscript. On December 23, 1756, scouts discovered that a body of French and Indians had camped

²⁷¹ Callender to *id.*, November 4, 1756, *ibid.*, 29; Armstrong to *id.*, and enclosure, November 8, 1756, *ibid.*, 40-41.

²⁷² *Ibid.*

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 78, where it is incorrectly identified as to Denny.

²⁷⁴ PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 79.

²⁷⁵ Armstrong to Denny, *ibid.*, 83-84. Note that the body of this letter is actually a copy of one from Adam Stephen, also printed in *CR*, VII, 381-82.

at Raystown;²⁷⁶ and in consequence Armstrong's 2d Battalion was reinforced with detachments equivalent to two companies drawn from the companies of Weiser's 1st Battalion. These men were sent to Cumberland County in early February, 1757, under command of Captain Morgan of Fort Lebanon, Captain Schmitt of Fort Swatara, and, possibly somewhat later, Captain Reynolds of Fort Norris. Schmitt and Reynolds returned home from Cumberland County in April with some of these troops, and Morgan took the remainder to reinforce Fort Augusta.

A letter from Captain Schmitt to Weiser, dated at "MacDowell's Mühl," March 21, 1757, reports the state of Weiser's detachments at that time. Schmitt acknowledges letters of March 7 delivered by Captain Reynolds and of March 15 by Henry Hamback; then, in reply to Weiser's inquiries, he relates "how we found everything, how we were treated, what kind of fortification we have." According to Schmitt, his men were badly provided for, "without fort, without a good house, and everything in ruin." Armstrong's officers, he said, treated them well, but the men were dissatisfied because the garrison of nearby Fort Loudoun lay idle:

The 100 men in Fort Loudon, which lies 2 miles from us, don't provide a single man from their fort. Now we are once more ordered to lodge 12 men in a house about 9 miles from here, no doubt by their officer's request to Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong, and our people are beginning to grow discontented because the others lie idle and they themselves must perform such hard service.

As for the fort at McDowell's, Schmitt's men had to provide the whole detachment, the people living at the fort plagued him daily for attention, and he had no time to finish his plans to make the place a more effective defense. Meanwhile, the time was expiring for men of his own, Busse's, and Morgan's companies, the troops were unpaid, the situation was unhealthful. In conclusion, Schmitt sent his and Captain Lieutenant Samuel Weiser's heartiest greetings to Lieutenant Colonel Weiser and his wife and household.²⁷⁷

Departure of these discontented reinforcements from McDowell's Mill in April, 1757, seems to have terminated its use for military purposes, although on the outbreak of Pontiac's War in 1763 Colonel

²⁷⁶ Deposition of George McSwaine, December 27, 1756, *ibid.*, 395.

²⁷⁷ Conrad Weiser Correspondence, II, 43.

Bouquet wrote to Governor Hamilton on July 2 to suggest the advisability of securing the mills in Cumberland County, including "J. McDowalls."²⁷⁸

A more significant point is the fact that although McDowell's Mill and Fort Loudoun were physically distinct, their defenders were not, and that in terms of the garrison the history of the two posts is continuous, the account of Fort Loudoun taking up the story where the present account of McDowell's Mill breaks off.

CARLISLE FORT

Carlisle Fort, named from the town in which it stood,²⁷⁹ has the distinction of having been the first fort undertaken on Provincial authority and the only one laid out by Governor Morris himself. Although authorized in mid-July, 1755, it was not actually built until somewhat later. By November of this year local settlers had erected "a Small Stockade," and work was begun on a more substantial fort in the following year. In August, 1756, this fort was still unfinished, however, and more than a year later it lacked adequate accommodations for the garrison, which was housed in the town. It was not regularly used after 1758. The first Provincial garrison was a detachment of Colonel Clapham's battalion sent here in April, 1756; Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong's company replaced this a month later, and in October, 1756, a second company was added to the garrison. After May, 1756, Carlisle was headquarters for Armstrong's battalion, which manned the forts west of the Susquehanna.

According to a collection of texts of unknown origin published in 1829, Carlisle had had an earlier fort, already in ruins by 1753, and one named "Fort Louther" in 1755. However, these purported sources

²⁷⁸ *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21649, Part I, 189. For the date, note the endorsement.

²⁷⁹ There is no documentary authority for the name Fort Louther (or Lowther), frequently used by later writers. The earliest appearance of this name seems to be in 1829, first in a purported "disposition of the force" as of 1755, printed in Hazard (ed.), *Register*, IV, 390, a tabulation whose obvious and numerous inaccuracies reveal its character and worthlessness; and also in the date line of a purported letter of George Croghan, *ibid.*, 416, authoritatively branded as fictitious by Wainwright, *George Croghan*, 90 n. Formal references to this fort are very few; Armstrong in one letter calls it "Carlisle Fort" (*CR*, VII, 233); and the Provincial Commissioners' accounts once refer to it as "a Fort at Carlisle" (*PA8*, V, 4875). This latter phrase does not appear to be used as a formal designation, however, and the one used by the commanding officer seems preferable.

are so inconsistent with what is known from genuine records that they must be rejected as fabrications.²⁸⁰

The military history of Carlisle begins with the visit of Governor Morris, who left Philadelphia on July 8, 1755, to supervise the establishment and defense of a new supply depot for General Braddock's army.²⁸¹ The stores were then at Shippensburg, and it had been proposed to remove them to McDowell's Mill at present Markes, Franklin County. However, the Governor got no farther than Carlisle, where on July 15 he received the news of Braddock's defeat, which obliged him not only to discard his plans for a supply magazine but also to consider defense against possible French invasion.²⁸²

²⁸⁰ "Provincial Correspondence: 1750 to 1765," in Hazard (ed.), *Register*, IV (1829), 389-91; supplemental contribution in *ibid.*, 416. Except for two or three authentic items, such as Bouquet's letter of July 3, 1763, and the Assembly's address to Bouquet of January 15, 1765, the texts included are more or less obvious frauds, perceptibly similar in style and characterized by uninspired rhetoric and shallow romanticism which contrast sharply with the usual style of eighteenth-century letters. In their professed chronological order, the four relevant items are:

a. John O'Neal to Governor Hamilton, Carlisle, May 27, 1753 (p. 389): "The garrison here consists only of twelve men. The stockade originally occupied two acres of ground square, with a block house in each corner—these buildings are now in ruin." Aside from its literary style as described above, this letter is characterized by a quaint description of Carlisle and by allusions to some ill-defined official mission which the writer has just fulfilled. His statement that in Carlisle "The number of dwelling houses is five" is flatly contradicted by Richard Peters' letter of July 5, 1753, which reports "Six very good Stone Houses, several good Frame Houses and a Large Number of Log Houses in all making the number of Sixty Five Houses." Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, VI, 73.

b. A passage vaguely identified as "Extract of a Provincial Letter dated in 1754—Carlisle" (pp. 389-90), which after asserting that "The stockade is of singular construction" describes a fort stockade of the sort usually built.

c. The purported "disposition of the force" mentioned in the preceding note, which credits Fort "Louther, at Carlisle," with a garrison of fifty men. This alleged list of 1755 includes forts like Augusta, Loudoun, Juniata, and others not built until one, two, or three years later.

d. George Croghan to the Governor, Fort Louther, June 6, 1755 (p. 416), also mentioned in the previous note. Written in the style characterized above, this text is unlike anything Croghan is known to have written.

These four passages are not inconsistent among themselves if it is assumed that the first refers to a large fort built several years before 1753 and that the others refer to a second fort, Fort Louther, erected in 1754 and well garrisoned in the following year. Against such an interpretation must be set not only the dubious character of the texts in question but the unaccountable absence of any mention of a fort in documents relative to the founding of Carlisle in 1751 and the even stranger mystery of what became of Fort Louther between June 6, 1755, when Croghan allegedly wrote, and July 15, 1755, when Governor Morris recognized Carlisle's need of a fort.

²⁸¹ Morris to Sharpe, [Thursday], July 3, 1755: "I set out on Tuesday next. . . ." *CR*, VI, 454.

²⁸² *Id.* to Sir Thomas Robinson, July 16, 1755, *PAI*, II, 379.

Before his hasty return home, the Governor did what he could. Writing from Carlisle on July 17, 1755, he reported that

. . . The People here are under great apprehensions of being disturbed by the Indians and many have been with me from Juniata and Connegogee to know whether it was not best they should quit their Plantations but I have encouraged them to form themselves into bodys for their common defence and to make them a little regular I have Issued some commissions but doubt whether this will have any effect there is a gen^l complaint of the want of arms and ammunition I have already distributed what I bought at Harris's ferry and wish I had it in my power to furnish these people with the means of defending themselves for they seem very well disposed and under proper regulation would be an Excellent barrier to the rest of the Province— I shall leave this Place in about two hours and return to Philad^a by way of Lancaster. . . .

I have laid out a place in the middle of this town²⁸³ which the inhabitants intend to fortify with logs as a retreat for their women and Children in case they should be attacked.²⁸⁴

In letters written after his return to Philadelphia, Morris added some further details. On July 20 he wrote to Governor Sharpe of Maryland: "I am just returnd from the back parts of this Province, where I have been regulating the Magazine and putting the people into the best posture of defence I could, without money or any Militia Law, and have prevail'd on some of the inhabitants to arm themselves in defence of their familys. . . ." ²⁸⁵ Writing on July 31, 1755, to Thomas

²⁸³ Carlisle had been laid out with an open square in the middle of the town. See Charles Gilbert Bectem, *Colonial Carlisle: Plans and Maps for the Design of Its Public Square*. The natural interpretation of the present letter, therefore, is that this square was the place designated by Morris. However, a historical sketch prefacing the 1841 publication of *Charter and Ordinances of the Borough of Carlisle* and reprinted in subsequent editions places "Fort Louther" on the town lots just west of the square; its "west gate was in High street, between Hanover and Pitt streets, opposite lot number one hundred. . . . Three wells were sunk within the line of the fortress . . . the third . . . was for many years known as the 'King's Well.'" *Ibid.*, 9-10; reprinted also in Dav, *Historical Collections*, 266. Although this sketch relies heavily upon the "Provincial Correspondence" printed two years earlier, these additional data may derive from better authority, though none is cited. One may wonder, however, why the house lots should have been used in preference to the open square and why three wells should have seemed necessary. Carlisle Fort, moreover, was not built by the Crown, and "King's Well" seems an unlikely designation for a well dug at local or Provincial expense.

²⁸⁴ Morris to Peters, Richard Peters Manuscripts, IV, 23.

²⁸⁵ Draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 382.

Penn, the Governor was more explicit:

I . . . returned to Philadelphia having at the request of the people laid the Ground for a Wooden Fort in the Town of Carlisle and directed one of the same kind to be formed at Shippensburg, and the people being much disheartend and inclining to quit their plantations I encouraged them to Act with resolution in their own defence and formed four Companies of Militia to whom I distributed some Powder and Lead, and have since sent a greater Quantity into that County.²⁸⁶

What Governor Morris meant by "a Wooden Fort" is sufficiently explained, probably, by his letter of July 3, 1755, in which he had described for General Braddock the supply depot he proposed to build at McDowell's Mill: "Inclosed I send you a plan of the fort or stucado which I shall make by setting Logs of about ten foot long in the ground so as to inclose the store houses. I think to place two swivil guns in two of the oposite Bastions which will be sufficient to gaurd it against any attack of small arms."²⁸⁷

The "four Companies of Militia" formed by the Governor are somewhat obscure, though evidence suggests that they represented Carlisle and the townships of Lurgan, Hamilton, and Peters. These are in fact the four places in this region to which arms and ammunition were afterwards sent; but although there is evidence of the existence of militia units in the three townships, comparable evidence for a militia company at Carlisle is wanting, though a night watch had been organized here on July 12, perhaps on the occasion of the Governor's visit.²⁸⁸ There is some reason, in fact, to believe that at Carlisle no formal militia organization was effected. Arms later delivered to this place were variously directed, though mostly to John Armstrong and William Buchanan; and as much as a year later Commissary General James Young was unable to persuade the people of Carlisle "to Associate"—that is, to form a company of associated militia.²⁸⁹ This unreadiness may be explained by the fact that Carlisle seemed much less exposed than the three townships mentioned and in much less danger of surprise attack, and by the fact that the town was large enough to assemble a modest number of defenders on very short notice.

²⁸⁶ PR, N, 137; printed in CR, VI, 517. For another reference to the militia companies, see *ibid.*, 485.

²⁸⁷ Draft in PPC; printed in PAI, II, 372.

²⁸⁸ Original agreement, with nine signers, in collections of the Hamilton Library and Historical Association of Cumberland County; printed in D. W. Thompson et al. (eds.), *Two Hundred Years in Cumberland County*, 24-25.

²⁸⁹ Young to [Morris], July 22, 1756, PAI, II, 718.

These same factors probably account for the delay in building the proposed fort. Eighteen leading citizens of Cumberland and York counties met at Shippensburg on October 30, 1755, and agreed that "Five large Forts be built," including ones at Carlisle and Shippensburg;²⁹⁰ but a few days later on November 4 John Smith wrote from Carlisle to Isaac Norris that "We have built a Small Stockade here but it will avail but little in Case an Enemy appears having neither Order nor any One that can be depended on every one fearing the other will flee in Case of an attack. . . ."²⁹¹ This obviously is not the "large Fort" laid out by the Governor and endorsed by the citizens' committee, but, such as it was, it seems to have sufficed until the spring of 1756. At Shippensburg, meanwhile, Edward Shippen's son-in-law James Burd had made a brisk beginning on a fort which was called Fort Morris, a name to which the fort at Carlisle might have laid better claim.

Carlisle continued during this time to receive arms from the government: on October 27, 125 guns, five quarter-casks of powder, and five hundredweight of lead were sent "to Mess^{rs} John Smith, John Armstrong & Wm Buchanan, to be distributed at their Discretion";²⁹² two days later eight more quarter-casks of powder, twenty-five more guns, 150 pounds of lead, and one thousand gun flints were sent to Buchanan and Armstrong;²⁹³ and on November 24, 1755, one hundred pounds of powder and two hundred pounds of lead were sent to "John Armstrong, Wm. Buchanan & Francis West, for the use of the Inhabitants of Carlisle."²⁹⁴

The early months of 1756 were marked by severe Indian attacks on the Cumberland Valley. During the winter the Province had established its defense line, but the forts west of the Susquehanna proved to be too widely spaced to prevent Indian penetration of the Valley; and on February 15, 1756, after the earliest enemy attacks of the year, William Trent wrote from Carlisle to Richard Peters (who received the letter on March 13) that

all the People have left their Houses betwixt this and the Mountain some come to Town and others gathering into little Forts. . . . There is a few of us endeavour to keep up the spirits of the People We have proposed going after the

²⁹⁰ Lamberton Scotch-Irish Collection, I, 23.

²⁹¹ Du Simitière Papers, Indian Treaties, No. 49f.

²⁹² Penn Manuscripts, Indian Affairs, III, 28-29; see also *PAI*, II, 392, and *PA8*, V, 4357.

²⁹³ *PA2*, II, 695 (1876 ed.).

²⁹⁴ *PAI*, II, 614.

Enemy to morrow but whether a Number sufficient can be got I cannot tell. . . . A Fort in this Town would have saved this part of the Country but I doubt this Town in a few days will be deserted if this party [of Indians] that is out should kill any people nigh here.²⁹⁵

Carlisle was not abandoned as Trent feared, and the fort must have been begun soon after this, for on March 27, 1756, the Provincial Commissioners paid £100 "To William Buchanan, towards Expences of fortifying Carlisle";²⁹⁶ and the existence of a fort is clearly reflected in the shipment "April 6th, 1756. To William Buchanan, at Carlisle: 4 Barrels of Powder; 2 Barrels of Lead; 2 Swivel Guns, sent by Andrew Cox."²⁹⁷ It must be observed, however, that for some time after this the fort remained in an unfinished state.

In this same month of April Carlisle received its first garrison of Provincial troops. Governor Morris informed the Provincial Commissioners on April 16: "I have, agreeable to your request, order'd a detachm^t of thirty men of Clapham's regiment to proceed to Carlisle, and there to be posted in the best manner for the security and defence of that town."²⁹⁸ This detachment was drawn from the battalion then being raised to establish Fort Augusta; and Colonel Clapham had just been given orders "to Rendezvous his Regiment at or near Hunter's Mill, upon the Sasquehanna." The assignment of some of these men to Carlisle was a temporary arrangement. Commanded by Ensign Nathaniel Cartland, this party arrived at Lancaster on April 18; and on the following day Captain Joseph Shippen wrote from that place to John Harris at "Pextang": "The Ensigns M^r Clayton & Cartland are marching up to your House with a Party of 47 men, 30 whereof are going to Carlisle with M^r Cartland, the remainder with M^r Clayton stay at your House."²⁹⁹

A month later the Governor ordered Major James Burd to take Cartland's thirty men from Shippensburg to Harris' Ferry, leaving Cartland himself to be reassigned to a post in Cumberland County.³⁰⁰

The transfer of Cartland's detachment from Carlisle sometime before May 19 perhaps was a consequence of the organization of the Pennsylvania Regiment, in which the companies west of the Susquehanna

²⁹⁵ PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 575.

²⁹⁶ *PA8*, V, 4360.

²⁹⁷ *PA2*, II, 696 (1876 ed.). See *PAI*, II, 614, for a record of ammunition shipped from Lancaster, April 3, 1756.

²⁹⁸ Draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 626.

²⁹⁹ *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 371.

³⁰⁰ Shippen Family Papers, II, 53.

constituted the 2d Battalion, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong, whose commission dated from May 11, 1756.³⁰¹ Armstrong's own company, raised at this time, was stationed at Carlisle, which of course became the battalion headquarters. Armstrong's subalterns are not satisfactorily identified. Nathaniel Cartland, recommissioned May 22, presumably was his ensign, and by July, if not earlier, Robert Callender was his captain lieutenant.³⁰²

On the heels of Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong's appointment, Governor Morris, then at Harris' Ferry, wrote on May 12, 1756, to the Provincial Assembly:

I have sent Orders to the forts and Garrisons on the Western Frontiers, to be upon their Guards and put themselves into the best Posture of Defence they Possibly can & am doing every thing Else in my Power that can Contribute to the better Securing that most Exposed part of our Frontier; but as those Garrisons are but small and we have no body of Forces on the west side of Susquehanna Sufficient to Fake [*sic*] the Field, I am fearfull they will not be Able to Maintain their Posts against the Numbers of the Enemy. . . .³⁰³

The Governor's later orders of June 14, mentioned elsewhere because of their concern with proposed Fort Pomfret Castle, included further general instructions for the battalion relative to scouting and equipment.³⁰⁴

The Indian attacks of this year in Cumberland County, culminating with the fall of Fort Granville on July 31, have been mentioned in the accounts of the several forts concerned. Letters sent from Carlisle in July furnish a glimpse of the activities of the Carlisle garrison during this time. When Commissary General Young arrived at Carlisle on July 17 to pay Armstrong's battalion, he found only sixteen of Armstrong's men in town; Armstrong himself was away, and Captain

³⁰¹ *PA5*, I, 62, 70. The statement in *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 353, that Armstrong "was commissioned captain in January 1756" is incorrect and appears to be an assumption based on the fact that Burd, Hamilton, and Ward were then commissioned. However, Armstrong does not appear in a return of troops dated February 23, 1756. See Pargellis (ed.), *Military Affairs in North America, 1748-1765*, pp. 166-67.

³⁰² For Cartland's new commission, see the lists in *PA5*, I, 63 and 70. Armstrong wrote to Burd on May 29, 1756, of "Cartland whome I really think will do better than was expected." E. S. Thompson Collection. However, in the first of the two lists just cited, actually the later in date, Cartland is given a B (bad) rating, and his name does not appear in later lists. See *PA5*, I, 88-91; *PA1*, III, 336-37. For Lieutenant Callender, see *ibid.*, II, 717.

³⁰³ PR, O, 120-21; printed in *CR*, VII, 130.

³⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 161.

Lieutenant Callender and thirty-one men were on a scouting expedition. The scouting party, which also included a detachment from the Fort George (Patterson's Fort) garrison, had arrived at Fort Augusta on July 16, and, leaving there next day, "went 50 miles due West, and then down to Patersons Fort, but saw no Enemy." Leaving eleven of his party in Shermans Valley (present Perry County) to guard the harvesters there, the Lieutenant and twenty men returned to Carlisle on July 21, 1756, and Armstrong returned later the same day.

While waiting at Carlisle, Young had sought to make good use of his time:

I have Endeavourd to put this Large Fort in the Best poster of Defence I can, but am sorry to say the People of this town cannot be prevaild on to do any thing for their own safety. I propos'd to them to Associate and to place a Picq^t Guard at a small Distance from the Fort to prevent being Surpriz'd, but to no purpose, they say they will guard when there is Danger tho' the Enemy is now Committing Murder but ten Miles from them. . . .³⁰⁵

Shortly after this Armstrong began with the Governor's approval to plan his attack on Kittanning. The plans, made secretly, relied largely on information from John Baker, captured at Fort Shirley about January 27, 1756, and held prisoner at Kittanning until early March, when he escaped. Writing to Governor Morris from Carlisle on August 20 on the eve of the expedition, Armstrong reported that "this Afternoon some part of my own Company with the Provisions here, sets out for Sheerman's Valley there to Halt until the residue come up. this Night I expected to have been at Fort Shirley but am much disappointed in getting in of the Strays, for collecting whereof we shall not wait longer than this day."³⁰⁶

Of seventeen men reported killed in the attack on Kittanning, two were of Armstrong's own company, as were four of the thirteen wounded, who included Armstrong himself. On the other hand, this company accounted for none of the nineteen reported missing.³⁰⁷

As has been mentioned in the account of the Kittanning expedition, it appears that the Reverend Thomas Barton may have helped to guard Carlisle in the troops' absence. During this same period William Buchanan on September 6, 1756, acknowledged the receipt of

³⁰⁵ Young to [Morris], July 22, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 717-18.

³⁰⁶ PR, P, 10; printed in *CR*, VII, 231.

³⁰⁷ *PAI*, II, 773.

military supplies (1780 pounds of flour, nine hundredweight of lead, four hundred pounds of powder, three pieces of blanketing) delivered to Carlisle by Ensign Mears of the Augusta Regiment.³⁰⁸

Following this expedition the companies of Armstrong's battalion were reassigned, for Fort Granville had been destroyed and Fort George and Fort Shirley were abandoned as untenable. In his letter of August 20, written before the march to Kittanning, Armstrong had advised the Governor that

Lyttelton, Shippensburg, and Carlisle (the two last not finished) are the only Forts, now built, that will in my Opinion be Serviceable to the publick. McDowels or thereabouts is a necessary Post, but the present Fort not defencible, The Duties of the Harvest has not admitted me to finish Carlisle Fort with the Soldiers, it shoud be done, and a Barrack erected within the Fort, otherwise the Soldiers cannot be so well governed and may be absent or without the Gates at a time of the greatest necessity.³⁰⁹

It must be observed that the lack of barracks was not soon remedied. The fact that this fort alone, of all the Provincial defenses to this date, stood in a town sufficiently large to house the troops made the need of barracks less immediate; and the press of other responsibilities must have made easy the postponement of their construction.

In the new distribution of troops, two companies were stationed at each of the four remaining forts, Carlisle, Morris, McDowell's Mill, and Lyttelton. At Carlisle the second company was a new one under Captain Robert Callender, promoted as of October 29, 1756, and replaced in Armstrong's company by Captain Lieutenant William Thompson, commissioned on October 30.³¹⁰ A few days later on November 4 Callender wrote Governor Denny: "I have not quite compleated the Eighth Company, but hope in a few Days to have it full; I cannot get either Arms or Blankets from the other Companies for them."³¹¹

Armstrong's duties as battalion commander occasioned absences from Carlisle, of course. On October 30, 1756, he had received the Provincial Commissioners' payment of £272 for prisoners recovered and scalps taken at Kittanning.³¹² On his return from Philadelphia he called in the small parties of soldiers who had been guarding

³⁰⁸ An Accot of Provencial Amunition and Provisions, in my Care at Carlisle, PPC.

³⁰⁹ PR, P, 12; printed in CR, VII, 233.

³¹⁰ PA5, I, 62-63.

³¹¹ PPC; printed in PA1, III, 29-30.

³¹² PA8, V, 4370.

harvesters and assigned larger detachments to other duties.³¹³ One of these was the strengthening of Fort Lyttelton, to which one hundred men escorted cattle in early November.³¹⁴ Armstrong met this detachment on its return at McDowell's Mill on November 18, and in accordance with Engineer Meyer's recommendation chose the site for a new fort (later named Fort Loudoun) to replace McDowell's.³¹⁵ A detachment of 120 men (twenty from each company) was assigned to help Potter's and Joseph Armstrong's companies build the new fort, and by November 21 Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong was at Fort Morris at Shippensburg on his way back to Carlisle.

In Armstrong's absence Captain Callender had commanded at Carlisle, and writing to Governor Denny on November 4, 1756, he had protested against the performance of Adam Hoops and William Buchanan, who had the contract to supply the western garrisons.³¹⁶ Armstrong himself, back at headquarters and writing a week later to Richard Peters, also complained of the quality of the beef.³¹⁷ Criticism of military rations is quite normal, but there seem to have been special grounds for objection in this instance since in the following year there were renewed protests, which came to something of a head when Colonel John Stanwix of the Royal Americans ordered some of the beef buried.³¹⁸

The winter of 1756-1757, a season of heavy snows, seems to have passed quietly enough for the remaining people of the Cumberland Valley, but the apprehension prevailed that heavier military action would follow. On February 28, 1757, the Reverend Thomas Barton wrote to Thomas Penn: "At Carlisle they have erected a large Stockade Fort, which I hope will be proof against any Attacks that can be made with Musquetry; So that Cumberland seems to revive.—But, alas! I fear the approaching Spring will again make us tremble."³¹⁹ The

³¹³ Armstrong to Denny, November 30, 1756, *PAI*, III, 79.

³¹⁴ *Id.* to *id.*, November 12, 1756, *ibid.*, 51.

³¹⁵ *Id.* to *id.*, November 21, 1756, *ibid.*, 59.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 29. Although in Armstrong's absence command of his own company would be exercised by Thompson, command of the post would go to Callender, who outranked Thompson.

³¹⁷ Armstrong to [Peters], November 11, 1756, *ibid.*, 48-49, where it is incorrectly identified as to Denny.

³¹⁸ *Id.* to Denny, June 19, 1757, *ibid.*, 189; Provincial Commissioners to Denny, July 14, 1757, *ibid.*, 215.

³¹⁹ Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, VIII, 239. It may be noted incidentally that Armstrong wrote Burd on February 22, 1757, that "Capt Callender has lain by the Chief part of this Winter of the Rheumatism." Shippen Family Papers, II, 123.

report received at Fort Loudoun on December 27, 1756, that a large party of French and Indians had camped at Raystown (present Bedford) and the report in June, 1757, that an enemy force had marched from Fort Duquesne caused much alarm. A hundred men of Weiser's 1st Battalion were stationed at McDowell's Mill from February until April, 1757, and General Lord Loudoun agreed in March to post part of the 62d or Royal American Regiment in Pennsylvania.

In fulfillment of Loudoun's promise, Colonel John Stanwix arrived at Carlisle on May 30, 1757, with five companies of the Royal Americans, who entrenched themselves "on the North East part of this Town, and just adjoining to it."³²⁰ The presence of these troops, who were reinforced by six more companies in September and remained until November, had a decided effect upon the military situation not alone at Carlisle but throughout the area of Armstrong's command. The fact that Stanwix, holding a British commission and outranking Armstrong, was for the time the actual commander here does not seem to have occasioned any resentment; on the contrary, Armstrong wrote that "Colonel Stanwix treats me with much civility,"³²¹ and the voters of Cumberland County expressed their feelings by electing Stanwix one of their two members of the Assembly.³²²

In fact, Colonel Stanwix used his greater authority to obtain results difficult or impossible for Armstrong to achieve. It was Stanwix who oversaw the negotiations with the Cherokees, who enabled Armstrong to send two hundred Provincials to Raystown in June to guard against a threatened enemy attack, who ordered tainted beef buried and commanded Hoops to furnish fresh provisions, who issued ammunition for which he billed the Provincial Commissioners, who criticized these commissioners for not placing funds at Armstrong's disposal, and who in October, 1757, countermanded the commissioners' instructions for Armstrong to send three companies to Wyoming with men who were to build a town for Teedyuscung.³²³

It was intended that Stanwix should make some of the preparations for a later British offensive, and the co-operative service of Provincial troops and Royal Americans under a British officer was one of the most effective preparations. Another, however, was the entrenched

³²⁰ Armstrong to Denny, June 2, 1757, *PAI*, III, 173; *id.* to *id.*, June 30, 1757, *ibid.*, 203.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, 173.

³²² *PA8*, VI, 4664.

³²³ For references to these actions, see *PAI*, III, 187, 189, 213-14, 240, 281, 301; *CR*, VII, 630.

camp which Stanwix' men constructed. This obviously was larger than was then needed, but the Colonel wrote Denny on June 28 that "I apprehend I have undertaken too much, but as it is supposed to be a Camp of Continuance either now or hereafter, I cou'd not make the Lines less."³²⁴ Neither in situation nor in its proportions was Carlisle Fort adequate to shelter any such aggregation of troops as a campaign would require.

A by-product of Stanwix' entrenchment was an early though unsuccessful attempt to build a Presbyterian meetinghouse in Carlisle. On June 30, 1757, John Armstrong wrote to Richard Peters (an ordained Anglican minister): "To-morrow we begin to haul the Stones for ye building of a Meeting House on the North Side of the Square, there was no Other convenient place; I have avoided the place you Once pitch'd [on] for a Church. The Stones are rais'd out of Colo^l. Stanwixes entrenchment. . . ."³²⁵

There must have been but little building in Carlisle at this time. The Provincial Commissioners on July 11, 1757, paid William West £32. 6s. 3d. on John Smith's "Account of Disbursements building a Fort at Carlisle"; but the sum is not a large one and it is not known just what the work was or when it had been done.³²⁶ Writing to Lord Loudoun on October 25 from his "Camp near Carlisle," Stanwix described the town as he saw it:

two Companies of Col: Armstrongs Provincial Battalion lies at this Beggerly place where one half of the few houses are uncover'd & deserted & the rest scarce able to cover these two Comp^s the other six Companys of this Provinc^l Battalⁿ are two at each of the Following places, called Forts—Shipens-burge, Loudoun & Littleton these all to the West.³²⁷

Obviously, the barracks whose lack Armstrong had deplored fourteen months earlier were still unbuilt, and the soldiers of the garrison were still housed outside the fort. Indeed, it is quite possible that these barracks never were built since the preparations for a major British

³²⁴ PR, P, 338; printed in *CR*, VII, 630.

³²⁵ *PA1*, III, 192-93. Writing on November 5, 1759, from Fort Ligonier to ask Thomas Penn's approval of the proposed meetinghouse, Armstrong referred to the "Stones, Brigadier Stanwix gave me for that Purpose, when at Carlisle he threw up some Lines of Defence." Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, IX, 122. In his reply, dated June 4, 1760, Penn assured Armstrong that "the request that you made by Mr Peters for Ground in the Square to build a Church . . . I answered by the very first opportunity, and I suppose you are now engaged in the Building." *Ibid.*, Penn Letter Books, VI, 250.

³²⁶ *PA8*, V, 4875.

³²⁷ Loudoun Papers, Box 103, No. 4705.

campaign in 1758 must have discouraged further expenditures on posts unsuited to such an undertaking.

Some Cherokees, as well as the Royal Americans, were at Carlisle in the summer of 1757, and a general account of their uncertain services will be found in the history of Fort Loudoun. Twelve of these Indians and their interpreter Richard Smith accompanied George Croghan from Fort Loudoun to Carlisle on July 2; and on July 6 these twelve and forty soldiers under Lieutenant William Armstrong set out to scout in Shermans Valley north of the Blue Mountain. Thirty settlers accompanied the party to bring back cattle from their abandoned homes. Of the Indians, nine returned to Carlisle with the troops on July 10, and the other three came in three days later.³²⁸ This ended their services for the season; for upon a report that some Cherokees had been imprisoned in Virginia the Indians left Carlisle on July 18 to join their friends at Fort Loudoun, and the whole party returned to Winchester.³²⁹

The Royal Americans on the other hand not only constructed their entrenched camp but engaged actively and constantly in scouting in which they were aided by the Provincial troops. Colonel Stanwix prepared on June 19 to march his entire corps and 250 provincials toward Winchester to oppose a rumored French advance,³³⁰ and although this action proved unnecessary he kept captains' parties on patrol of three days' duration. On July 13, for example, Captain Herbert Munster, two subalterns, and seventy men, accompanied by some provincials, left Carlisle to scout between Conodoguinet Creek and the mountain eastward to the Susquehanna; they returned three days later by way of Shermans Valley north of the mountain.³³¹ On July 25 two such parties were out, each accompanied by six provincials: Captain Gavin Cochrane's party scouted westward toward Shippensburg, Captain William Stewart's went toward the Susquehanna.³³²

In November, 1757, Colonel Stanwix sent one company of the Carlisle garrison—which one, his letter to the Governor does not say

³²⁸ Edmund Atkin to Denny, September 15, 1757, *PAI*, III, 271.

³²⁹ Stanwix to Washington, Camp near Carlisle, July 18, 1757, Hamilton (ed.), *Letters to Washington*, II, 153-54; Atkin to *id.*, July 20, 1757, *ibid.*, 156-57; Washington to Stanwix, Fort Loudoun, [Virginia], July 30, 1757, Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings*, II, 114-15.

³³⁰ Armstrong to Denny, June 19, 1757, *PAI*, III, 189.

³³¹ Stanwix to *id.*, July 18, 1757, *ibid.*, 220-21.

³³² Armstrong to *id.*, July 25, 1757, *ibid.*, 239-41; Stanwix to *id.*, July 25, 1757, *ibid.*, 241.

—to serve at Fort Morris in the absence of Captain Mercer's company at Wyoming.³³³

The reorganization of the Provincial troops, effective about the end of January, 1758, made Armstrong's the 1st Battalion and assigned new subalterns to the companies at Carlisle. Armstrong, recommissioned as of December 2, 1757, was assigned Lieutenant James Potter (December 4, 1757) and Ensign Frederick Von Hombach (April 2, 1758); Callender, recommissioned as of December 15, 1757, was assigned Lieutenant Thomas Hutchins (December 18, 1757) and Ensign John Philip De Haas (January 3, 1758).³³⁴ Later the three Pennsylvania battalion commanders were raised to full colonels, Colonel John Armstrong's commission bearing date of May 27, 1758.

Preparations for the Forbes campaign in 1758 were of particular concern to Armstrong since the forts garrisoned by his men would become the bases for the expedition. Governor Denny sent Armstrong orders on March 23 "to hold in readiness the first Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment for Offensive Duty by the first of May."³³⁵ Carlisle's geographical position and the nearby encampment prepared by Colonel Stanwix recommended this as the rendezvous of the assembling British and Provincial forces. On May 8 Governor Denny issued further orders "that the Captains of the several Companies East of Susquehanna do immediately prepare their Muster & Pay Rolls to the 1st of June; . . . and that all the Companies hold themselves in readiness to march towards Carlisle on the first Notice. . . ."³³⁶

With the assembly of the Provincial troops at Carlisle and the arrival of British troops, the role of this post as a Provincial defense came to an end. Colonel Henry Bouquet, General Forbes' subordinate, arrived at Carlisle on May 24 and left on June 8 with the provincials of Colonel Burd's 2d Battalion. General Forbes himself arrived on July 4 and, after a delay occasioned by the sickness that was to kill him, departed on August 12 for Shippensburg. Meantime, Colonel John Armstrong had marched from Carlisle on July 20, "with the

³³³ *Id.* to *id.*, October 24, 1757, *ibid.*, 301.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 336-37. Comparison with the list in *PA5*, I, 89-90, suggests some difficulty in the selection of Armstrong's ensign, since this list names one Stiltzer, commissioned in December, 1757, but replaced by Martin Heidler. The latter however, commissioned as of March 16, 1758, subsequently was assigned to Burd's 2d Battalion. *PA5*, I, 129, 178-82.

³³⁵ Armstrong to Denny, March 29, 1758, *PA1*, III, 365.

³³⁶ Shippen Family Papers, III, 133.

last of the Provincials, being part of the three Companys, consisting of about thirty-five [men] Each."³³⁷

The story of Carlisle as a Provincial fort was at an end, and its history as a British post on the communication to Pittsburgh had begun. With the departure of the Provincial garrison the stockade, situated as it was in the center of the town, must have seemed more of an obstruction than a benefit, and it probably did not long survive. Colonel Stanwix' fortified camp had in fact superseded it. Colonel William Eyre, it may be noted, who passed through Carlisle in March, 1762, saw the breastworks thrown up by Stanwix, but made no mention of a fort in the town.³³⁸

FORT MORRIS

Shippensburg during the French and Indian War was the site of two military establishments. The first of these was a supply depot for provisions to be forwarded to General Braddock. This depot, which utilized existing structures belonging to the town's proprietor Edward Shippen, was of short use, terminating not long after Braddock's defeat on July 9, 1755; and in any event it was to have been replaced by a more advanced depot at McDowell's Mill. The second establishment was a fort authorized by Governor Morris, who, visiting Cumberland County to direct the removal of the supply depot, learned there of Braddock's failure.

Preparations for this fort were made by Charles Swaine, who had supervised the supply depot, but Shippen's son-in-law James Burd apparently was entrusted with the construction. Shippen himself probably chose the name Fort Morris to compliment the Governor. Work on the fort evidently was interrupted by Burd's entry into the Provincial service, and in the fall of 1756 it was still unfinished. A Provincial detachment seems to have been posted here in May, 1756, but the fort was not regularly garrisoned until September of this year, and apparently it had no garrison after 1759.

Like the others of its day this fort was stockaded and built of logs, and probably was similar to them in form. Colonel William Eyre, who saw it on February 13, 1762, described it as "a small Fort made of

³³⁷ Armstrong to Denny, July 20, 1758, *PAI*, III, 483. These companies were of the new levies. Armstrong's own battalion had moved up to Fort Lyttelton about the first of June and was employed in repairing the road. Mercer to Bouquet, June 5, 1758, *Bouquet Papers*, II, 34.

³³⁸ Frances R. Reece (ed.), "Colonel Eyre's Journal of His Trip from New York to Pittsburgh, 1762," *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, XXVII (1944), 41.

Stockades. . . . A Well within Side [is] seventy Feet deep, and very good Water; it stands high.”³³⁹ Indeed, the specific feature most frequently mentioned in the accounts is the well, which was dug with great effort. Subsequent to its evacuation as a garrisoned post, Fort Morris was preserved some time by Shippen, who tried unsuccessfully to have troops assigned to it during Pontiac’s War in 1763-1764.

The story of Shippensburg’s defenses has become much confused, unfortunately, by stories of an apparently fictitious Fort Franklin. However, this place is mentioned only in two purported documents published in 1829, and these are so obviously fraudulent as to deserve no consideration.³⁴⁰ The unknown fabricator of these documents dated 1754 and 1755 supposed “Fort Franklin” to have been garrisoned at that time along with Fort Halifax and Fort Augusta (not built until 1756), Fort Loudoun (1757), and forts at Juniata, Raystown, and Loyalhanna (1758); so it seems more than probable that, knowing there had been a fort at Shippensburg but being unacquainted with its true history, he merely guessed at its name. Subsequent publication of authentic records disclosed the true name of the Shippensburg fort, but some later writers, failing to identify the fictitious “Fort Franklin” with the historical Fort Morris and perhaps confused by local recollections of the supply depot and the fort, have supposed there were two forts at this town, but naturally enough have been unable to agree on their sites.

As has just been noted, the first Provincial military establishment at Shippensburg was the supply magazine for Braddock’s campaign. In early June, 1755, Governor Morris sent Charles Swaine “to purchase up twelve hundred Barrels of Flower, and to hire or build proper Store Houses at Shippensburg or McDowell’s Mill”; but Swaine was instructed to wait at Shippensburg for the General’s approval before preparing the magazine.³⁴¹ On June 14 Swaine wrote the Governor from Shippensburg:

I arrived at this place on Monday [the 9th] and judge there are sufficient buildings for storeing the Provisions without erecting any, these will want but a small repair except the fastenings, and to be had on very easy terms as they are left

³³⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁰ See n. 280 in the present chapter. The items relevant to “Fort Franklin” are a “disposition of the force,” purportedly as of 1755, and an “Extract of a Letter in 1754—Carlisle,” both of which mention Augusta, Loudon [*sic*], and Juniata, forts begun in 1756, 1757, and 1758, respectively.

³⁴¹ Morris to Braddock, June 3, 1755, *CR*, VI, 407. See *ibid.*, 415, for a list of supplies sent Braddock by June 13.

to be possessed by almost any one who will inhabit them & the Owners do not seem inclined to take any advantage of their being wanted on this Ocasion.³⁴²

Only a day earlier indeed, Edward Shippen had written from Lancaster to the Governor to much the same effect: "as I would cast in my Mite, I am to acquaint your Honour that I have a Strong Stone House 30 feet Square at the back Run at Shippensburg at the Generals Service; & if two Strong Seven & Sixpenny padlocks were purchased of Mr Hugh Roberts and sent there I would give Orders to have them put on the Doors that the Provisions may be kept safe."³⁴³ In the usage of the day, "the back Run" would refer to the stream at the western or farther end of Shippensburg, that is, to the present Middle Spring Creek as opposed to the present Burd Run at the east end of the town.

By July 3, 1755, the Governor had sent 213 barrels of pork, 56,000 pounds of flour, and 100 head of oxen, to "remain at Shippensburg till I go up into the Country, which will be on Tuesday next [July 8], and then I shall form the Magazine at or near McDowalls Mill."³⁴⁴ These supplies never reached Braddock, however, who was defeated on the following day; and on November 19 the Provincial Assembly appropriated these stores for the relief of settlers distressed by the first Indian attacks.³⁴⁵

This defeat, terminating the story of the first Provincial post at Shippensburg, introduces the account of the second establishment there; for Governor Morris, hearing while in Cumberland County of Braddock's disaster, "laid the Ground for a Wooden Fort in the Town of Carlisle and directed one of the same kind to be formed at Shippensburg . . . and formed four Companies of Militia."³⁴⁶

In contrast to Carlisle, where preparations seem to have lagged, Shippensburg seems to have set briskly to work on its fort, thanks to Edward Shippen's interest, Swaine's activity, and the efforts of Shippen's son-in-law James Burd, who lived in the town. On July 16 Joseph Shippen wrote to his father, then away from Lancaster: "As Mr T[obias] Hendricks has Directions from the Gov^r to procure 12 Muskets for the Fort to be built at Shippensburg, I thought proper to send by Tob^s your Musket, as they are difficult to be got in this

³⁴² PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 360.

³⁴³ Shippen to Morris, June 13, 1755, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 359.

³⁴⁴ Morris to Braddock, July 3, 1755, draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 372. See also Shippen to William Allen, July 4, 1755, *CR*, VI, 460-61.

³⁴⁵ *PAS*, V, 4131.

³⁴⁶ Morris to Thomas Penn, July 31, 1755, *PR*, N, 137; printed in *CR*, VI, 517.

Town.”³⁴⁷ Hendricks, it may be recalled, lived in eastern Cumberland County at the present Camp Hill on the usual road from Lancaster to Shippensburg by way of Carlisle.

Four days later Charles Swaine, still at Shippensburg, wrote to the Governor:

I suppose the people will now come fast into these parts & I shall use all possible expedition in forwarding a Fort. I have pitched on a piece of Ground of Mr. Shippeys & the timber about here is all his, therefore should be glad he was wrote to about it, if your Honour thought proper that there may be no after claps on his part.³⁴⁸

On July 23 Swaine sent the further word that “I yesterday cleaned a Well at the Foot of where the Fort is intended to be. Have to day ten Men on hire at Work cutting Timber and clearing the adjacent Ground to where I intend to erect the Fort, and as the Country will see that I am begun, hope for their daily Assistance.”³⁴⁹

The news that Colonel Dunbar was moving toward Philadelphia with the remains of Braddock’s army led Swaine on July 25, 1755,

to presume to mention that it would be proper Col. Dunbar quartered Part of his People here, and then the People would stay, and that the Fort here may be finished in such a manner as it may be defensible against a large Party of the French as well as Indians . . . I shall soon make it answer as a Stocado, and I believe near the Sum your Honour mentioned, but this will be far short of what will be necessary as a Security for the magazine and the Stores which must be erected within it. . . .³⁵⁰

Dunbar and his men were ordered to New York, however, leaving the frontier to its own defense.

Shippen may not have known of Swaine’s selection of ground when about July 25 he in turn wrote to the Governor: “After our Court is over I must go to Philad^a . . . but notwithstanding if you think I can be of any real Service by going to procure pastures & by riding to Shippensburg to encourage the People to erect the Fort I will Strain a point and undertake that business.”³⁵¹ He did not go, however, and on July 30 wrote that: “I hope your Honour will be pleased to excuse

³⁴⁷ Shippen Family Papers, I, 211.

³⁴⁸ PPC; printed in *CR*, VI, 493, as entered in the manuscript Provincial Record.

³⁴⁹ Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, VII, 97.

³⁵⁰ Swaine to Morris, *ibid.*, 99.

³⁵¹ PPC, July [25], 1755; printed in *PAI*, II, 364. The date is indicated by a reference to Burd’s return home and by Burd to Morris, July 25, 1755, *CR*, VI, 499 ff.

me for not going to Shippensburg to forward the Fort & for not looking out my Self for pasturage for the Cattle according to orders. I received M^r Peter's Letter Concerning the latter."³⁵² This proceeded from no lack of interest; Shippen wrote on the following day to ask his "Dear Children," James and Sarah Burd, "how doe's your Shippensburg ffort go and how do you all do?"³⁵³ and on August 7 he wrote to Burd that "I hope the people will all get together immediately to build the ffort and You will get pine Logs & black Oaks from Saplin Land, If M^r Swain & you differ in judgement about the ffort let me know it privately."³⁵⁴ Swaine was still in Shippensburg on October 10, 1755, but evidently left sometime later; so Burd was left to continue the fortification.

Like Carlisle, Shippensburg was included in the list of "Five large Forts" drawn up by leading men of York and Cumberland counties, who met at Shippensburg on October 30 to plan local defenses.³⁵⁵ This meeting (at which Burd acted as secretary) and the Indian attack of November 1 on the Coves seem to have provided the incentive for actual preparation of defenses. On Sunday, November 2, Burd reported to Shippen that:

. . . we for these two days past have been working at our Fort, here & believe shall work this day. . . .

As our Fort goes on here with great Vigour and expect to be finished in 15 days, in which we intend to throw all the Women and Children, it would be greatly Encouraging could we have Reason to expect assistance from Philad^a, by private Donation of Sweevells, a few great guns, small arms & ammunition. . . .

We have 100 men working at Fort Morris. . . .³⁵⁶

Here the name of this fort first appears; and it seems that Shippen and Burd must have stolen a march on the people of Carlisle, not only in beginning a fort but also in using to compliment the Governor a name perhaps more appropriate for the fort which Morris himself had laid out.

The attack on the Coves took Burd and the militia to McDowell's Mill to guard against further Indian ravages, but he returned a few

³⁵² Edward Shippen Letter Book, Shippen Papers, American Philosophical Society.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁴ Shippen Family Papers, II, 1. The "Saplin Land" was Shippen's 404-acre tract lying just northeast of his 908-acre "Shippensburg Plantation." *Ibid.*, VI, 137.

³⁵⁵ Minutes in Burd's handwriting in Lamberton Scotch-Irish Collection, I, 23.

³⁵⁶ PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 455. Paraphrased in *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 6, 1755.

days later. On December 17, 1755, Shippen wrote again to Burd to advise him that the Governor intended to hold an Indian conference at John Harris' on January 1, 1756, and that Shippen probably would be of his company. "I hope you are going on briskly with the Fort," he added, "for you may expect y^e Governor will be there before he returns."³⁵⁷

As it turned out, the Governor's visit to Cumberland County gave a setback to the work at Shippensburg. On January 17 the Governor commissioned James Burd captain of the company of Provincial troops to be stationed at Fort Granville; and although the Provincial Commissioners paid £671 on March 11, 1756, "To Joseph Turner, Esq; for Arms, and building a Fort at Shippensburg,"³⁵⁸ this fort remained for some time afterward in an unfinished state.

The "Plan for the Defence of the Frontier of Cumberland County" drawn up in March, 1756, proposed a patrol line extending from Philip Davis' near the Maryland line to a point "towards and back of Shippensburg"; but although orders given on March 25 incorporated some features of this plan, there is no evidence that it was adopted in full.³⁵⁹ However, on April 21, 1756, the Province supplied ammunition "To James Jack & Wm. Tomson, in Hopewell, in Cumberland,"³⁶⁰ in the vicinity of Shippensburg; and on September 6, 1757, the Provincial Commissioners paid £74 16s. to "Joseph Armstrong, for keeping a Guard in Cumberland County, settled by the late Commissioners"—presumably in the summer of 1756.³⁶¹

Sometime later in the spring of 1756, however, Shippensburg seems to have had a Provincial garrison. In March Colonel Clapham began to raise the battalion destined to garrison Fort Augusta; and in the period before his expedition got under way detachments of his men served on other assignments. Ensign Nathaniel Cartland, ordered to Carlisle with thirty men, left Lancaster on April 19, 1756, and probably reached his destination about two days afterward.³⁶² Just a month later on May 19, Governor Morris ordered Captain Burd to bring this detachment (but not Ensign Cartland) from Shippensburg

³⁵⁷ Shippen Family Papers, II, 11.

³⁵⁸ *PA8*, V, 4359.

³⁵⁹ *PA1*, II, 239, 601, 602. The printed version incorrectly attributes this plan to 1754.

³⁶⁰ *PA2*, II, 696 (1876 ed.).

³⁶¹ *PA8*, VI, 4879. Part of Joseph Armstrong's service may have been at the time of the Kittanning expedition in September, 1756.

³⁶² Joseph Shippen to John Harris, April 19, 1756, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 371.

to Harris' Ferry.³⁶³ The fact that John Armstrong had become on May 11 the head of a company posted at Carlisle may account for a removal of Cartland's men from Carlisle to Shippensburg.

Faced in August with the problem of revising his defenses following the loss of Fort Granville, Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong advised the Governor that "Lyttelton, Shippensburg, and Carlisle (the two last not finished) are the only Forts, now built, that will in my Opinion be Serviceable to the publick."³⁶⁴ The unreadiness of this post was also referred to in petitions considered by Governor Denny and the Provincial Council on September 6, 1756: One from Lurgan and Hope-well townships, "setting forth their extream distresses and praying relief"; and "Another Petition from the Inhabitants of Shippensburg and adjacent Townships setting forth their miserable condition and offering to finish a Fort already begun by the late Governor if they shall be allowed Men and Ammunition to defend it."³⁶⁵

Consequent upon the return of Armstrong's 2d Battalion from the raid on Kittanning, Captain Hugh Mercer's company, previously stationed at Fort Shirley, and Captain George Armstrong's, previously at Fort George, were assigned to Shippensburg. John Harris wrote on September 29, 1756, to Major James Burd at Fort Augusta that "there is Two Companys Stationed at fort Littleton Two D^o at Jn^o McDowels Mill one D^o at Shippensborrow & one at Carlisle."³⁶⁶ Mercer himself, who had suffered a broken arm at Kittanning and straggled back to Fort Lyttelton on September 22 two weeks after the attack, did not take command immediately at his new post, but on November 17 he wrote from Lancaster to Commissary James Young that "I intend next week to joyn my Company at Shippensburg, (my Wound being in a fair way of being Cured) tho' it will be a considerable Time in healing quite up and rendering me fit for much Duty."³⁶⁷ It is uncertain, therefore, to which company Harris referred, or whether, having heard that only one captain was at Shippensburg, he assumed incorrectly that only one company was there.

In any event within a month of Harris' letter to Burd there were two companies at Shippensburg, and the garrison was at work improving the fort. On October 30, 1756, Edward Shippen wrote from Lancaster to his son Captain Joseph Shippen:

³⁶³ Shippen Family Papers, II, 53.

³⁶⁴ Armstrong to Morris, August 20, 1756, PR, P, 12; printed in CR, VII, 233.

³⁶⁵ PR, P, 20; printed in CR, VII, 242.

³⁶⁶ Shippen Family Papers, II, 73.

³⁶⁷ PAI, III, 57.

Carlisle Fort has a Garrison of a hundred Men, and so has the Fort at Shippensburg, & McDowell's Mill. Adam Hoops told me to day that a Well is almost finished at Shippensburg Fort: they have gone almost through a solid rock and are 32 feet deep! These Forts have raised the spirits of ye Shippensburg People to a very great degree; Nay Mr David McGaw passed through this Borough this morning with a Waggon Load of Goods to open his store there afresh. . . .³⁶⁸

It must be noted, however, that this work, too, went slowly. On December 23 Captain Mercer wrote to Major Burd that "We . . . are greatly Discoura[ge]d, there b[e]ing as yet no appearance of Water in our Well. . . ."³⁶⁹

Fortunately, Fort Morris was not required to carry any large burden of Provincial defense. Indeed, until the end of its service in this role, this fort was almost unmentioned, except casually by Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong, some of whose letters to the Governor are dated at this place. Thus, returning from McDowell's Mill to Carlisle, Armstrong wrote from Fort Morris on November 21, 1756, to tell Governor Denny of Philip Bäder (Pather), intercepted at Fort Lyttelton on his way to the French garrison at Fort Duquesne; and on June 10, 1757, Armstrong, then on his way to deliver a gift to the Cherokees at Fort Loudoun, sent from Fort Morris the news of Lieutenant Holliday's unfortunate encounter with the Indians in the Great Cove.³⁷⁰

The distribution of Provincial troops planned in conference with Lord Loudoun in March, 1757, proposed no further change at this or the other western posts: "Four Forts only were to remain over Sasquehannah, viz., Lyttleton, Loudoun, Shippensburg and Carlisle, which were to be garrisoned by the Eight Companies of Col. Armstrong's Battalion, two in each Fort. . . ."³⁷¹

In this same year of 1757 Fort Morris was passively involved in a bitter quarrel between Provincial authorities and Benjamin Chambers over the custody of two swivel guns. Unimportant in itself, the dispute illustrates differing local and official concepts of military purpose and practice. The guns in question were some of the arms which the Province had distributed to local settlers and volunteer groups prior to the raising of the Provincial troops and the building of the Provincial forts. Benjamin Chambers' mill at the present Chambersburg,

³⁶⁸ Shippen Papers, Correspondence of Edward and Joseph Shippen, 1750-1778.

³⁶⁹ Burd-Shippen Papers, I, 28.

³⁷⁰ *PAI*, III, 59; *CR*, VII, 599-600.

³⁷¹ Denny to the Proprietors, April 10, 1757, draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 119.

Franklin County, was among the places adapted at this time for local defense, and the records show a shipment on November 25, 1755, of "Four Swivel Guns" and a supply of ammunition "for Chambers & McDowell's Mills."³⁷²

Chambers' mill, unlike McDowell's, was not subsequently transformed into a Provincial post. Nevertheless, Chambers was allowed to retain the Provincial swivels, which were still there in October, 1756, when Provincial Commissary General James Young and a British army engineer, Elias Meyer, passed through here on their way to Fort Lyttelton. On his return trip Young wrote from Harris' Ferry to Governor Denny:

In our journey to Fort Lyttleton we stoped at Mr. Chamber's Mill, 10 miles beyond Shippensburg, towards Mckdowels, where he has a good Private Fort, and on an Exceeding good situation to be made very Defenceable; but what I think of great Consequence to the Government is, that in said Fort are two four Pound Cannon mounted, and no body but a few Country People to defend it. If the Enemy should take that Fort they would naturally bring those Cannon against Shippensburg and Carlisle, I therefor Presume to recommend it to your Honor, Either to have the Cannon taken from thence, or a proper Garrison Stationed there.³⁷³

The Governor thereupon ordered Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong to take custody of the guns; but in reply to Armstrong's written notification Chambers announced his intention of going to Philadelphia to persuade the Governor to countermand his order.³⁷⁴

The swivels were still there on February 4, 1757, when the Governor ordered Armstrong "to cause the said two Cannon to be removed from the dwelling House of the said Benjamin Chambers to Shippensburg or some other Fort under his Command." But when Lieutenant Thomas Smallman of Captain Mercer's company arrived with a detachment, Chambers and "divers other Persons unknown armed with Swords, Guns, and other Warlike weapons" not only refused to give up the Provincial guns but also threatened the lives

³⁷² *PA2*, II, 695 (1876 ed.).

³⁷³ Young to [Denny], October 17, 1756, *PA1*, III, 12. Reporting Meyer's recommendations to the Proprietors, Richard Peters wrote on October 30, 1756, that "many of the small forts built by Townships in the Interior parts of the Country will be demolished as useless and hurtful, and Others constructed in the properest places, Wells built in them, and Ditches made round them—." Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, VIII, 187.

³⁷⁴ Armstrong to Denny, November 30, 1756, *PA1*, III, 79.

of the soldiers. So on April 5 the Governor ordered Sheriff William Parker to place Chambers under arrest.³⁷⁵

But now the county justices resigned,³⁷⁶ reputedly "Owing to the Governor's Treatment of Ben Chambers," who, said Armstrong, "has the Brass & Malice of the Devil"; and Chambers was rumored to be planning to sue Armstrong. Armstrong, in turn, proposed on June 30, 1757, that the Governor advise Colonel Stanwix of the King's Royal Americans to seize the guns;³⁷⁷ but at this point the case disappears from the records.

That Captain Mercer acted as Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong's deputy on other occasions is illustrated by a letter to Commissary General Young on November 17, 1756, regarding the appointment of a surgeon to the battalion and by the fact that on October 4, 1757, Armstrong sent by him a letter to the Governor and authorized him to report to Denny on some matters affecting this command.³⁷⁸

At the time of this trip to Philadelphia arrangements were being made for a more arduous undertaking in which Mercer represented the 2d Battalion. The Province in its efforts to win over the Indians on the upper Susquehanna had agreed to build a town at Wyoming where Teedyuscung and other Indians who wished to rejoin the English could make their home. John Hughes, one of the Provincial Indian Commissioners, volunteered his services; and he, Edward Shippen, and James Galbreath were commissioned on October 5, 1757, to superintend the work.³⁷⁹

Governor Denny ordered Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong to furnish three companies to guard these commissioners and the workmen, presuming, apparently, that the presence of Colonel Stanwix' troops would permit the diversion of Provincial forces from this region. However, both Armstrong and Stanwix protested this arrangement; and at their suggestion one company was drawn from each of the three Provincial battalions. Stanwix wrote from Carlisle on October 24 that

there is not a man of the two Companys properly stationd here but what are upon safe guard partys, to protect the Plantations during seed time . . . tis the same with the Companys at Shippensburg, however, have orderd Capt. Mercer's Company to march here as soon as they can be called in, and

³⁷⁵ Denny to the Sheriff of Cumberland County, April 5, 1757, draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 105. For identification of the sheriff, see *CR*, VII, 267.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 595.

³⁷⁷ Armstrong to [Peters], June 30, 1757, *PAI*, III, 192.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 57, 282.

³⁷⁹ *CR*, VII, 754-55.

shall as soon as possible send one of the Comp^s, either the Lt. Col^l or Capt. Kallenders to replace them. . . .³⁸⁰

Which of these Carlisle companies served with Captain George Armstrong's at Fort Morris is not known, but it may well have been Callender's, with Captain Armstrong remaining in command.

Mercer's company and the commissioners left Fort Hunter on November 3, 1757, to be followed to Fort Augusta by the men from Weiser's battalion.³⁸¹ It was a late season for such an undertaking as Teedyuscung admitted when the party arrived at Wyoming; so after enclosing two houses and raising the walls of six others the expedition returned home. On November 23 the commissioners wrote their report at Barnabas Hughes's in Lancaster,³⁸² and at about the same date Captain Mercer and his company returned to their post at Shippensburg.

The troop reorganization which became effective about the end of January, 1758, made no marked change at Fort Morris, though Armstrong's command was now designated the 1st Battalion and the officers were recommissioned. Mercer, promoted to major and recommissioned as of December 4, 1757, retained Thomas Smallman as lieutenant and was assigned Robert Anderson as ensign, both commissioned as of December 5; Captain Armstrong (December 12) had as subalterns Lieutenant John Prentice (December 6) and Ensign John Lytle (December 11).³⁸³ Commissary General Young's return of February 9, 1758, reported "At Fort Morris, Shippensburg, two Comp^s 112 [men]."³⁸⁴

This garrison was affected, though again somewhat indirectly, by enemy attacks in April, 1758, on the Marsh Creek area of York County. Writing from Carlisle on April 11, Colonel Armstrong reported to Governor Denny:

Ten Persons most whereof are Women and Children (since writing your Honour) have been taken from York County and one Man killed—The York People are extreamly deficient in not sending to Fort Morris, which could have been done in

³⁸⁰ *PAI*, III, 301. For Armstrong's letter of the same date, see *ibid.*, 303-304.

³⁸¹ Hughes *et al.* to Denny, November 3, 1757, *ibid.*, 316-17; also in *CR*, VII, 772-73.

³⁸² *Id.* to *id.*, November 23, 1757, *PAI*, III, 318-19.

³⁸³ *PA5*, I, 89-90; *PAI*, III, 336. According to the first of these lists, Armstrong was first assigned Ensign Francis Johnston (December 15), reassigned to Fort Augusta; James Pollock (January 4, 1758), who replaced Johnston, was moved to Ward's company and replaced in turn by Lytle, who had been first assigned to Wetterholt's company.

³⁸⁴ *PAI*, III, 341.

a few hours, and in the highest probability the Enemy intercepted on their Return, as at that Juncture I had sent all the Men that could be spared from this Garrison to the Assistance of the Neighbourhood of Shippensburg, under the direction of Major Mercer, who followed a different Party of the Enemy, that killed Donaldson and the Wife of one McCombs. This Party of the Enemy, in a place called the Path Valley, was a head of the Major about 14 Miles, when Captain Ward who was patrolling in those parts, fell into their Front, but his Advanced Guard who discovered a Smoak from a waste Cabbin, and saw one Indian before the Door, in giving the Signal of a Discovery by waving the Hat, was observed by the Enemy; who precipitately fled off leaving behind them the Scalps of the two Persons last mentioned, with nine Indian Budgets, a Shafe of Arrows, and a Bow—two or three blankets together with eight Horses taken from the Inhabitants—I have sent orders that the Horses be delivered to the respective owners without Charge upon demand. The Enemy was pursued that Afternoon by the Party under Ward, and next a matter of Twenty Miles by the Party under the Major.³⁸⁵

The incorporation of the Provincial troops into General Forbes' army has been described elsewhere. Both Major Mercer and Captain George Armstrong were transferred to the new Pennsylvania 3d Battalion raised for the campaign; Mercer was commissioned colonel as of May 29, 1758, and Armstrong major as of June 4.³⁸⁶ General Forbes' second-in-command, Colonel Bouquet, arrived at Shippensburg from Carlisle on June 8, and by June 11 had gone on to Fort Loudoun, from which place he continued to the Juniata Crossings on the first step of the advance toward Fort Duquesne. The departure of this British officer with part of the Pennsylvania troops may appropriately mark the end of Fort Morris' history as a Provincial defense.³⁸⁷

Garrisoned thereafter by a succession of detachments until about the end of 1759, the fort was preserved several years more through the attention of the town's proprietor, Edward Shippen, who in a letter

³⁸⁵ Copy in Abercromby Papers, Box 2, No. 143, Huntington Library and Art Gallery. See also *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 13 and 20, 1758; and Thomas Barton to Thomas Penn, April 7, 1758, Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, IX, 21. Barton adds "that on Wednesday [April 5] another Party of Indians show'd themselves Openly to a Fort at Shippensburg."

³⁸⁶ *PA5*, I, 183.

³⁸⁷ It should be noted, however, that an officer and seventeen men of the Provincial forces were stationed at Shippensburg in the winter of 1763-1764. Manuscript map in PPC; printed in *PA1*, XII, frontispiece.

dated March 24, 1761, warned that "I desire everybody in Shippensburg to take care of y^e Fort for I will not suffer a Log of it to be thrown down On any pretence Whatever,"³⁸⁸ and who two years later wrote his son Joseph, then the Provincial Secretary, that "With a great deal to do I have prevailed with the People at Shippensburg to keep up their Fort . . . called ffort Morris."³⁸⁹ As late as October, 1764, Shippen sent up two cannon for this fort and in a letter dated October 27 advised "the Inhabitants of the Town to make a Six feet ditch 20 feet from the Fort all round it and to throw y^e dirt out side. . . . There must be a Small drain to carry off the Water from y^e Said Ditch."³⁹⁰

How much later the structure survived is not known, but the community seems to have preserved a lively recollection of it. Citing tradition, a writer stated in 1871 that "Fort Morris stood at the northeast end of the borough, on the land of the late William McConnell, known as 'the fort,' where the remains of a well dug for the use of the fort still exist."³⁹¹ Another account, apparently also traditional, published eight years later, asserts that Fort Franklin was "erected on the northeastern side of the town" and adds that the well "was filled up with stones and rubbish about fifty years ago, but its location is still visible in Burd street, just outside of a field belonging, at present, to Mr. John Grabill, known as 'Fort Field.'" ³⁹² These two writers clearly refer to the same site, but their use of different names suggests that tradition had not preserved the official name of the fort.

Some later uncertainty and disagreement regarding the site of Fort Morris probably derives from the fact that the name Fort Franklin, learned from the fraudulent documents published in 1829, and the name Fort Morris, found in subsequently published official records, seemed to represent two different forts, so that a second site was required which could also be associated with the time of the Indian wars. The place hit upon was "At the west end of the borough, on a steep rocky bluff," where, according to the 1871 writer previously quoted, once stood a stone building "sometimes called the 'Bull's Eye,' from the fact that a large round hole was left as a look-out. The

³⁸⁸ Shippen to James [John] Long, Shippen Papers, Edward Shippen Letter Book, 1760-61.

³⁸⁹ *Id.* to Joseph Shippen, June 6, 1763, Shippen Papers, Correspondence of Edward and Joseph Shippen, 1750-1778.

³⁹⁰ *Id.* to Francis Campbell and David Magaw, October 18, 1764, and *id.* to Samuel Montgomery, October 27, 1764, Shippen Papers, Edward Shippen Letter Book, 1761-1767.

³⁹¹ "Historic Sketches of the Settlement of the Cumberland Valley, No. 8," *Carlisle American Volunteer*, February 23, 1871.

³⁹² John McCurdy, in Conway P. Wing, *History of Cumberland County*, 246.

remains of the wall stood there until 1836."³⁹³ This perhaps was the "Strong Stone House" offered by Shippen in 1755 for use as a supply depot, but it cannot have been the remains of a stockaded log fort such as Fort Morris.³⁹⁴

FORT LOUDOUN

Fort Loudoun stood about a mile southeast of the present village of Fort Loudon, Franklin County, and about one and one-half miles from McDowell's Mill, which it was built to replace as a Provincial defense. It was named by Governor Denny in honor of John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, commander of the British forces in North America; and it occasionally has been confused with another Fort Loudoun built about the same time at Winchester, Virginia. Erected in 1756, the Pennsylvania Fort Loudoun was garrisoned by Provincial troops until June, 1758, when these troops joined General Forbes' forces. Thereafter it served as a post on the communication to Pittsburgh, was a base for Colonel Bouquet's expeditions of 1763 and 1764 during Pontiac's War, and, garrisoned by a British detachment until November, 1765, was the latest used of the Provincial forts in Cumberland County.

In construction it was comparable to the forts built earlier in this county; General Forbes wrote of "Forts Loudoun and Lyttelton which

³⁹³ Carlisle *American Volunteer*, February 23, 1871. The writer adds that "Other authorities indicate that fort Morris was at the western end of the town, and fort Franklin in the north-eastern section." Jay Gilfillan Weiser, repeating the conflicting views in *Frontier Forts*, I, 513-20, with little attempt to correct or reconcile them, nevertheless presents a map on which Fort Morris is placed at the west end of the town and Fort Franklin on the northeast.

The contributed article published by Wing, *History of Cumberland County*, 246, and paraphrased by Weiser (*Frontier Forts*, I, 518-19), gives a circumstantial account of the building of Fort Franklin, allegedly in 1740; but this account cites no sources, and its story of a preliminary meeting of the citizenry, their erection of the fort, the subsequent assignment of a Provincial garrison to the place, and the digging of a well so closely conforms to the actual history of Fort Morris that this narrative may best be explained as traditional, with the name "Fort Franklin" borrowed from the fraudulent "Provincial Correspondence" and the events dated fifteen years too early.

³⁹⁴ Descriptions of Fort Morris as a stone structure seem to have no other basis than the erroneous identification of this defense with the building "sometimes called the 'Bull's Eye'"; that it was of stone is contradicted by all the sources. Governor Morris ordered "a Wooden Fort"; Swaine had timber cut for the stockade; Shippen offered his "pine Logs & black Oaks" for its construction in 1755 and forbade "a Log of it to be thrown down" in 1761; Colonel Eyre saw it as "a small Fort made of Stockades" in 1762; and none of their contemporaries described it as of stone, though a fort of such unusual construction would have received special notice.

are only two or three houses each, inclosed with a Stockade of 100 feet square."³⁹⁵ A military camp was established here in 1758, and another innovation of this date was a "Summer house near the River Side," where Colonel Bouquet met with the Indians and where General Forbes stayed when he arrived here on September 6, 1758, on his westward march.³⁹⁶

Fort Loudoun was garrisoned by the Provincial companies previously stationed at McDowell's Mill, and in this respect the history of the one post continues that of the other. The inadequacies of McDowell's as a fort had become apparent before the time of the attack on Kittanning, and Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong, writing to Governor Morris on August 20, 1756, had advised that "McDowels or thereabouts is a necessary Post, but the present Fort not defencible."³⁹⁷

When on Armstrong's return from Kittanning, the new governor, William Denny, visited the western frontiers, he took with him a British army engineer, Lieutenant Elias Meyer, to inspect the defenses.³⁹⁸ This officer apparently agreed in recommending a new fort; and a site was chosen at Barr's place between present Markes and Fort Loudon. Armstrong wrote the Governor on November 8, 1756, that "This Week, God willing, we begin the Fort at Barr's";³⁹⁹ but he was delayed by the necessity of escorting supplies to Fort Lyttelton.⁴⁰⁰ On November 12 he expected "with a Detachment from each Fort to meet the Escort now set out for Lyttleton on Tuesday next [the 16th], at Barrs place. . . ."⁴⁰¹

An examination of the site resulted in a change of plan, however, as Armstrong informed the Governor on November 19 from McDowell's Mill:

According to y^r Honour's Orders I have carefully examined Barr's place, and could not find in it a proper Situation for

³⁹⁵ Forbes to William Pitt, July 10, 1758, James (ed.), *Writings of General John Forbes*, 141.

³⁹⁶ Lewis Ourry to Bouquet, Fort Loudoun, July 13, 1758: "I have cover'd, clean'd out, & fitted up the Summer house near the River Side, in which you had the talk with the Indians; as the most agreable & commodious Place for the General to refresh himself in at his arrival here." *Bouquet Papers*, II, 202. Young to *id.*, Camp at Raystown, September 10, 1758: "I return'd here last night from Fort Loudon where I left the Gen^l . . . he came there on Wednesday after noon seemingly in good Spirits and Dined in the Bower. . . ." *Ibid.*, 489.

³⁹⁷ PR, P, 12; printed in CR, VII, 233.

³⁹⁸ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 7, 1756.

³⁹⁹ *PAL*, III, 40.

⁴⁰⁰ Armstrong to [Peters], November 11, 1758, *ibid.*, 48, where it is incorrectly identified as written to Denny.

⁴⁰¹ *Id.* to Denny, November 12, 1758, *ibid.*, 51.

a Fort, the Soil being too Strong to admit the Ditch, and the Spot it self, Overlook'd by an adjoining Hill, but has fixed on a Place in that neighbourhood near to Parnel's Knab where one Patton lived, the Spot I hope will be very agreeable to your Honour & to Mr. Myer, and as its near the New Road, will make the distance from Shippensburgh to Fort Lyttleton two Miles Shorter than by McDowel's. I'm makeing the best preparation in my power to forward this New Fort, as well as to prepare by Barracks, &c., all the others for the approaching Winter Yesterday the Escort of one hundred men returned from Lyttleton who left the Chattle, &c., safe there, and to-day we begin to Digg a Cellar in the New Fort; the Loggs & Roof of a New House having there been Erected by Patton before the Indians burn'd his Old One.⁴⁰² We shall first apprise this House, and then take the benefit of it, either for Officers' Barracks or a Store House, by which means the Provisions may the sooner be remov'd from this place, which at present divided our Strength.

.....
 P.S. May this Fort be call'd Pomfret Castle, or what will you please to call it?⁴⁰³

The postscript reflects Governor Morris' abandoned plan for a fort on Mahantango Creek. Governor Denny apparently did not care to transfer the old name to the new fort, which in a letter of December 22, 1756, is referred to as "Fort Loudon."⁴⁰⁴

By November 30 Armstrong had "detach'd from each of the other Garrisons twenty men & a Commissioned officer, to the assistance of the Capt^{ts}. Potter & Armstrong, in Building the New Fort."⁴⁰⁵ Captain Joseph Armstrong, commissioned as of October 1, replaced Captain Steel, previously located along with Potter's company at McDowell's.⁴⁰⁶ Apparently with the approval of Richard Peters and James Hamilton, Captain Armstrong and twenty of his men had been stationed at his home, near the present Edenville, Franklin County, "untill the New Fort was laid out."⁴⁰⁷ Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong reported on December 22, 1756, that "The Publick Stores are safely removed from

⁴⁰² See *PA8*, VI, 4929-30, for "The Petition of *Matthew Patten*, of *Conegocheague*," presented to the Assembly on February 27, 1759, detailing his losses by Indian attack and by the building of Fort Loudoun, "by the Destruction of his Fences, and Loss of several Stacks of Grain, besides the large Quantities of Timber cut from thence for the Use of the Fort. . . ."

⁴⁰³ PPC; printed in *PA1*, III, 58.

⁴⁰⁴ Armstrong to Denny, *ibid.*, 83.

⁴⁰⁵ *Id.* to *id.*, *ibid.*, 79.

⁴⁰⁶ *PA5*, I, 62, 70.

⁴⁰⁷ Armstrong to Peters, *PA1*, III, 78, where it is incorrectly identified as written to Denny.

McDowels Mill to Fort Loudon, the barracks for the soldiers are built, and some proficiency made in the Stockado, the finishing of which will doubtless be Retarded by the inclemency of the weather, the Snow with us being upward of a foot deep.”⁴⁰⁸

There seems to have been some difficulty about the cost of this construction, for Governor Denny wrote Conrad Weiser on September 27, 1757, of “the Commissioners having refused to discharge the Sums due to the Workmen for building Fort Loudoun tho’ done by my Order.”⁴⁰⁹ A few days later, however, these gentlemen relented and on October 3 assured the Governor that “Upon considering the reasonable Expenses of building Fort Loudoun, & that it was done by your Orders, we have agreed to allow the Acco^{ts} now before us. . . .”⁴¹⁰ Even then, almost a year elapsed before the recorded payment on September 19, 1758, of £41 19s. 5d. to “John Holliday, for his and his two Sons Accounts of Sundries Building Fort Loudoun.”⁴¹¹

About the beginning of 1757 the western posts were alarmed by the report that a body of French and Indians had encamped at Raystown; reinforcements were ordered from Weiser’s 1st Battalion, and from February until April Fort Loudoun was reinforced by a detachment of Weiser’s men stationed at McDowell’s Mill. No enemy attack occurring, however, these men were then returned to their old posts or transferred to Fort Augusta.

On June 8, 1757, however, Lieutenant James Holliday and twenty-five men from Fort Loudoun, scouting in the Great Cove about ten miles from the fort, stopped at “the deserted House of one McClelan”; and while the Lieutenant and ten men were in the house and the others were drinking at the spring, the unwary party were surrounded and surprised by Indians. The first report, brought to Fort Loudoun by ten survivors, was that all the others were lost; and although the final count showed Holliday and three men killed and three others captured, it was, as Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong wrote, “an unfortunate affair,” for which, he said, “some of the Men are to be punished, & five acquitted.”⁴¹² Whether the resignation of officers at Fort Loudoun, referred to by Armstrong in a letter of June 30, 1757, is related to this misfortune is not clear.⁴¹³

⁴⁰⁸ *Id.* to Denny, *ibid.*, 83-84.

⁴⁰⁹ Shippen Family Papers, III, 55.

⁴¹⁰ *PAI*, III, 280.

⁴¹¹ *PA8*, VI, 5061.

⁴¹² Armstrong to Stanwix, June 10, 1757, *CR*, VII, 599-600; Stanwix to Denny, June 12, 1757, *ibid.*, 598-99; Armstrong to *id.*, June 19, 1757, *PAI*, III, 188.

⁴¹³ Armstrong to [Peters], *PAI*, III, 192.

One of the soldiers carried off by the Indians was "Charles Peller, a Bavarian," questioned at Niagara on July 27. From the French report it is known that the attack was the work of an Iroquois party which had set out from Niagara almost three months before—probably about May 1. As recorded by the French officer, Peller said he had been in this country nine years, that he was a carpenter, that he was of *une compagnie franche dont le capitaine s'appelle Harmestran* ("a free company"—not British regulars—"whose captain was named Armstrong"). His company comprised sixty men; he did not know how many companies there were; they were garrisoned in little forts at the mountain passes against the Indians; the forts would hold a hundred men; the one from which he was taken was named Conococheague from the name of the river on which it stood (*s'appelle Kanegouhi, du nom de la rivière sur laquelle il est*).⁴¹⁴

Fort Loudoun was in fact the only Provincial fort on Conococheague Creek; and another indication that it was familiarly known by this name appears in the published recollections of Mary Jemison, who, as noted in the account of Fort Lyttelton, was captured April 5, 1758, in the Marsh Creek section of present Adams County. On the following day, as Mary Jemison remembered, she and her captors "before noon passed a small fort that I heard my father say was called Fort Canagojigge."⁴¹⁵

About Fort Loudoun centers the story of the Cherokee warriors who in 1757 entered Pennsylvania as British allies and served here for a brief time. English efforts to use these Indians as allies relied on the fact of long hostility between some of the southern Indians and the northern Indians associated with the Six Nations, in accordance with which the Cherokees in particular regarded the Ohio Indians, now under French influence, as traditional enemies.

On May 1, 1757, a party of sixty Cherokees, who had come north and eastward by way of Virginia and Maryland, entered Pennsylvania in pursuit of enemy Indians who had killed some settlers about the mouth of Conococheague Creek. Accompanied by Captain Richard Pearis of Virginia and Lieutenant Shelby of Fort Frederick, Maryland, they traveled up the west branch of the creek to a place about five miles below Fort Loudoun, where they camped. Informed by an alarmed resident of the Indians' presence, the commander at Fort Loudoun sent out half of the garrison, who surrounded the supposed

⁴¹⁴ "Journal de Niagara," in Casgrain (ed.), *Relations et journaux*, 112.

⁴¹⁵ James E. Seaver, *A Narrative of the Life of Mary Jemison*, 26; see also the note, *ibid.*, 314-15.

enemy, intending to attack them at daybreak. Fortunately, the Cherokees' white escort succeeded in preventing this, and the Indians continued on their way.⁴¹⁶ Failing to overtake the first enemy party, they fell upon a smaller one near Raystown, killing four men and capturing two, whom they took to Fort Lyttelton on May 12.⁴¹⁷ The party then set out for Virginia without returning to Fort Loudoun.

Before leaving Fort Lyttelton, however, the Cherokees sent a message to Governor Denny, who was attending an Indian conference at Lancaster. On Denny's orders Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong undertook to draw some of these Indians back to Pennsylvania. The Cherokees having stopped at Fort Frederick to receive a present from the Governor, Armstrong led a delegation to that place, where he conferred with the Indians on May 18-19; and Captain George Armstrong, the Colonel's brother, arrived just afterward with a present, delivered on May 22, and with Governor Denny's promise of a larger gift upon the Indians' return to Fort Loudoun.⁴¹⁸

When Colonel Armstrong and George Croghan arrived at Fort Loudoun on June 10 to meet the Cherokees, however, they were met by a letter from Edmund Atkin, the southern Indian agent, warning that some of the Cherokee warriors had slipped away from the others at Winchester in hopes of obtaining the whole Pennsylvania present for themselves; moreover, Atkin was displeased because Pennsylvania and Croghan, as deputy to Sir William Johnson, the northern Indian agent, had dealt directly with southern Indians.⁴¹⁹

To mend these difficulties, Armstrong and Croghan went on from Fort Loudoun to Winchester, where on June 15 they heard of a Cherokee report that a large enemy force had set out from Fort Duquesne to attack Pennsylvania; so Armstrong, leaving Croghan to deal with the Indians, hurried home to ready his troops. Croghan, returning to Fort Loudoun on June 26 with fifty Cherokees, delivered them the Pennsylvania gifts two days later and on July 2 went on to Carlisle with a few of their leaders.⁴²⁰

It was known by this time that the report of a French march had been largely a misunderstanding of the Indians, and the Cherokees' services in Pennsylvania were relatively unimportant. Twenty-eight

⁴¹⁶ Armstrong to Denny, May 5, 1757, *CR*, VII, 503-504.

⁴¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 528-33; *PAI*, III, 146-48.

⁴¹⁸ *CR*, VII, 534-35, 548, 552-58.

⁴¹⁹ Atkin to Croghan, June 8, 1757, *PAI*, III, 175-82; *id.* to Governor Sharpe, June 12, 1757, *ibid.*, 183-86; Armstrong to Denny, June 19, 1757, *ibid.*, 187-89.

⁴²⁰ Croghan Journal, *NYCD*, VII, 280-85, reprinted in *PA2*, VI, 527-32 (1877 ed.); Atkin to Sharpe, June 30, 1757, *PAI*, III, 197-201.

of the Indians set out from Fort Loudoun with Captain Potter on July 2, 1757, to scout about Raystown, but they changed their minds and returned to the fort the next day. The Cherokees who had gone on to Carlisle with Croghan were almost equally ineffective and left on July 18 for Fort Loudoun, whence the whole party returned to Winchester.⁴²¹

The Cherokees' departure from Carlisle was precipitated, it appears, by an unfortunate incident at the Virginia Fort Loudoun at Winchester, where Edmund Atkin, the Indian agent, about July 10 had had Colonel George Washington imprison a group of Indians of whom he was suspicious. Washington related the outcome in a letter of July 30, 1757, to Colonel Stanwix:

This step was no sooner taken, than the Cherokees in town, about twenty two in number, despatched a runner to inform their people, that the English had fallen upon their Brethren, and desired that they (the Cherokees) would stand upon their defence. Another runner, you are sensible, came to Carlisle to inform the warriors there of it, who returned fully resolved to rescue the prisoners, or die in the attempt. The former they did, and were so enraged with Mr. Atkin, that they wou'd hold no conference with him the next day, when he sent to desire it, till they had first been with me for information. . . .⁴²²

The chief consequence of the Pennsylvania negotiations with these Indians was that some of them returned to Fort Loudoun the following year when preparations had begun for General Forbes' campaign, and that, persuaded to serve again, they then proved themselves as uncertain allies as before.

About this same time soldiers of the Fort Loudoun garrison were attacked by a sickness which Armstrong attributed to improper food. This was likely enough, and Armstrong was the readier to make the suggestion because he had had previous occasion to complain of the contractors for provisions. Writing from Carlisle on July 25, 1757, he reported to Governor Denny that

. . . last Week Learning from Fort Loudon, that Twelve of their Men had the Flux, and not One pound of Meat in Garrison, . . . I was again Oblig'd to apply to Colonel Stanwix . . . the Colonel Order'd M^r Hoops to Provide Cattle, Salt, Pork, and a little Rice for the Sick Men, which I immediately Sent off, under the best escort we cou'd Collect. . . .

⁴²¹ Stanwix to Denny, July 18, 1757, *ibid.*, 221; Atkin to *id.*, September 15, 1757, *ibid.*, 268-71.

⁴²² Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Writings*, II, 114-15.

Docter Blair⁴²³ is return'd from Loudon, and reports that only Six of the Men were bad of the disorder, that they are somewhat recover'd—that 'tis very hard performing any Cure without Change of Diet. Med'cines are left in the Care of Lieut Lyon. . . .⁴²⁴

Before the end of 1757 both Captains John Potter and Joseph Armstrong were replaced at Fort Loudoun. It appears that Lieutenant Lyon resigned;⁴²⁵ and a return dated June 1, 1757, reports Armstrong's company without an ensign.⁴²⁶ These changes, or some of them, perhaps are referred to in Armstrong's letter of June 30, which speaks of officers resigning at this post.⁴²⁷ It is certain that Captain Joseph Armstrong resigned, having served since October 1, 1756; and he was replaced by Captain William Armstrong. In May, 1758, when troops were raised for the Forbes campaign, Joseph Armstrong was offered a new commission but declined.⁴²⁸ Whether Captain Potter resigned or died in service is not known; he was still active in early July, 1757, but died about the end of August.⁴²⁹ Potter was replaced by Captain William Thompson, previously captain lieutenant of Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong's company.⁴³⁰

The military reorganization effected about the end of January, 1758, when Armstrong's command became the 1st Battalion, produced little

⁴²³ Thomas Blair, recommended on November 4, 1756, by Captain Mercer, who was also a doctor; commissioned sometime later, and recommissioned December 2, 1757, *PAI*, III, 27, 337.

⁴²⁴ PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 240.

⁴²⁵ Lyon was at Fort Loudoun on September 2, 1757, when he "Receivd from Lieut James Potter in behalf of Capt John Potter Deceasd twenty Pounds for recruiting the Compy." Draper MSS, PP, p. 34 (Potter Papers, 1747-1804), State Historical Society of Wisconsin. On October 11, however, Armstrong wrote to Denny that "[I] doubt not in some accidental Conversation but I might have drop'd something of Mr. Lyon's resignation, which must have been owing to my Own Objections to his personal appearance. . . ." *PAI*, III, 289. An undated list of officers, *PA5*, I, 62, notes Lyon as "R[esigned]."

⁴²⁶ Loudoun Papers, Box 85, No. 3769.

⁴²⁷ Armstrong to [Peters], *PAI*, III, 192: "I have in a proper manner wrote to the Officers at Loudon concerning their resignation, but has not received an Answer. . . ."

⁴²⁸ For Joseph Armstrong, see Peters to Stevenson, May 3, 1758, *ibid.*, 386, and Stevenson to Peters, May 15, 1758, *ibid.*, 395. For William Armstrong, see *PA5*, I, 91; *PAI*, III, 337.

⁴²⁹ Potter is mentioned as in active service on July 2, 1757, but as dead by May 12, 1758. *Ibid.*, 271, 396. That he died on August 30, 1757, is indicated by an account of his estate in the Draper MSS, PP, p. 32 (Potter Papers). See also n. 425 above. A manuscript account book for Potter's company, March 25, 1756-1757 is in Draper MSS, 3U, pp. 1-63 (Frontier Wars MSS); one for 1757-January, 1758, is in PPC. Names extracted from the latter are printed in *PA2*, VII, 254 (1878 ed.).

⁴³⁰ *PA5*, I, 90-91; *PAI*, III, 337.

further alteration at Fort Loudoun, but the officers received new commissions. Captain Thompson, recommissioned as of December 21, 1757, had as subalterns Lieutenant William Lyon (December 6) and Ensign Thomas Hays (December 2); Captain William Armstrong and Lieutenant William Blyth were recommissioned as of December 24, but this company apparently continued without a permanent ensign until Conrad Bucher was commissioned on April 1, 1758. It will be noted that Lyon seems to have accepted a new commission.⁴³¹

In this year the earlier negotiations with the Cherokees had further consequences. On April 9, 1758, Captain Thompson wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong that "Forty Cherokee Indians are just arrived at this Garrison . . . I believe they come here agreeable to the Treaty held by Mr Croghan at this Place last Year." As might be expected, the Indians were fit objects for gifts of clothes and equipment and Captain Thompson so informed his superior, adding that he and half his company would go out with the new arrivals in search of the enemy, if the Cherokees were willing.⁴³²

It appears, however, that although the Cherokees went out, Thompson did not. He wrote again on April 26, 1758, from York:

The Cherokees and Catawbies that left Fort Loudoun to go to War, Marched in Company 'till they crossed Juniato, at which Place some Misunderstanding that Happened amongst them occasioned the Four Catawbies to return to the Fort, But the Cherokees proceeded towards Fort Duquisini by the Frank's Town Road.

They purposed being out twelve or fourteen Days, and said if their Brothers of Pennsylvania had any inclination to hold a Treaty with them they were sure a Present would be sent them by the Time they return'd.

.....
I will set off for Fort Loudoun tomorrow, and will be glad to know as soon as possible what his Honour the Governor, and the Assembly intend to do with them.⁴³³

Governor Denny did what he could. First he applied to the British quartermaster general in America, Sir John St. Clair; but Sir John, a notoriously difficult man, replied "that the Assembly and People of this Province had such singular and unreasonable Nations of Indians,

⁴³¹ *Ibid.* Ensign Francis Johnston, commissioned as of December 15, 1757, and assigned to George Armstrong's company, apparently was transferred to William Armstrong's company before January 4, 1758, but evidently did not remain here.

⁴³² Abercromby Papers, Box 3, No. 136.

⁴³³ Thompson to Armstrong, PR, Q, 260-61; printed in CR, VIII, 111. See also PA8, VI, 4792.

and particularly the Cherokees, that he would not have anything to do with them." Denny then appealed to the Penns' receiver general, Richard Hockley, for "Two or three Hundred Pounds"; but Hockley refused, saying he had no funds on hand. The Governor then wrote to the British commander, General Abercromby, and, while awaiting his reply, asked the Assembly on April 18 to make interim provision.⁴³⁴ On May 3 the Assembly declined; and the Governor drew up a list of goods to the value of £200 which he submitted to the commissioners.⁴³⁵ On June 5 there were sixty-seven Cherokees at Fort Loudoun, who had received no present and were threatening to join the French.⁴³⁶ Eventually, however, some of them served General Forbes' army as scouts.

With the mobilization for the Forbes campaign, Fort Loudoun ceased to be a station in a defense line, and the troops who had been stationed here were no longer a fixed garrison. In each of the two old Pennsylvania battalions, one company was replaced by a troop of light horse. In the 1st Battalion the captain of this troop was William Thompson, who, recommissioned as of May 1, 1758, probably found the new service attractive both for its variety and for the Provincial Commissioners' promise of two shillings sixpence a day additional pay.⁴³⁷

Bouquet's original plan was to arrive at Fort Loudoun on June 6, 1758, with the men of Colonel Burd's 2d Battalion; Colonel Adam Stephen and six hundred Virginia troops were to meet him here, and the combined force was then to proceed by way of Fort Lyttelton to the Juniata Crossings on the first step of the advance toward the Ohio.⁴³⁸ The actual troop movements were slightly later: Captain Callender arrived at Fort Loudoun on June 1 with six companies of Armstrong's 1st Battalion, Colonel Mercer of the new 3d Battalion arrived two days later, and Colonel Stephen, with his Virginians and

⁴³⁴ CR, VIII, 77-79.

⁴³⁵ Assembly to Denny, *ibid.*, 112; list of goods, "a Present for 40 Cherokee Warriors," PPC, May 3, 1758.

⁴³⁶ William Trent to Bouquet, Fort Loudoun, June 5, 1758, *Bouquet Papers*, II, 36-38.

⁴³⁷ Provincial Commissioners to Forbes, May 19, 1758, *PAI*, III, 398. For Thompson's new command, see *PA5*, I, 180. His subalterns were 1st Lieutenant Robert Anderson, previously ensign in Mercer's company, recommissioned as of April 30, 1758, and 2d Lieutenant John Lyttle, previously ensign in George Armstrong's company, recommissioned as of May 1, 1758.

⁴³⁸ Bouquet to Forbes, June 3, 1758, *Bouquet Papers*, II, 11.

twenty-five Catawba Indians, came on June 6.⁴³⁹ Bouquet himself marched from Shippensburg on June 9 and remained a week at Fort Loudoun, where he held council with an Indian party augmented by the arrival of a hundred Cherokees; and on June 16 the combined force moved on to Fort Lyttelton.⁴⁴⁰

The selection of Fort Loudoun as the point for assembling and organizing this mixed force—not in the fort itself, of course, but in an adjacent camp—indicated sufficiently well the nature of this post's subsequent role as a British military base rather than as an outpost; and the transformation of this post may serve also as a final reminder of the changed status of the western Provincial forts. Their future history was to be that of British, not Provincial, defenses.

THE CUMBERLAND COUNTY FORTS AFTER 1758

For the period of time from 1755 to May, 1758, during which the forts in Cumberland County operated as posts along part of a defensive patrol line or as bases from which detachments took the field to guard the inhabitants and to oppose enemy parties, it is quite feasible to trace the separate histories of these forts; and such individual accounts are sufficiently meaningful so long as the over-all military situation and the interrelations among the forts are not disregarded. Despite occasional reassignments of troops and exchanges or replacements of officers, the forts may be considered as having had during this period fixed garrisons composed of companies assigned and serving as intact units and operating ordinarily within certain areas.

After the middle of 1758 the situation was quite otherwise, and permanent posts and intact companies serving under their proper officers were things of the past. East of the Susquehanna some of the posts had been evacuated, and those that remained, including Fort Augusta, were manned by detachments of companies, mostly new units. On the other hand, these smaller garrisons operated much in the earlier manner so far as their numbers permitted; and the fact that they now served under British command was not obtrusive, since General Forbes had delegated a Provincial officer, Major Jacob Orndt of the 1st Pennsylvania Battalion, to command in that area.⁴⁴¹

⁴³⁹ Callender to Bouquet, June 2, 1758, *ibid.*, 5; Mercer to *id.*, June 5, 1758, *ibid.*, 34; Stephen to *id.*, June 6, 1758, *ibid.*, 41.

⁴⁴⁰ St. Clair to Bouquet, June 9, 1758, *ibid.*, 60; Bouquet, speech to Indians, *ibid.*, 98-101; Bouquet to St. Clair, June 16, 1758, *ibid.*, 102.

⁴⁴¹ Forbes to Bouquet, July 11, 1758, *ibid.*, 184.

West of the Susquehanna the change was far greater; for here there were no fixed garrisons but, rather, an army on the move. For the time of the campaign, the provincials were an integral part of General Forbes' army, and their officers part of his machinery of command. Companies were fragmented and recombined in heterogeneous commands.

Not all of this happened at once. The reorganization of Pennsylvania troops at the beginning of 1758 had to some extent disregarded geographical considerations in assigning companies to one or the other of the two battalions, and it had reassigned subalterns to new companies; while the new 3d Battalion, raised for the campaign, had no distinct territorial basis. Nor was the fragmentation of companies altogether new; detachments had been sent off before this to reinforce Fort Augusta or to stand guard at Easton. Now, however, this took place wholesale, as the thirty-five best men of each Pennsylvania company were drafted for the campaign and the fifteen poorest were assigned to garrison duty at Fort Augusta and eastward.⁴⁴²

Even some of the more drastic changes had been faintly foreshadowed; for men of Armstrong's battalion had served in conjunction with British troops under Colonel Stanwix in 1757, and men of the same unit had executed minor expeditions to Kittanning in 1756 and to Raystown in the year following. None of these preliminary operations, however, had materially altered the role of the forts, which remained the bases and permanent quarters of specific military units; and it was in the effect upon the role of the western Provincial forts that preparations for General Forbes' campaign made one of their most pronounced changes.

Stated briefly, Carlisle, Shippensburg (Fort Morris), Fort Loudoun, and Fort Lyttelton ceased to be posts on a line of defense and became posts on a line of communication. Initially and on several subsequent occasions, these places served as bases at which troops and supplies were assembled for the advance westward; at other seasons they could provide winter quarters or serve as demobilization points. Throughout, they served as stations for detachments responsible for maintaining the road and for protecting stores and for expediting small bodies of troops, munitions, provisions, and official messages.

For some of these operations the forts, properly speaking, were of limited usefulness. Campaigns were seasonal, and troop mobilizations produced a feast-or-famine effect: Either there were so many troops at

⁴⁴² Francis Halkett to Peters, July 9, 1758, *PAI*, III, 450.

hand that the fort could not possibly accommodate them, or there were so few that the fort might be left without a garrison. With Forbes' successful advance in 1758 and the subsequent consolidation of the British position in the west, the more conspicuously military functions of the eastern forts declined steadily in importance; for the establishment of each new advanced post made the situation of the previous ones less critical. As the danger of attack faded, the value of the fort as a military defense declined; as settlements developed, the fort was less necessary for housing stores and troops. Fort Loudoun replaced Carlisle as a base; Fort Pitt eventually replaced Fort Loudoun.

West of the Susquehanna, Carlisle Fort was the first casualty of shifting military emphasis. In the changed circumstances of 1758, this fort was ill suited for maintenance as a garrisoned post. Its situation "in the middle of this town" could not have been the most convenient for large concentrations of troops; and as late as the fall of 1757 this fort did not include quarters for its garrison, who were housed in the town. Furthermore, Colonel Stanwix, stationed at Carlisle in 1757 with five companies of Royal Americans, had established an entrenched camp "on the North East part of the Town, and just adjoining it"; and it is most probable that this camp, rather than the fort, was utilized thereafter for military purposes. It seems doubtful that Carlisle Fort, with its limited accommodations, survived the departure of the provincials in July, 1758; and it should be remarked that "the Kings Stores" left in town at that time were housed in private buildings.⁴⁴³

The other three forts of this region survived until later dates. Fort Morris at Shippensburg outlived military neglect because it was protected by Edward Shippen, the town's proprietor. Fort Loudoun, advantageously situated for assembling troops and supplies, was used by Colonel Bouquet as a base for his campaign in 1764, and latest garrisoned of the four forts, it housed until November 18, 1765, a detachment of the 42d (Royal Highland) Regiment. Fort Lyttelton, inconvenient as a base because separated by mountains from the settled valleys farther east, had by then fallen to ruin.

As all this indicates, it is impractical if not impossible to present separate, detailed, and meaningful accounts of these four forts after 1758. Their stories are after that date subordinate to that of greater movements of armies to and from campaigns which, conducted far

⁴⁴³ Armstrong to Bouquet, January 27, 1759, *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21644, Vol. I, 23; *id.* to *id.*, April 26, 1759, *ibid.*, 114; Daniel Clark to *id.*, May 21, 1759, *ibid.*, 133.

afield, cannot be related or evaluated in terms of these now incidental posts. The story of these campaigns is related rather to that of the British forts erected in southern and western Pennsylvania in 1758-1760.

It is pertinent, however, to round out the story of these Cumberland County posts by tracing briefly their fluctuating if ebbing status after 1758 and by taking some note of their structural survival.

On the eve of the Forbes campaign the four forts in question, Carlisle, Morris, Loudoun, and Lyttelton, were each garrisoned by two companies (one hundred men) of Armstrong's 1st Pennsylvania Battalion. Most of these men went on the campaign, of course; Colonel James Burd and the able men of his 2d Battalion left Carlisle with Colonel Bouquet on June 8, 1758; other detachments followed, and on July 20 Colonel Armstrong left "with the last of the Provincials, being part of the three Companys, Consisting of about thirty-five [men] Each."⁴⁴⁴ Writing from this town three days later, the paymaster, James Young, reported that "50 [of the men least able to march] are left at Shippensburg, and 50 here."⁴⁴⁵

Loudoun and Lyttelton housed a varied succession of troops. Bouquet, on his westward march, left Fort Loudoun on June 16 and was at Fort Lyttelton from June 17 to June 20. At the latter place he left Captain Jacob Morgan and his company of the 2d Pennsylvania, which was shortly afterward relieved.⁴⁴⁶ Forbes' deputy quartermaster general, Sir John St. Clair, sent detachments of the Royal Americans to Loudoun and Highlanders to Lyttelton.⁴⁴⁷

By early September, 1758, when General Forbes himself had advanced as far as Fort Loudoun and Bouquet and most of the troops were at Raystown, Carlisle retained a detachment of twenty-four men of the 3d Pennsylvania, and Shippensburg had eleven men of the same battalion.⁴⁴⁸ On September 8 a detachment of forty rank and file (twelve North Carolina, twenty-one Lower County, seven 1st Pennsylvania) marched from Raystown to relieve the previous garrison at Fort Lyttelton.⁴⁴⁹ A return of October 3, 1758, reports Captain John Byers at Carlisle and Captain Charles McClung (with Captain Montgomery's subalterns) at Shippensburg, all of the Pennsylvania new

⁴⁴⁴ Armstrong to Denny, July 20, 1758, *PAI*, III, 483.

⁴⁴⁵ Young to Peters, July 23, 1758, *ibid.*, 489.

⁴⁴⁶ Bouquet Orderly Book, *Bouquet Papers*, II, 656-57. By July 7 Morgan was at Juniata Crossings. *Ibid.*, 165-66.

⁴⁴⁷ St. Clair to Bouquet, June 22, 1758, *ibid.*, 130; *id.* to *id.*, June 27, 1758, *ibid.* 138.

⁴⁴⁸ Shippen Family Papers, IX, Part 1, pp. 179, 183.

⁴⁴⁹ Bouquet Orderly Book, *Bouquet Papers*, II, 687.

levies; Captain Lieutenant Samuel Allen of the 1st Pennsylvania and Lieutenant Robert Hodgson of the Lower Counties were at Fort Loudoun; and Captain Bailey of North Carolina was in command at Fort Lyttelton.⁴⁵⁰

Termination of the campaign at the end of November, following the capture of Fort Duquesne, occasioned extensive troop reassignments. Many provincials, including the Pennsylvania new levies, were discharged; the others were assigned to garrison duty or sent to winter quarters in the settled parts of the country. In consequence, Carlisle and Shippensburg received greater troop complements than during the campaign. On January 17, 1759, four company commanders—Colonel Armstrong, Captain Callender, Captain William Armstrong, and Captain Lieutenant Allen—and 133 men of the 1st Battalion were at Carlisle, the battalion headquarters; they were not reported as on garrison duty, but apparently as in winter quarters.⁴⁵¹

The other three old Provincial forts in this county were still garrisoned, however. Fort Morris at Shippensburg had seventy-three men, fifty of the 1st Battalion and twenty-three of the 2d; Fort Loudoun had thirty-two men of the 1st Battalion; Fort Lyttelton had an equal number of the 2d Battalion.⁴⁵² At this last post Ensign (later Lieutenant) Caleb Graydon commanded from January until July, 1759.⁴⁵³

The campaign of 1759, concerned with securing the fort at Pittsburgh and with driving the French from their remaining posts in northwestern Pennsylvania, depleted the garrisons of the old posts. Some Pennsylvania troops went up to Bedford in June, and Bouquet arrived at the same post on August 1. By July 22 the Fort Loudoun garrison consisted of only fourteen men,⁴⁵⁴ and Shippensburg seems to have been stripped of troops; on August 25 Captain Sinclair suggested to Bouquet that a corporal and six men be sent to the latter place from Carlisle.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵⁰ Shippen Family Papers, IX, Part 1, 217, and PA5, I, 355-56.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 271-72.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, 272, 274.

⁴⁵³ Graydon Journal at Fort Lyttelton, January 25-February 28, 1759, *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21644, Vol. I, 57-63; Graydon Journal for March and May, 1759, Shippen Family Papers, IV, 11 and 55; John Tulleken to Bouquet, July 22, 1759, *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21644, Vol. I, 205. Graydon to Burd, May 24, 1759, Shippen Family Papers, IV, 41, acknowledges news of "my late Promotion," though his commission as lieutenant was dated November 13, 1758. See PA5, I, 181.

⁴⁵⁴ Daniel Clark to Stanwix, July 22, 1759, *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21654, p. 9.

⁴⁵⁵ James Sinclair to Bouquet, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, Series 21639 [Bouquet Papers], f. 100; Bouquet to Sinclair, August 28, 1759, *ibid.*, f. 98. Cited hereafter as B. M., Add. MSS.

Bouquet at Fort Loudoun on July 25 ordered Lieutenant Colonel Work of the 1st Pennsylvania to remain at that place and supervise the communication between Carlisle and Bedford.⁴⁵⁶ The matter of chief concern was maintenance of the roadway; and although Bouquet on August 13 ordered Work to Bedford,⁴⁵⁷ where he later commanded, Provincial companies were continued at this work: Captain James Sharp at Fort Loudoun and Captain Robert Boyd at Fort Lyttelton, both of the new levies of this year.⁴⁵⁸

As the campaign of 1759 drew toward its close, the Pennsylvania officers made plans as before for winter assignments,⁴⁵⁹ but had to discard these when the Assembly voted on December 7 to continue only 150 troops in service. This action left the British commander little choice. Writing on December 24, General Stanwix informed Governor Hamilton that he had ordered the Pennsylvania troops relieved at all the posts other than those constructed by the Province:

. . . . Fort Loudoun and Fort Littleton being in your old Frontiers, I leave them still to be so, and continue the Pensiva'n Troops to the number of 50, Officers included, being 25 at each of these posts.

Shippensburg, in this exigency, must do without Troops for the present, as well as Carlisle; the other remaining 100, including Officers, of your Pensilva'n troops, are to Garrison Fort Augusta. . . .⁴⁶⁰

It seems probable, however, that Shippensburg, as well as Loudoun and Lyttelton, was garrisoned a while longer. On December 22, 1759, Major Shippen at Fort Bedford had sent Ensign John Baird and twenty-one men to garrison Fort Loudoun and had at the same time ordered Lieutenant Joseph Scott and thirteen men to Shippensburg; Colonel Armstrong, who left Bedford the same day, was to complete the garrison of Shippensburg, "with the other Posts."⁴⁶¹

For the campaign of 1760, during which British posts were established at the sites of the former French forts in northwestern Pennsylvania, the Assembly authorized a force of 2,700 provincials; but at

⁴⁵⁶ *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21655, p. 55.

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Series 21644, Part II, 28-29.

⁴⁵⁸ Bouquet to Sharp and *id.* to "Capt Boid," August 28, 1759, B. M., Add. MSS, Series 21639, f. 98; *PA5*, I, 296.

⁴⁵⁹ Shippen Family Papers, IX, Part 1, pp. 267, 273.

⁴⁶⁰ *PA1*, III, 696. See also Stanwix to Bouquet, same date, B. M., Add. MSS, Series 21638, f. 71.

⁴⁶¹ Shippen to Burd, December 23, 1759, Shippen Family Papers, IV, 233. Baird was still at Fort Loudoun on January 13, 1760, when Shippen wrote to him there. *Ibid.*, V, 5.

the close of the campaign it made no provision for continuing any troops except, reluctantly, thirty to garrison Fort Augusta. The troops were raised in April;⁴⁶² and by May 8 Major George Armstrong of Colonel Mercer's 2d Battalion had attended to the matter of "fixing Officers to Command at Lyttleton and Loudoun."⁴⁶³ It is obvious, however, that these commands were not long lasting and that the campaign in fact terminated the Provincial garrisons at these posts.

The structures themselves survived for a time, however. Edward Shippen intervened to save one of them and on March 24, 1761, wrote from his home in Lancaster that "I desire everybody in Shippensburg to take care of y^e Fort for I will not suffer a Log of it to be thrown down On any pretence Whatever."⁴⁶⁴ Loudoun and Lyttelton also were preserved, either through the care of the few nearby settlers or, perhaps, because of their usefulness to occasional military detachments and expresses. For the less important campaign of 1761 Pennsylvania furnished only three hundred men who, excepting a detachment left at Juniata Crossings and Bedford, were sent to Pittsburgh;⁴⁶⁵ and in the following year the Province raised no troops.

Two journals of 1762, however, afford glimpses of the untended defenses. The first of these accounts is that of Lieutenant Colonel Eyre, who in February passed this way on his journey from New York to inspect the military situation at Fort Pitt. Arriving at Shippensburg on February 14, Eyre noted:

This is a small Place, tho' it appears, as if it were going on to do well. Its not ill situated, and has two small Streams of Water running thro' it at each End. There is a small Fort made of Stockades here, but no one in it. A Well within Side [is] seventy Feet deep, and very good Water; it stands high. I forgot to observe there is a Breastwork thrown up at Carslile of Earth, but its now almost in Ruins.⁴⁶⁶

This breastwork probably was the remains of Colonel Stanwix' entrenched camp; and Colonel Eyre mentions no other of the old Provincial forts. He did not go by way of "Fort Loudon"; and of "Fort Littleton," where he arrived on February 16, he remarks "Only three Inhabitants settled at this Place, and but one that can give any

⁴⁶² For a list of officers, see *PA5*, I, 311-14.

⁴⁶³ Armstrong to Burd, May 8, 1760, Shippen Family Papers, V, 35.

⁴⁶⁴ Shippen to James [John] Long, Shippen Papers, Edward Shippen Letter Book, 1760-61.

⁴⁶⁵ Monckton to Burd, April 6, 1761, Shippen Family Papers, V, 141; Ourry to Bouquet, June 2, 1761, B. M., Add. MSS, Series 21642, f. 182.

⁴⁶⁶ *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, XXVII (1944), 41.

Entertainment or Assistance to Travellers.”⁴⁶⁷ The other account is by Christian Frederick Post, who, accompanying some Indians to a treaty at Lancaster, traveled this route eastward by Fort Lyttelton, Shippensburg, and Carlisle. Not a military man and preoccupied by responsibility for the Indians, he paid little attention to defenses, but he recorded that on July 18, 1762, “we arriv’d at fort Littleton, & were all quarterd in the fort.”⁴⁶⁸ This raises the question whether the fort may not have been the one place mentioned by Eyre where travelers might find shelter.

From 1760 until the fresh outbreak of hostilities in 1763, therefore, these old Provincial forts stood ungarrisoned and officially neglected. The beginning of Pontiac’s War then brought them again to attention. Edward Shippen at his own expense sent two cannon to Fort Morris at Shippensburg, where a Provincial detachment was briefly stationed; Fort Lyttelton was used for a short time by a volunteer guard;⁴⁶⁹ and Fort Loudoun, serving again as a base, remained garrisoned, as has been noted, until 1765,⁴⁷⁰ when the history of the old Cumberland County forts came to an end.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

⁴⁶⁸ *PAI*, IV, 95.

⁴⁶⁹ Croghan to Bouquet, *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21649, Part I, 143.

⁴⁷⁰ For the evacuation of Fort Loudoun, see Lieutenant Charles Grant to Colonel John Reid, November 22, 1765, *PAI*, IV, 246-47; Captain William Grant to *id.*, November 25, 1765, *ibid.*, 247-48.

Fort Augusta and Its Dependencies

THE STORY of Governor Morris' early proposal to fortify Shamokin has been told. That there was a delay in executing this plan was caused less by doubt of the Province's right to build a fort on land not yet purchased from the Indians—for this was a point never clearly settled—than by the more pressing need to protect the frontier settlements and thereafter by the extensive preparations which necessarily preceded a military lodgment at Shamokin. By the spring of 1756, however, the chain of frontier forts and garrisons had been established; and east of the Susquehanna, at least, the Indian attacks had slackened. Continued severe attacks west of the river, on the other hand, gave additional reason for securing so strategic a place as Shamokin and for strengthening the river line against western attack.

Formal preparations for the venture began in March, 1756, with the selection of officers to raise and command the expeditionary force. Colonel William Clapham, whom Franklin had left in command of the garrisons in Northampton County, was recommissioned with the same rank to have direct command of a force of eight new companies, and on March 28 was given orders to enlist men. Part of his force was raised in eastern Pennsylvania, part by Joseph Shippen and others about the Susquehanna. Unlike the men raised to garrison the defensive chain, most of these troops were enlisted for a term of one year. Raising four hundred men for service beyond the settled frontier took time, of course, and some of the new men were given temporary assignments. Thus, on April 5 Lieutenant Levi Trump and thirty of Clapham's men were sent to Fort Franklin to replace a company whose time was expiring; and about the middle of this month Ensign Nathaniel Cartland and thirty men were sent to Carlisle.

The next step was the assembling of men and supplies at a base on the Susquehanna. On April 7, 1756, the Governor formally notified Colonel Clapham that

As a Magazine of Provisions and other warlike stores will very soon be formed at or near Hunters mill upon the river



FORT AUGUSTA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES

Sasquahana I think it necessary for the Protection thereof and for other Purposes to order that you appoint the said place called Hunters mill or some convenient place near it for the Gen^l Randez[v]ous of your regiment now raising and that you order all the men already enlisted not employd upon some other service to march immediately to the said Randesvous and all your recruiting parties to send their recruits thither from time to time.¹

Meanwhile, the Provincial Commissioners, who on March 24 had advanced Clapham £100 "to be hereafter accounted for," paid him additional sums totaling £700 "for paying and equipping Forces under his Command," and on April 27 and May 1 "the Balance of his Account" in payments of £275 and £160.²

The place actually selected for the rendezvous was John Harris'. At the same time that Cartland's detachment marched to Carlisle, Ensign Asher Clayton and seventeen men conducted Provincial supplies which Harris was instructed to store in his stockaded house.³ On April 24 a sergeant and thirty-one more men arrived at Harris', and on April 20 the Governor had been able to inform the Provincial Commissioners that "The remaind[er] of Clapham's men being seventy three marched yesterday and I hope the necessary arms accoutrements and other things for that Expedⁿ will soon be ready to follow them."⁴ This last detachment, commanded by Lieutenant Patrick Davis, arrived at Lancaster on April 22, where Captain Shippen detained it until the 26th, Harris having no further accommodations. Shippen, meantime, had secured forty recruits.⁵

The shipment of supplies during this time is documented by Commissary Peter Bard's record, endorsed by Benjamin Franklin as one of the commissioners, "List of Stores sent up to Harris's Ferry April 21, 1756."⁶

On that same date, April 21, the Provincial Council advised that the Assembly be called to meet on May 10, "the Governor declaring that he had appointed to be at Harris' Ferry the next Week, in order to see the Provincial Regiment set off for Shamokin, and that if it [the Assembly] was called sooner, he could not attend it."⁷ Governor

¹ Draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 616.

² *PA8*, V, 4360-64.

³ Joseph Shippen to Harris, April 19, 1756, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 371.

⁴ Draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 637.

⁵ Joseph Shippen to Clapham, April 24, 1756, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 372.

⁶ PPC, May 12, 1756; eight manuscript sheets in Bard's handwriting, endorsed by Peters: "Recd this Paper from Mr Peter Bard May ye 12th 1756 at night."

⁷ PR, O, 86; printed in *CR*, VII, 96.

Morris arrived at Lancaster on the last day of April "through y^e rain,"⁸ and with Clapham and other officers went on to Harris' five days later. On May 9, the eve of the Assembly's meeting, Morris wrote to that body that

The Affairs of the Frontiers, and the Particular Expedition for Building a Fort at Shamokin which is of so great Importance to the Province requiring my Personal care and Attendance here for some Time Longer, it gives me Concern that I cannot be at Philadelphia at this time. . . .⁹

In fact, the Governor remained at Harris' until May 25,¹⁰ by which date Clapham's regiment was established at Thomas McKee's Store (present Dauphin) above the Blue Mountain.

"The reason of our staying so long at Harris'," Chaplain Charles Beatty wrote, "was to get batteaux built to transport our stores and provisions to Shamokin."¹¹ There was the need also to establish discipline and to weld various detachments into a unified body of troops. The Governor's presence under such circumstances may not have been helpful; and Captain Shippen reported to his father on May 15 that the Governor and the Colonel had had a quarrel. The Colonel, he said, had taken offense at some remarks of the Governor's and for three or four days the two men had not spoken. By the mediation of some of the officers a reconciliation was effected, however, and both the Governor and Clapham accompanied a command of sixty men as far as Hunter's Mill,¹² where on May 11 Captain Nathaniel Miles of Clapham's regiment had taken over the command from Captain McKee.¹³

Nevertheless, the incident was a bad omen. Undoubtedly some of the later troubles in this regiment were inherent in the situation, and others were not necessarily or solely Clapham's fault. But two of Clapham's subordinates, Major Burd and Captain Shippen, were son-in-law and son, respectively, of Edward Shippen of Lancaster, an influential and well-connected person in the Province. Unfortunately,

⁸ Morris to the Council, May 1, 1756, *PAI*, II, 648.

⁹ PR, O, 111; printed in *CR*, VII, 121.

¹⁰ Morris to the Council, April 23, 1756, *CR*, VII, 134.

¹¹ "Journal Kept in 1756," under date of May 21; printed in William Henry Egle, *History of the County of Dauphin*, 54. Cited hereafter as "Beatty Journal."

¹² *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 375-77. In the original the date of the month is not specified, but the letter was written on a Saturday; since it acknowledges letters of May 9-13 and since Morris left for Philadelphia on May 25, the only possible dates are May 15 and 22, with the former the more probable.

¹³ Receipt from Captain Nathaniel Miles of Clapham's force to McKee for the stores at Hunter's, May 11, 1756, PPC.

too, the Colonel was an obvious target for criticism; a New Englander, self-important in manner, somewhat arbitrary in action, sometimes intemperate in speech, he easily found adversaries who preferred to regard him as a person of limited accomplishments who had risen above his proper station.

On June 4, 1756, Major Burd marched the rear detachment from Harris' to McKee's Store;¹⁴ and on June 5-6 the Colonel and four companies marched from McKee's to Robert Armstrong's, where Fort Halifax subsequently was built to serve as a supply depot.¹⁵ From here, scouting parties reconnoitered the route upriver, while the regiment prepared for its final advance. On June 2 the Governor issued Clapham his orders for the establishment at Shamokin.¹⁶ The army set out from Fort Halifax on July 1. Crossing the river next day, the troops advanced up the west bank to within a few miles of their destination. Then, under cover of darkness, they recrossed to the east bank and on the morning of July 6 occupied the site of present Sunbury.¹⁷

The two new forts built by Clapham's regiment, Fort Halifax and Fort Augusta, differed from those of the defense chain in situation and purpose. Both were built for essentially military use and not for the protection of settlements about or behind the forts. Fort Halifax was established as a supply depot on the line of communication to Fort Augusta, and it also differed from forts of the defensive chain in being the station not of a permanent garrison but of a series of detachments from Fort Augusta. In size and general plan, on the other hand, it resembled the forts of the defense line. Throughout the war, the communication with Fort Augusta was by the river. The Shamokin Path, running northwestward from the vicinity of Reading, was useful only for foot travelers and packhorses; and although a road over this route was authorized by the Assembly in 1758 and surveyed the following year, it was not opened until several years afterward.

Fort Augusta was in several respects unique among the Provincial fortifications; and the fact that it stood on land not yet purchased from the Indians was perhaps not the least important of these distinctions. The propriety of an action based on invitations and deeds from

¹⁴ "Beatty Journal," Egle, *History of the County of Dauphin*, 54.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*; Clapham to Morris, June 11, 1756, *PAI*, II, 663.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 667-68.

¹⁷ "Beatty Journal," Egle, *History of the County of Dauphin*, 55; Clapham to Morris, July 1, 1756, *PAI*, II, 686-87; Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, July 10, 1756, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 387-89.

locally resident or refugee Indians was uncertain at best; and it is apparent that beneath a veneer of equivocation lay a firm basis of Six Nations dissatisfaction. Governor Morris represented the intended fort at Shamokin as one to be built "for the Reception and Protection of such of the Six Nations and Delawares as will be sent to join against these Cruel Enemies,"¹⁸ the hostile Indians; but Sir William Johnson complained to the Lords of Trade on May 28, 1756, that the fort was being built "without previous Notice & Explanation given to our Indians."¹⁹

That Governor Morris was aware of the difficulties is shown by his remarkably confused statements on the subject. In a letter of June 12, the Governor wrote to Colonel Clapham that "By some Intelligence I have rec^d from y^e Northw^d I find y^e Susquehannah Indians are much alarm'd at our Scheme of building a Fort at Shamokin & are jealous y^t we intend by it to secure y^e poss[ess]ion of their unpurchased Lands there";²⁰ but in the orders accompanying this letter he informed Clapham that the fort "must be on the East side of the Susquehana, the Lands on the West at y^e forks & between the branches not being Purchasd from the Indians!"²¹

Six Nations resentment may have motivated the rumors of enemy attack which the Indians so promptly reported to the commanders at Fort Augusta and which so disturbed the garrison. On June 10, when Clapham's forces were preparing to march from Fort Halifax to Shamokin, there arrived at his camp an old Indian named Ogaghra-dariha (or Kishaty) who, he assured Clapham, represented "the Iroquois living on the North Branch of Sasquehanna . . . they agree to your Building a fort at Shamokin, but are desirous that you should also build a fort three days Journey in A Canoe higher up the North Branch in their Country at a place Called Adjouquay" (Lackawanna).²²

When this Indian left on his homeward trip, Clapham told him (as Sir William Johnson was informed) to "acquaint the 6 Nations, that I have built a Fort at Juniata and another here at Shamokin and I proposed building an other at Wyoming if the 6 Nations will consent to it. . . . We have never denied any request of the 6 Nations, and

¹⁸ Peters to Governor Charles Hardy, May 8, 1756, copy in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 656.

¹⁹ E. B. O'Callaghan (ed.), *Documentary History of the State of New-York*, II, 721.

²⁰ Draft in PPC in William Peters' handwriting; printed in *PAI*, II, 666.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 667.

²² PR, O, 149; printed in *CR*, VII, 157.

we hope they will not refuse us the liberty we now ask of building this Fort. . . ."²³ Ogaghradariha returned to Fort Augusta on October 11. He had been sick, he said, and unable to deliver Clapham's message in person; and he brought a story that a thousand Indians had assembled at Fort Duquesne to attack Fort Augusta.²⁴ In consequence of this story, the Governor ordered Lieutenant Colonel Weiser to reinforce Fort Augusta with a company under Captain Busse, which remained there from October 18 until November 19.²⁵

On March 18, 1757, a body of Six Nations Indians on their way to a treaty at Lancaster reported that a force of eight hundred French and Indians had marched from Fort Duquesne to attack Fort Augusta. This rumor coincided with the expiration of the year for which Clapham's men had enlisted; only about eighty men consented to remain in service, and the fort was left almost depopulated. Three companies of Weiser's men were sent to Fort Augusta and remained there until October, while the Fort Augusta officers recruited to refill their companies.²⁶ At this Lancaster treaty the Governor invited the Indians to settle at Shamokin; they gave a polite reply, but at Fort Augusta they informed Major Burd on June 5 that none would stay except those who died there.²⁷ In this same month Weiser was told by Indians that the French had cut a road to within ten miles of Fort Augusta; a scouting party found no evidence of this, however.²⁸ Finally, at another Lancaster treaty in 1762 the Six Nations flatly demanded that the Fort Augusta garrison be withdrawn from their lands.²⁹

Fort Augusta was distinguished by the size of its works and of its garrison. With his orders of June 12, 1756, the Governor had sent Clapham "two Plans of Forts, the one a Pentagon, the other a Square with one Ravelin to Protect the Curtain where the gate is, with a ditch, covered way, and Glacis."³⁰ Of the two plans, the latter was

²³ NYCD, VII, 197. More precisely, Morris had let Ogaghradariha know that he intended "to build another Fort fourteen miles above Wioming, at a Place called Adjouquay." CR, VII, 159.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 281; see also Jameson to Shippen, PAI, III, 8-9.

²⁵ Clapham to Denny, October 18, 1756, *ibid.*, 13-14; *id.* to *id.*, [November 19, 1756], *ibid.*, 66. For the date of the latter letter, see *id.* to *id.*, November 23, 1756, *ibid.*, 59.

²⁶ Burd Journal, PA2, II, 772 ff. (1876 ed.).

²⁷ CR, VII, 544-45; PA2, II, 790-91 (1876 ed.); McKee to Denny, June 16, 1757, CR, VII, 597.

²⁸ Stanwix to *id.*, June 19, 1757, *ibid.*, 603; Burd Journal, PA2, II, 799-800 (1876 ed.).

²⁹ CR, VIII, 752-54.

³⁰ PAI, II, 667.

adopted. On the day the regiment arrived at Shamokin, they surrounded their camp with "A Fascine Breastwork of Brush"; by July 10 they had laid out the fort and "erected within the lines of the Fort two Houses 11 logs high for Barracks for soldiers each 30 feet by 25."³¹ The journals and letters of Captain Shippen and Major Burd provide an unusually detailed record of the building of this fort.³²

Fort Augusta was in effect the station as well as the headquarters of the entire Augusta Regiment. From it, detachments were sent out from time to time on special duty or to garrison a lesser post; but no company of the regiment was stationed permanently elsewhere. As noted, the regiment comprised eight companies. At the time of Commissary General Young's first visit to pay the troops in July, 1756, they were commanded by Colonel Clapham (commissioned March 29), Major James Burd (April 24), and Captains Thomas Lloyd (April 2), Joseph Shippen (April 3), Patrick Work (April 22), Elisha Saltar (May 11), David Jameson (May 19), and Nathaniel Miles (unlisted).³³ Of these officers, Clapham had served previously as colonel in Northampton County, Burd as captain at Fort Granville, Saltar as commissary general, and Jameson as ensign at Fort Lyttelton. Young found seven companies at Fort Augusta, Captain Miles and thirty men at Fort Halifax, and smaller detachments at three other points: Ensign Mears and twenty men at McKee's Store, Ensign Johnson and twenty-three men at Fort Hunter, and Sergeant McCurdy and thirteen men at John Harris'.

Of the outlying detachments, those at McKee's and at Harris' were soon withdrawn. In March, 1757, in consequence of consultation between General Lord Loudoun, Governor Denny, Clapham, Weiser and Armstrong, "it was agreed that Four Hundred Men were necessary for the Defence of Fort Augusta . . . That . . . there shou'd be one hundred in Garrison at Fort Halifax, and for the present Fifty at Hunter's Mill. These last were to be otherwise disposed of when the Magazine shou'd be removed from Hunter's, which it was determined shou'd be done as soon as possible, and the Fort there

³¹ Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, July 10, 1756, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912) 387-89.

³² The journals include those of Joseph Shippen, July 1-October 11, 1756, James Burd, October 14-November 21, 1757, and Joseph Shippen, December 18, 1757-March 25, 1758, all in the Shippen Family Papers; and those of James Burd, December 8, 1756-October 14, 1757, James Burd, February 8-March 5, 1760, and James Burd *et al* June 5-December 31, 1763, at the American Philosophical Society. The journals of the second group are printed in *PA2*, II, 743-820 (1876 ed.); VII, 413-18, 431-5 (1878 ed.).

³³ *PA1*, II, 703; *PA5*, I, 70.

demolished.”³⁴ The evacuation of Fort Hunter brought such a protest from neighboring settlers, however, that a new garrison was sent there—not, however, from the Augusta Regiment but from Weiser’s 1st Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment. Then, in October, 1757, Fort Halifax was ordered evacuated; and with the return of its garrison to Fort Augusta the entire regiment was stationed at this one fort.

In contrast to an almost total turnover in enlisted men, changes at the command level in this regiment were relatively few. Captain Miles resigned his commission and was replaced by Captain John Hambright, promoted from lieutenant and commissioned as of August 16, 1756.³⁵ Captain Saltar died, and was replaced by Captain Levi Trump, promoted from captain lieutenant as of January 1, 1757.³⁶ With Colonel Clapham’s departure from Fort Augusta for Philadelphia on December 6, 1756, command of his company devolved upon Trump, succeeded by Captain Lieutenant Patrick Davis, promoted from lieutenant as of January 12, 1757.³⁷ Major Burd succeeded Clapham in command at the fort, and Clapham’s resignation toward the end of March, 1757, left him the ranking officer of the regiment.

The actual strength of the regiment varied greatly. When Commissary General Young arrived at Fort Augusta in July, 1756, with orders to pay four hundred men (including sixteen sergeants) in the regiment, he found more than that number at Fort Augusta alone.³⁸ A return dated October 18 of this year reports 306 men at Fort Augusta, representing the companies of Clapham, Burd, Lloyd, Shippen, Work, Hambright, and Saltar;³⁹ Jameson’s company was then at Fort Halifax, where on October 9 there were forty-six men.⁴⁰ These figures remained more or less stable until receipt in March, 1757, of the rumor of enemy attack. This story, coinciding with the expiration of the term of enlistment, had appalling results. Commissary General Young came on

³⁴ Denny to the Proprietors, April 10, 1757, draft in PPC; printed in *PA1*, III, 119.

³⁵ Undated note, PPC; “Captⁿ Nathaniel Miles of Coll^l Clapham’s Reg^t Resign’d his Commission the 16th Aug^t and a Blank Com^{sn} from Gov^r Morris was fil’d up in his place for Leivt the 26th Aug. therefor Miles’s Com^{sn} is not good and the Pay master did not muster nor pay him.” See also Clapham to Denny, October 13, 1756, *PA1*, III, 10.

³⁶ Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, January 19, 1757: “I am exceedingly [sorry] for the Death of my Friend poor Capt Saltar.” Shippen Family Papers, II, 97. For the date of Trump’s commission, see *PA5*, I, 62.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 62-63.

³⁸ Young to Morris, July 18, 1756, *PA1*, II, 704.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 15.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

April 1-5 to pay the men, and on the day after his departure a hundred free men followed him from the fort.⁴¹ On April 23 Captain Shippen wrote that the garrison consisted "only of 183 Men, 126 whereof will be free by the 1st of May, & the remainder in a fortnight after."⁴² Young came again on May 6-10, and in his return he reported twenty-one commissioned officers and eighty-two noncommissioned officers and men. Jameson's and Trump's companies had no lieutenants; O'Connell had seventy-one "Effective Men," Burd had nineteen, Lloyd seven, Shippen six, Work two, Jameson seven, Hambright twenty-two, Trump five, and Davis three.⁴³ Work's two men constituted the garrison of Fort Halifax. Three companies of the 1st Battalion were sent to hold the fort while the Augusta officers went on recruiting duty. By August 10, 1757, the garrison numbered 380, including Weiser's three companies;⁴⁴ by January 1, 1758, it numbered 13 officers and 337 men, all of the Augusta Regiment.⁴⁵

The reorganization of the Pennsylvania troops, which became effective about a month later, was of particular interest to the officers at Fort Augusta. The question of a redistribution of the forces had been posed as early as August 4, 1757, when a peace was concluded with the Indians east of the Susquehanna. The series of sharp attacks which had accompanied Indian withdrawal up the North Branch had in fact ended, to be succeeded on this eastern frontier by a succession of minor incidents, mostly nuisance raids launched from the Seneca country and malicious acts committed by local stragglers. Under such circumstances the retention of more than a third of the Provincial forces in garrison along this eastern frontier was militarily unwarranted, and assignment of detachments from Weiser's battalion to reinforce the western posts was quite in order. But these contingents were used to supply defects in the Augusta Regiment, not to effect operations against the enemy; and Weiser could—and did—protest with complete justice that in fact this move hampered the Province's defenders more than it did the attackers.

Governor Denny's plan, approved on October 24, 1757, by Colonel John Stanwix of the Royal Americans, was to regroup the companies

⁴¹ Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 776 (1876 ed.).

⁴² Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 423.

⁴³ Loudoun Papers, Box 85, No. 3769.

⁴⁴ Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, August 10, 1757, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 444.

⁴⁵ *PA1*, III, 326-27.

of the Augusta Regiment's one battalion and the Pennsylvania Regiment's two battalions into a single regiment of two battalions. When Major Burd, encouraged to hope for promotion, reminded the Governor that the Augusta Regiment had no colonel, Denny replied on December 7, 1757, that "I never proposed to have a Colonel to the Augusta Regiment after Colonel Clapham's Resignation. The Three Battalions will be reduced to two and form one Regiment, the Officers to rank according to the dates of their Commissions."⁴⁶ A plan of reorganization was in fact drawn up, naming Colonel Weiser and Colonel Armstrong as battalion commanders, to be commissioned as of December 1 and 2, 1757.⁴⁷ Weiser's resignation, however, cleared the way for the promotion Burd had desired. Armstrong and Burd were commissioned lieutenant colonels of the 1st and the 2d Battalions, respectively, as of December 2, 1757, and January 2, 1758. In effect, Weiser's old battalion was divided between the other two; Busse's, Orndt's, Morgan's, and Samuel Weiser's companies were assigned to Burd's battalion. For the time being the same companies remained at Fort Augusta with a few changes in officers: Lieutenant Colonel James Burd, Major Thomas Lloyd (commissioned December 7, 1757), and Captains Joseph Shippen (December 8), Patrick Work (December 9), David Jameson (December 11), John Hambright (December 14), Levi Trump (December 17), and Asher Clayton (January 9, 1758, succeeding Captain Davis, who was transferred to Armstrong's 1st Battalion).⁴⁸

To make up the number of 2,700 Pennsylvania troops authorized for General Forbes' campaign in 1758, the Province raised twenty-three companies of "New Levies," enlisted for the duration of the campaign only. Three of these new companies were assigned to Armstrong's battalion and four to Burd's; the other sixteen made up a new 3d Battalion commanded by Hugh Mercer. Armstrong, Burd, and Mercer were raised to the rank of colonel, commissioned as of May 27, 28, and 29, respectively.⁴⁹ The abler troops, thirty-five men from each company, were assigned to Forbes' forces, and the residue were assigned to garrison the Provincial posts on and east of the Susquehanna under command of Major Jacob Orndt. Fort Augusta, left in a backwater

⁴⁶ Shippen Family Papers, III, 105.

⁴⁷ *PA5*, I, 88-91.

⁴⁸ *PA1*, III, 336-37. Compare the returns of January 1 and April 1, 1758, *ibid.*, 326-27 and 374-75.

⁴⁹ *PA5*, I, 128-31, 174-75.

by the currents of military movement, thus lost most of its seasoned troops, but unlike some of the more eastern forts it was not evacuated.

Ordered "to march to Carlisle from Fort Augusta with all the Garrison except 150 of the most indifferent Men,"⁵⁰ Colonel Burd turned over the command to Captain Trump on May 23, 1758, and on June 8 left Carlisle on the westward march.⁵¹ Temporarily, two companies of the new levies were assigned to Fort Augusta and Fort Hunter, but in July these men and forty more of the old Fort Augusta garrison were ordered to join Forbes' army. On July 16, Captain John Montgomery arrived with three subalterns and sixty-two poor-quality troops representing the residue of his own and four other companies of the new levies.⁵² As of August 1, 1758, the Fort Augusta garrison numbered 6 officers and 169 men, drawn from fifteen different companies.⁵³

About eighty of these men who were new levies were released, somewhat tardily, in the early part of 1759;⁵⁴ the others, whose three-year term would not expire until the summer of 1760, remained in service. By Armstrong's resignation, Burd's and Mercer's commands then became the 1st and 2d battalions, respectively. At the end of the campaign of 1760 the Assembly demanded that all the Pennsylvania troops be paid off. Fort Allen, one of the two remaining Provincial forts, was evacuated on January 20, 1761; but on February 5 the Assembly agreed to maintain a garrison of thirty men at Fort Augusta. Except during Pontiac's War (1763-1765), the later history of this fort is little more than a record of the successive garrisons, ending on June 13, 1765, when Captain Caleb Graydon, Lieutenant William Blyth, and their company of twenty-nine men were paid off and the fort evacuated.⁵⁵

In some respects, Fort Augusta's role was not unlike that of the other Provincial forts. Like Fort Allen, it was a base for Indian negotiations, both as a station for messengers to and from the Indians and as the site of a Provincial trading post. Mention has been made of the visits here of Oghaghradariha, who met Clapham at Armstrong's

⁵⁰ Joseph Shippen to Burd, May 12, 1758, Shippen Family Papers, III, 149; Denny, orders to Burd, same date, *ibid.*, 151.

⁵¹ Burd, orders to Trump, May 23, 1758, *ibid.*, 157; Bouquet to Forbes, June 11, 1758, *Bouquet Papers*, II, 67.

⁵² Trump to Denny, July 19, 1758, *PAI*, III, 480-82.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 503.

⁵⁴ Trump to Denny, January 15, 1759, Pennsylvania Miscellaneous, 1620-1850, New York Public Library; *id.* to *id.*, February 8, 1759, PPC.

⁵⁵ *PA5*, I, 338-45.

(Fort Halifax) on June 8, 1756, left Fort Augusta for the Six Nations country on July 28, and returned on October 11. In February, 1757, Fort Augusta was the point of departure for Conestoga Indians whom George Croghan sent as peace messengers to the Ohio. Of four messengers who set out from Fort Augusta on February 28, three returned from Venango on May 4; the other messenger, who had gone on to Shenango, returned later.⁵⁶ The Delaware Indian John Jacob, sent by his father Teedyuscung on a nondescript war-and-diplomacy errand, left here for the Ohio on October 24, 1757, with his companions and returned on December 12.⁵⁷ On February 14-15, 1758, ten Indians bearing messages from various western groups arrived at Fort Augusta, of whom three messengers arrived at Philadelphia on March 11 with Teedyuscung.⁵⁸ In April, 1758, another Delaware Indian, Job Chilloway, employed by Sir William Johnson, stopped at this post on his way to the Ohio.⁵⁹ On September 22, 1758, Christian Frederick Post, returning from his first diplomatic trip to the Ohio Indians, arrived at Fort Augusta, where he stayed four days while he "kep't several of Us this thre or four days Coppying his Memorandums & makeing them into a Journal," as Commissary Bard reported to Colonel Burd.⁶⁰

As also noted, Fort Augusta was, like Fort Allen, a natural stopping place for parties of Indians invited to treaties. In particular, it suffered the visit of Six Nations Indians and others traveling to and from the Lancaster treaties of 1757 and 1762.

The trading post at Fort Augusta, one of the three established by the Province (the others being at Fort Allen and Fort Pitt) was promised to Teedyuscung on November 17, 1756, at Easton, but because of delay in passing an enabling act it was not immediately set up. In June, 1757, Indians returning home from the Lancaster treaty reminded Major Burd of the promise of a trading post, and in the same month groups of Delaware Indians began to come to the fort

⁵⁶ Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 765-66, 782 (1876 ed.); Croghan Journal, *CR*, VII, 514-16; Croghan Journal, *NYCD*, VII, 286-87; Burd to Denny, May 6, 1757, Burd Letter Book, Shippen Family Papers.

⁵⁷ Burd Journal, October 14-November 21, 1757, Shippen Family Papers; Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, December 12, 1757, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 449.

⁵⁸ Shippen Journal, December 18, 1757-March 25, 1758, Shippen Family Papers; *CR*, VIII, 29 ff.

⁵⁹ Nathaniel Holland to Israel Pemberton, Shamokin, 4 Mo. 13th [April 13], 1758, Papers Relating to the Friendly Association, I, 463, Records of the Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends of Philadelphia and Vicinity.

⁶⁰ Bard to Burd, September 26, 1758, Shippen Family Papers, III, 207.

hoping to trade furs for goods. Finally, on the advice of the Provincial Commissioners, Governor Denny appointed John Carson in October, 1757, to carry on trade until a Provincial store should be authorized. Carson arrived at Fort Augusta on November 30 and began trade about a week later. On April 8, 1758, the "Act for preventing Abuses in the Indian Trade" finally was passed. Francis Campbell was commissioned as agent on April 26, but resigned and was replaced by Nathaniel Holland on June 5. The post remained in operation until 1763 and, despite some complaints against Holland, was sufficiently satisfactory that when the Indians demanded at Lancaster in 1762 that Fort Augusta be evacuated they asked at the same time that the store be continued.

It is difficult to make any over-all evaluation of Fort Augusta's role in the war. Theoretically, its site was strategically important; but the danger of any actual enemy occupation of the place was slight indeed. The French could not have hoped to establish and maintain a garrison here; and the Indians had abandoned the locality months before the arrival of a Provincial garrison. The fort controlled the travel routes along the river, and undoubtedly it discouraged the movement of large Indian war parties toward Lancaster and Berks counties. But the fort and its garrison were not used for effective action against the enemy. In July, 1756, Captain Work and a hundred men were sent to "Bald Eagle's Nest" (presumably near present Milesburg, Centre County), but the party returned because of heavy rain.⁶¹ In November, 1756, Captain Hambright and fifty men went to an Indian town near the present Jersey Shore, but found it deserted; and it was reported that a later party found the cabins burnt.⁶² In April, 1757, Captain Patterson and ten men went to Chinclacamoose (present Clearfield), which also was found burnt and abandoned.⁶³ Fort Augusta served as the advance base for the party which built Teedyuscung's town at Wyoming; but whatever the value of that operation, Fort Augusta's part in it was incidental. The almost ridiculously small number of battle casualties suffered by this garrison—a mere handful of sentries and guards surprised by roving Indians—is to be accounted for both

⁶¹ Shippen Journal, July 1-October 11, 1756, *ibid.*; Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, July 25-28, 1756, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 390-93.

⁶² Clapham to Denny, November 8, 1756, and enclosure, *PA1*, III, 41-43; Denny to the Proprietors, April 9, 1757, *ibid.*, 116.

⁶³ Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 777-81 (1876 ed.).

by the strength of the post and by its inactivity. The enemy dared not attack the fort;⁶⁴ neither did the garrison seek out the enemy.

But this characteristic was only more marked in the Augusta garrison than in the other Provincial units; it was not peculiar to it. Except when assigned to duty at a distance, Weiser's battalion engaged only in local patrolling; Armstrong's battalion carried out no subsequent operation comparable to the attack on Kittanning. Psychologically and politically, the Province was in fact incapable of waging aggressive or active warfare; and Fort Augusta merely illustrates more strikingly what was generally true of the Province's military effort.

It should be noted in conclusion that the evacuation of Fort Augusta in June, 1765, did not terminate the history of the fort. The Indian title to Shamokin was extinguished by the purchase of 1768, and the place grew in importance as a white settlement. In the Revolutionary War the partisan conflict on the upper Susquehanna renewed for a time Fort Augusta's importance as a military base.

FORT HUNTER

The part played by Fort Hunter in the preparations for the march to Shamokin has been noted in the pages just preceding. Thereafter, from May, 1756, until July, 1757, this fort was garrisoned by detachments of the Augusta Regiment. This arrangement did not entirely change the post's essential character, however, and in 1757 it resumed its original role as part of the line of frontier defense and was garrisoned by men of Conrad Weiser's 1st Battalion. Accordingly, its story has been included in Chapter VIII of the present volume, "Provincial Forts of Berks and Lancaster Counties."

McKEE'S STORE

McKee's Store, a briefly occupied post, stood at the site of the present Dauphin, Dauphin County, and took its name from Thomas McKee, a well-known Indian trader, who had held a commission as

⁶⁴ In view of the almost day-to-day record of this fort as preserved in contemporary letters and diaries, the story of an abortive French expedition against this place must be dismissed. The story of this supposed undertaking appears in a conservative version in J. F. Meginness, *Otzinachson* . . . (1857 ed.), 90, where it is attributed to "Tradition . . . pretty well authenticated." Some later writers, though they had access to better and fuller information, have been less cautious. The largest French party known to have been sent to Fort Augusta consisted of an officer, six Canadians, and fourteen Indians sent from Fort Machault in 1757 to reconnoiter the post. *Wilderness Chronicles*, 104-105.

captain of a Lancaster County company in the Association of 1747.⁶⁵ This post sometimes has been confused with "McKee's Upper Place" at present Dalmatia, Northumberland County, and with Fort Hunter, identified as "Captain McKees Fort" (because McKee commanded there) in a letter written by Edward Shippen on April 19, 1756. Nothing is known of the defense works here except that the stockade included McKee's dwelling and his storehouse and that two bastions were begun before Colonel Clapham's force marched on to Shamokin.

McKee himself had been one of the party who in October, 1755, went up to bury the victims of the Penns Creek massacre and then went on to Shamokin to counsel with the Indians. Following the march of the militia to John Harris' at the beginning of November, he served at the fort then built at Hunter's, and from January until May, 1756, he commanded the Provincial company of thirty men stationed at that place. McKee's military services ended with the arrival at Hunter's of Colonel Clapham's regiment in May before the establishment of a garrison at McKee's Store.

The advance from John Harris' to McKee's marked the first stage of Clapham's march to Shamokin. On May 23 Governor Morris, then at the "Camp at Harris' Ferry," wrote to the Assembly that

I have the Satisfaction to Acquaint you, that we have made a Lodgement in a very Secure place upon the River beyond the Kittetany Hills, and above the two most difficult Falls, to which place a Considerable part of the Provisions and Stores are Removed, and the Remainder will be transported thither as fast as a Number of propper Boats can be got ready.⁶⁶

Captain Joseph Shippen, writing to his brother from the "Camp at McKee's Store" on June 2, tells the story in fuller detail:

'Tis about a fortnight ago Cap^t Work with a Detachment of 100 men was sent from Harris's to take Post at this place; the Col^o joined him two days ago with about the same number, and last night Cap^t Lloyd & I arrived here. I suppose we have in this camp about 2/3^{ds} of the Regiment; and I expect Major Burd here with the remainder from Harris's in 2 or 3 days.⁶⁷

Burd did in fact arrive at McKee's Store on June 4; and on the following day the first contingent of troops left McKee's on the next

⁶⁵ *PA5*, I, 24.

⁶⁶ *PR*, O, 121; printed in *CR*, VII, 131.

⁶⁷ Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, Jr., *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 385-86.

stage of the march.⁶⁸ On June 3 a scouting party headed by George Allen had been sent to reconnoiter the country between McKee's and Shamokin. On June 5 a second party, headed by James Lowry, left on the same errand;⁶⁹ and Colonel Clapham and five companies of the regiment left McKee's Store for Robert Armstrong's near present Halifax, where they arrived the following day, June 6.

Colonel Clapham wrote on June 7, 1756, from the "Camp at Robt Armstrong's" to Major Burd at McKee's Store:

Yesterday about 2 o'Clock we arrived safe here, and soon after, I received the Governor's Letter, by which you may see that He expects that some Works are carried on at M^cKee's Store, And I think it advisable for You to finish the two Bastions, one at the Dwelling House, & the other at the Store House before You decamp from that Place.⁷⁰

Replying to Governor Morris four days later, Clapham informed him that "I have directed Major Burd to erect Bastions at opposite Corners and to remain in Camp at M^cKees Store, till we can remove all the Provisions and Stores up to this place and when he decamps to leave M^r Attlee to defend the Post. . . ."⁷¹

Joseph Shippen had written on June 10 that the five companies had marched, "leaving Major Burd & Cap^t Lloyd with the other three at McKee's Store, and we expect them up in a few days."⁷² In fact, Clapham's letter of June 11, quoted just above, is in Lloyd's handwriting; so he, at least, arrived just after Shippen wrote. Burd apparently left McKee's later. As for Attlee, Chaplain Charles Beatty tells us that on June 25, "Ensign Atley came to camp [at Armstrong's], and brought up under guard two Dutchmen, deserters, who had sacrilegiously mutilated an Indian in his grave."⁷³

On July 1, the day the army left Fort Halifax (Armstrong's), Colonel Clapham wrote the Governor that "I shall leave a Serjeants Party at Harris's consisting of twelve Men, Twenty four at Hunter's Fort Twenty Four at M^cKees Store each under the Command of an Ensign, and Cap^t Miles with Thirty Men at Fort Halifax. . . ."⁷⁴ That the officer left in command at McKee's was Ensign John Mears is shown

⁶⁸ "Beatty Journal," Egle, *History of the County of Dauphin*, 54.

⁶⁹ *CR*, VII, 154-55.

⁷⁰ Shippen Family Papers, II, 45.

⁷¹ Clapham to Morris, Camp at Armstrong's, June 11, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 663.

⁷² Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 386.

⁷³ "Beatty Journal," Egle, *History of the County of Dauphin*, 54.

⁷⁴ PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 686.

by a letter written by Commissary General James Young. Young, who had been at Fort Augusta on July 13-17 to pay the regiment, wrote from Carlisle on July 18, 1756, that he had found "Ensign Meirs with 20 men at Maggies Stores, Ensign Johnston with 23 men at Hunter Mill and a Serjant with 13 at Harris's."⁷⁵

Despite the erection of defense works and the stationing of a garrison at McKee's, this place had little importance except as a station on the march to Shamokin, and after this time it goes almost unmentioned. Captain Shippen noted in his journal that on July 30, 1756, Colonel Clapham sent from Fort Augusta "ab^t 10 men, who, not having been mustered in any of the Companies by the Commissary were to be left with the Garrisons at McKees Store & Hunters Fort";⁷⁶ and on August 17 the Colonel wrote to Governor Morris that "the Garrison at Fort Halifax, Hunters and Mckees Store had very little Ammunition."⁷⁷

Apparently the post was evacuated at some later date, perhaps indicated by orders given by Colonel Clapham on November 3, 1756 "to the Commanding Officer at Hunters Fort,"⁷⁸ for these imply that at about this date Ensign Mears, who had been at McKee's Store, replaced Ensign Johnson at Fort Hunter.

FORT HALIFAX

Fort Halifax, which was erected about half a mile north of the present Halifax, Dauphin County, was the first of the two permanent posts established by Colonel Clapham's battalion (the later Augusta Regiment). It was named by Governor Morris, presumably for George Montagu Dunk, Earl of Halifax. Begun in June, 1756, it was garrisoned by various detachments from Fort Augusta until its evacuation in October, 1757. It was square in design with bastions at the four corners. Including these bastions, it measured about 160 feet on each side, with 65-foot curtains between the bastions. The gate apparently was in the west side toward the river. Two of the bastions were furnished with platforms, and there was a storehouse at the south side of the enclosure.⁷⁹ During the sixteen months of occupancy it

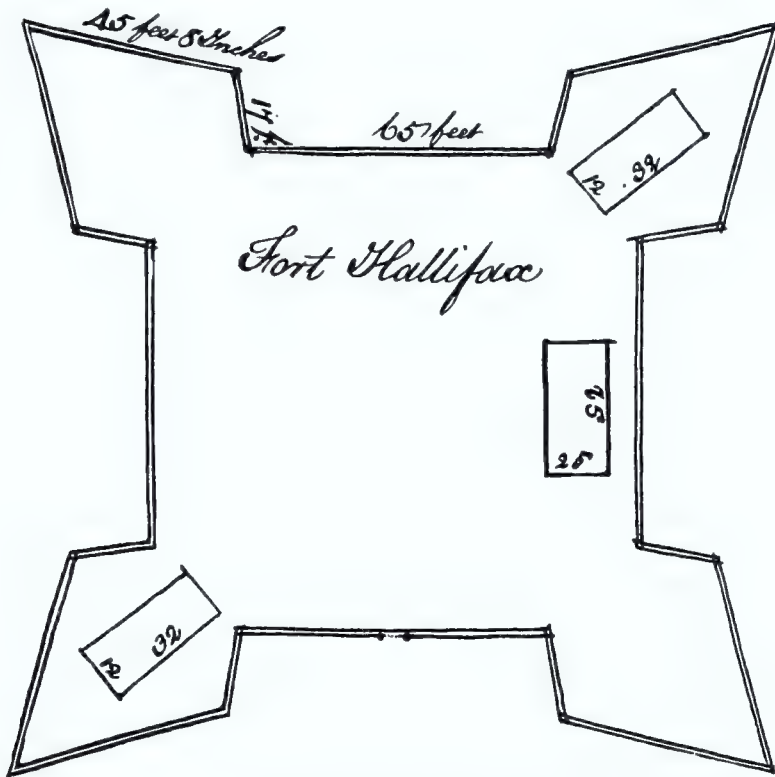
⁷⁵ Young to Morris, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 704.

⁷⁶ Shippen Family Papers.

⁷⁷ PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 751.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 17, ordering "Mr Johnson or Mr Mears" to furnish an escort.

⁷⁹ These data are based on Charles Beatty's journal and Captain Nathaniel Miles's letter of July 20, 1756, both quoted hereafter, and on a plan of the fort found in the Gratz Collections, *French and Indian Wars, 1756*. For the basic design of this fort, see the final section of the present chapter.



Gratz Collections, Historical Society of Pennsylvania

PLAN OF FORT HALIFAX

served as the chief post on the line of communication between Fort Augusta and the settlements.

Preliminary to the march from McKee's Store, two scouting parties were sent out to reconnoiter the country between that place and Shamokin. The first of these, consisting of six men headed by George Allen, left McKee's on Thursday, June 3, 1756; five men led by James Lowry set out two days later,⁸⁰ and on that same afternoon Colonel Clapham marched with five of his eight companies. Their advance is related briefly in Chaplain Charles Beatty's journal:

5th.—The Colonel in the afternoon marched with four companies. Reached Foster's, about three miles, where we encamped.

Sunday, 6th.—Rose early; and after prayers, began our march; halted for breakfast after four miles, then marched on to Armstrong's, where we encamped.

Monday, 7th.—Began to fell timber for building a Fort 160 feet square, called Fort Halifax.⁸¹

⁸⁰ CR, VII, 154-55.

⁸¹ Egle, *History of the County of Dauphin*, 54.

This account (which, to judge by its reference to the name of the fort, was completed at a later date) is rounded out by Colonel Clapham's own report to Governor Morris, dated "Camp at Armstrong's June 11th 1756":

I do myself the Pleasure to inform your Honor that on Saturday last I march'd from McKees Store with Five Companys and Eighteen Battoes & Canoes loaded and arrivd here the next afternoon at which Time I receivd the Favor of your Honors Kind Letter—

.....
as I find this far the most convenient Place on the River between Harris's and Shamokin for a Magazine on account of its good natural Situation, its Situation above the Juniata Falls the vast Plenty of Pine Timber at Hand its nearness to Shamokin and a Saw within a Quarter of a Mile I have concluded to erect a Fort here according to the Plan inclos'd and for that Purpose we have already cutt and squard 200 and hawled to the Spot 80 Logs each about 30 ffeet long and made some Progress in laying them. . . .⁸²

In this same letter Clapham reported the arrival at Armstrong's of the Six Nations Indian Ogaghradariha. The two scouting parties had returned to Armstrong's on Tuesday, June 8. Allen's party had spent the night of June 5-6 at Shamokin, and as they were returning on the morning of June 8 they encountered the Indian and his son descending the river in a canoe. Ogaghradariha delivered Clapham a letter from Daniel Claus, dated May 15 at Fort Johnson; and in an interview on June 10 he asserted that he brought from the Six Nations Indians on the Susquehanna their consent to build a fort at Shamokin.⁸³ In accordance with the Governor's request, Ogaghradariha left for Philadelphia about June 20 escorted by Captain McKee, and he did not return until after Clapham's regiment went on to Shamokin.⁸⁴

Governor Morris wrote expressing his satisfaction with the establishment at Armstrong's, and work on the fort there proceeded. By June 15 Clapham was anxious to continue his advance: "I am the more uneasy," he wrote, "as the Fort is now in a Condition to be left the River daily falling, and this perhaps the only opportunity this Season may afford of a Water Carriage to Shamokin."⁸⁵ Shortly afterward Clapham learned that the Provincial Commissioners did not

⁸² PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 663-64.

⁸³ *CR*, VII, 155-58, 171-72.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 182; Clapham to Morris, June 20, 1756, *PAI*, II, 672; Shippen Journal, Shippen Family Papers, under date of July 22, 1756.

⁸⁵ Clapham to Morris, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 669.

approve of the scale on which he was building this fort; and on June 20, 1756, he wrote again to protest to the Governor:

. . . the Progress already made in this Fort renders it impracticable for me to comply with the Commissioners Desire to contract it, at which I am the more surprizd, as I expected every Day Orders to enlarge it, it being as yet in my Opinion much too small. . . .

PS the Fort at this Place is without a Name till your Honor is pleas'd to confer one—⁸⁶

The regiment marched from Fort Halifax on July 1, leaving, as Colonel Clapham reported in a letter of this date, "Capt Miles with Thirty Men at Fort Halifax with the inclos'd Instructions, as I have remov'd all the Stores from Harris's and M^cKees to this Place."⁸⁷ The "inclos'd Instructions" list what remained to be done:

you are to build Barracks within the Fort for your Men and also a Store-House Thirty feet by Twelve— in which you are carefully to Lodge all Provisions Stores &c belonging to the Province if the Boards purchas'd for that Purpose are not sufficient to finish the Banquette and execute the other Designs herein Recommended— your Men are to be employ'd in Sawing more out of the Pine Logs now lying near the Fort you are to keep a Constant Guard and releive it regularly to have continually one Sentry in each Bastion and in Case of an Attack to retreat to the Fort and Defend it to the last Extremity.⁸⁸

Reporting his progress some three weeks later, Captain Nathaniel Miles wrote on Tuesday, July 20:

And Concerning the work at the fort I had no Directions what to Do first; I therefore Built the Store house; and platforms in the north west & South East Bastians which will Defend the whole fort, & Saturday Last I Began to Lay Down the Logs which I Shall Continue at till I have Done; my men have Lost four Days in Escorting of Cap^{tn} young & three or four Days in L[oading] the Battoes & Building them Selves Some Sort of Barracks to Live in.⁸⁹

At Fort Halifax Colonel Clapham had experienced some disciplinary problems. Dissension between Clapham and his subordinate officers was not pronounced at this time, and it is doubtful that the troubles

⁸⁶ PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 671-72.

⁸⁷ Clapham to Morris, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 686.

⁸⁸ Clapham, orders to Captain Miles, July 20, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 687.

⁸⁹ Miles to [Joseph Shippen?], Shippen Papers, Miscellaneous Correspondence, III.

can be attributed to the Colonel's difficult nature. The restraint placed upon a force of poorly disciplined, poorly paid troops encamped beyond the settlements probably accounts sufficiently for the disorders. Again Chaplain Beatty's journal supplies the bare facts:

Saturday, [June] 19th.—A number of the soldiers mutinied, chiefly Dutch.

Sabbath, 20th.—A general court-martial to try the prisoners, most of whom were discharged as innocent. This prevented most of the officers from attending [services]. Preached upon conscience, with a particular application to those who mutinied.⁹⁰

Writing to the Governor on June 20, 1756, Colonel Clapham complained sarcastically:

. . . I could wish the Commissioners wou'd invent some Expedient to pay these men without Money, or at least without the Danger of trusting me with their Money, the Charge of which I am not ambitious off or the much envy'd Honor and Trouble of expending it— this far Sir is certain that without such Expedient or the Money we cannot stir

. . . I assure Myself your Honor will omit no Opportunity of extricating me from the Embarassment arising from the want of Money both for the Battoe Men and the Soldiers Twenty six of which being Dutch are now in Confinement for Mutiny on that very Accountt—⁹¹

At a subsequent court-martial, at which Major Burd presided, on June 26, 27, and 29, ten men were tried. Five, charged with occasioning a false alarm by firing off their guns, pled guilty and were reprimanded. One, who had deserted at Harris' on June 14, was sentenced to receive a thousand lashes. Of three tried for the mutiny of June 19, two were found innocent and the third ordered to be hanged. One man, accused of threatening to shoot his commanding officer, Ensign Brodhead, at Harris' on June 26, was ordered shot. However, the two men sentenced to death were ordered reprieved if they would enter His Majesty's service at Halifax, Nova Scotia.⁹²

On June 14 the Governor sent by Commissary Peter Bard a hundred pounds, which Clapham acknowledged on July 1 and which he "distributed among the Battoemen in Proportion to their several Demands, it not being sufficient to discharge the whole";⁹³ but Commissary

⁹⁰ "Beatty Journal," Egle, *History of the County of Dauphin*, 54.

⁹¹ PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 672.

⁹² Manuscript minutes in PPC.

⁹³ Morris to Clapham, June 21, 1756, *PAI*, II, 672-73; Clapham to Morris, July 1756, *ibid.*, 686.

General Young did not arrive at Shamokin to pay the regiment until July 12.⁹⁴

In the meantime most of the accumulated stores were also transported from Fort Halifax to Shamokin. Clapham, ordering William Galbreath to Fort Halifax to supervise the stores, may have had in mind those which would accumulate there from time to time before being taken on up the river; but his orders perplexed Galbreath, as the latter pointed out in a letter of July 14, written to Governor Morris from the "Fort at Harris":

The Col. has ordered me to go to Fort Halifax, at Armstrong's, to take care of the stores there: but they are all taken up to the Camp at Shamokin, only what are left there to maintain that garrison—and if I go there it renders me incapable of taking care of the stores now at Harris', and hereafter to be sent there, by my being so far distant from them; and by your Honor's warrant, which you gave me, I am to go no farther than McKee's store; but if it be your Honor's pleasure that I shall go up there and leave these stores, I am still ready and willing, but as it extends farther than my warrant, I wait your Honor's orders.⁹⁵

Another matter relating to troop morale engaged the chaplain's attention at this time. On the morning of July 1, 1756, before the troops marched, Mr. Beatty

Desired the Colonel to leave the women behind, according to his promise, especially those of bad character. Accordingly they were all ordered to be paraded, and the Major had orders to leave such as he saw fit behind; but when this came to be done, one of the officers pleaded for one, and another for another, saying that they could wash, &c., so that few were left of a bad character, and these would not stay but followed us that night, and kept with us.⁹⁶

Following the removal of most of the regiment to Shamokin, Fort Halifax was garrisoned generally by a captain and the nominal equivalent of a company; as at Fort Augusta, however, the actual strength of the garrison varied greatly. Captain Nathaniel Miles and his thirty men garrisoned Fort Halifax until August 11, when Captain David Jameson, Lieutenant William Anderson, Ensign Joseph Scott, and a

⁹⁴ Young to *id.*, July 18, 1756, *ibid.*, 704-705.

⁹⁵ I. D. Rupp, *History and Topography of Dauphin . . .*, 261-62. For Clapham's earlier comments on this matter, see his letter of July 1, 1756, to Morris, *PAI*, II, 686-87.

⁹⁶ "Beatty Journal," Egle, *History of the County of Dauphin*, 55.

company of men were sent from Fort Augusta to replace them.⁹⁷ On October 9 Captain Jameson reported the strength of his garrison as two sergeants, two corporals, and forty-two private men.⁹⁸ Captain Jameson remained in command until early November; he was still there on the third of that month, but in a letter dated November 8, 1756, Colonel Clapham informed the Governor that "I have sent Capt^t. Worke with his Company to Halifax, to releive Captain Jameson, on acct of a Mutiny amongst Captain Jamesons men. . . ."⁹⁹

Captain Patrick Work seems to have commanded at Fort Halifax most of the time from this date until October, 1757, when the post was evacuated. Between December 9, 1756, and April 25, 1757, Lieutenant Charles Garraway was assigned here from Fort Augusta, presumably in place of Lieutenant Anderson;¹⁰⁰ and it appears that for part, at least, of this time Captain Work was absent; for in a letter dated January 25, 1757, Major Burd addressed Garraway as commandant.¹⁰¹

As might have been expected, Garraway, too, had problems of discipline. In January, 1757, George Croghan sent two Conestoga Indians, William Sock and Indian Peter, to the Allegheny with a peace message. When the Indians and their escort James Hughes arrived at Fort Augusta on January 23, they brought word that at Fort Halifax Sergeant McManes had threatened the Indians and charged them with having fought against a party of Captain Jameson's men. Lieutenant Garraway had ordered McManes into the Fort Halifax guardhouse; and on January 31 Major Burd held a court of enquiry at Fort Augusta to deal with the incident.¹⁰²

Immediately after Garraway's return to Fort Augusta from Fort Halifax, Burd wrote Captain Work on April 26, expressing surprise that Work had sent no return of the garrison; but Work made a return a day later.¹⁰³ The alarm of an attack soon after this, coinciding

⁹⁷ Shippen Journal, Shippen Family Papers; Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, August 21, 1756, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 395.

⁹⁸ PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 6.

⁹⁹ *PAI*, III, 41.

¹⁰⁰ Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 746, 781 (1876 ed.).

¹⁰¹ Burd Letter Book, Shippen Family Papers.

¹⁰² Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 756 (1876 ed.); minutes of court of enquiry, Shippen Family Papers, II, 97.

¹⁰³ Burd to Work, April 26 and May 1, 1757, Burd Letter Book, Shippen Family Papers.

with the expiration of the men's term of service, depleted Fort Halifax even more severely than Fort Augusta. Captain Work was left with just two men, both of whom then deserted. On May 12, 1757, Major Burd sent twenty-three men from Fort Augusta and ordered Work on recruiting service.¹⁰⁴ Work left accordingly on May 14, leaving Lieutenant Samuel John Attlee in command, who on June 1 reported a garrison of thirty-one men. A month later on July 2 Work was ordered to resume command with forty men.¹⁰⁵ His recruiting had not been very successful; so on July 25 Lieutenant (formerly Captain) Nathaniel Miles was returned to Fort Halifax to replace Lieutenant Attlee, who in his turn went recruiting.¹⁰⁶

During this period the history of Fort Halifax is the account of detachments passing and repassing to and from Fort Augusta, concerned chiefly with the transportation of supplies. A letter written to Major Burd from "fort haliefax" on April 18, 1757, has the novelty of an unmilitary point of view; for it was written by Robert Armstrong, at whose place Fort Halifax was built:

I here Make bold to trouble You Concerning Your Suffering Meetch and his famuly to Come in to the fort as it is Much Contreary to My intrest as I have found by Experience When he lived here last Summor for at that time My Wife and Children Could not pas or Repas With out Receiving Some Unmodest and insulting Affronts from Meetch and his famuly for Which they whe [were] assoon turnd out as it Came to the Colonalls Ears. . . . I am heartily pleased that the provinc thought fit to build afort here and Should Willing be at Eny loos According to My Ability to Wards its Support though at the Same time Cannot Say that the fort is Eny Support to Me or My Small famuly as they puld Down our Smal Cabin Where in We used to ly at Nights in Case of Deanger thoug Never Made the least Charge for Eny ground Where on the fort Stands or What is a round it which is 36 Accors. . . .¹⁰⁷

The evacuation of Fort Halifax came as an indirect consequence of the evacuation of Fort Hunter, which had been agreed upon in March, 1757, and apparently was effected in July. The move brought protests

¹⁰⁴ Burd to Denny, May 12, 1757, and Burd to Work, same date, *ibid*.

¹⁰⁵ Burd to Thomas Lloyd, June 1, 1757; *id.* to Attlee, same date; and *id.* to Work, July 2, 1757, *ibid*.

¹⁰⁶ Burd Journal, PA2, II, 805 (1876 ed.).

¹⁰⁷ Robert Armstrong to Burd, E. S. Thompson Collection.

from the settlers resident about Fort Hunter, who appealed to the Governor and to the Assembly. On August 25, when "A Petition from the Inhabitants of the Township of Pextang" was submitted to the Council,

Commissary Young attended, and informed the Governor and Council, that Fort Halifax was built by Col Clapham, without the Order of Governor Morris, that it is a very bad Situation being built beyond Two Ranges of Hills, and nobody living near it, none could be protected by it; that it is no Station for Battoe Parties, having no Command of the Channel, which runs close on the Western Shore, and is besides covered with a large Island between the Channel and Fort, so that Numbers of the Enemy may, even in the day time, run down the River, without being seen by that Garrison. . . .¹⁰⁸

That Governor Denny was favorably impressed by these representations is quite apparent in the letter he ordered Captain Thomas Lloyd to write to Major Burd on September 7, 1757:

His Honor the Governor has commanded me to signify to you that from the Petitions of the Inhabitants of Hanover he is inclined to have the Garrison removed from Halifax to Hunters to have Halifax demolish'd or at least evacuated the gates burnt &c: and Hunters repaired, in which the Country round have promis'd to assist—that he is informd that ffort Halifax on acct of the Channel running on the other side of the Island opposite to it, and the Want of Water on the Side of the Island Next Halifax is of no Use to the Batteaux on their Passage in the summer—and that the Island by intercepting the Prospect and Command of the River, renders ffort Halifax useless that he approves much of the situation of Hunters which is favorably seated to command the Juniata or at least more so than Halifax as it lyes below the Mouth of it and Halifax above—that we cant spare Men sufficient for the two Garrisons—and that he desires Your Opinion in your Next on this Subject. . . .

PS the Governor thinks that Halifax is not so convenient a Post for patrolling Partys to cover the Frontier of Hanover, as Hunters which the Inhabitants have represented in their Petition, And that the Inhabitants may be cutt off and the

¹⁰⁸ PR. Q. 87-88; printed in CR, VII, 724. See PAI, III, 251, for John Elder to Peters, July 30, 1757, which mentions a petition and perhaps was misdated a month early.

Authors of the Mischief far gone before Intelligence can be conveyd to ffort Halifax—¹⁰⁹

Burd undoubtedly found the Governor's arguments convincing, and on October 5 Denny issued him his orders: "I am informed by Commissary Young you are of Opinion with me that Fort Halifax should be evacuated. I therefore order you to evacuate that Fort and remove that Garrison to reinforce the Battalion at Fort Augusta. . . ." ¹¹⁰

An account of incidents relative to the evacuation of Fort Halifax appears in Captain Work's report to Major Burd, dated "Fort at Hunters 18th October 1757":

I Received Yours of the 16th Inst and the next morning Purshuent to your orders I marched from Fort Halifax, but Leu^t Humphras being sick, I took the Command of the Land party, Marching over Peetters Mountain, the advance guaird Consisting of a serg^t and twelve Men, as soon as they Came to the top of the Mountain, Discovered a party of Indeans, I suppose about thirtey in Number, our Partey advanced supposing them to be freands, untill they Came within about a hundred yards, when the Indeans Fired upon them, which was Returned briskly by our Men, I being on the side of the Mountain with the Main body, Advanced with all speed, and when joyned the advance party, ordered them Emediatly to Run up to the Enemy which they Did, Verey Gallently, and the Enemy Emediatly give way Runing Quite off, with one wounded, which we tracked Sum Distance by the Blood, and Left Five Horses, which they had Loaded with Sundreys taken from the inhabitants, which we got and I Returned to the People, which they belonged, had I been up the Mountain about ten Minuets sooner, I would have hoped to given a Pleasing account of this affair, but our Misfortune is, that we Darn^t fire on them, till we ask whither they are freands, which gives them the advantage of the first Fire, tho we had not any Kiled or wounded¹¹¹

With this evacuation, the military history of Fort Halifax closes, though the name survived to be perpetuated in that of the later town. Since the post at McKee's Store had been abandoned earlier and since

¹⁰⁹ Lloyd to Burd, Philadelphia, 7th 7ber, 1757, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, 1751-1758, Historical Society of Dauphin County. Denny later altered his views sufficiently to write Burd on October 28, after the place had been evacuated, "If you think it proper order Fort Halifax to be destroyed, but It may be of use to lodge Ranging Parties." Shippen Family Papers, III, 85.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 71. See also *Pennsylvania Gazette*, October 27, 1757.

Fort Hunter was garrisoned after this time by men of Weiser's 1st Battalion, Fort Augusta continued hereafter without any military dependencies, and the Augusta Regiment garrisoned and serviced only the one large fort.

FORT AUGUSTA

Fort Augusta at the present Sunbury was the most impressive of the forts built by Pennsylvania during the French and Indian War, the one longest garrisoned by Provincial troops, and the one last used for military purposes. Begun in July, 1756, by troops under the direct command of Colonel William Clapham, the works were continued under Major James Burd, and until June 13, 1765, the fort was continuously garrisoned by Pennsylvania troops. The name was given by Governor Morris, presumably in honor of the Princess Augusta, then the widow of the late Prince of Wales and mother of the future George III.

Surviving plans, journals, and letters describe this fort in considerable detail. Its general design was square, with bastions at the four corners; including the bastions, it measured 204 feet on a side and was therefore rather larger than the French Fort Duquesne, which it in many ways resembled.¹¹² From the two bastions nearer the river, palisades strengthened with blockhouses extended laterally to guard an extent of river front against attack from the landward side. Over the fort in 1756 the British flag, red with the crosses of Saint George and Saint Andrew on a blue corner field, flew on a seventy-foot flag-pole.¹¹³

Fort Halifax, where Colonel Clapham and the greater part of his regiment established themselves on June 6, 1756, was the base at which preparations were made for the subsequent lodgment at Shamokin. It was here that Clapham received Governor Morris' letter and instructions of June 12 relating to the proposed fort at the forks of the Susquehanna. The Governor designated the site of present Sunbury,

¹¹² As noted elsewhere, Fort Duquesne measured about 145 French feet on a side, the French foot being slightly longer than the English unit of measure. Chronologically, Fort Augusta could have been modeled after Fort Duquesne, for Stobo's plan of the French fort had been known in Philadelphia since October, 1754. In fact, however, Clapham was given a choice of pentagon or square and chose the latter; and the other resemblances are explained by the fact that both forts reflect accepted military engineering practices of the time.

¹¹³ For the height of the staff, see *PAL*, III, 478; the flag itself is pictured in a 1756 plan of the fort. Pennsylvania had no distinctive flag, and whether forts were built by provincials or by British regulars, they flew the British colors.

not only because this was the only land at the forks purchased from the Indians (privately, from Shikellamy), but also because "the Land on y^e south side of the east branch [*a little below*] opposite the Middle of the Island [*near where the shekalemies formerly lived, which*] is the highest [*ground upon there about*] of any of the low land there about and the best place for a fort"; and he enclosed "two Planns of Forts the one a Pentagon the other a square with one Ravelin to Protect the Curtain where the main gate is, with a ditch covered way and glacis."¹¹⁴

Taking special precautions to insure the success of his favorite military venture, Governor Morris proposed that Captain Busse and a scouting party advance from Fort Henry to cover Clapham's advance; but the Provincial Commissioners rejected this suggestion.¹¹⁵ About the same time, on June 14 Morris ordered Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong to build Fort Pomfret Castle on Mahantango Creek, "where it was laid out by Major Burd," to provide closer liaison between the western defenses and Clapham's battalion; but this project, too, failed.¹¹⁶ Captain George Armstrong, who was to have built this fort, did however lead a scouting party from Fort George to Fort Augusta on July 16, 1756, ten days after the arrival there of Clapham's men.¹¹⁷ On the other hand, five scouts sent out by Clapham himself from Fort Halifax on July 1 reconnoitered only as far in advance as Mahantango Creek.¹¹⁸

Clapham's regiment arrived at Shamokin on the afternoon of July 6, "and before night were encircled by a Fascine Breastwork of Brush."¹¹⁹ Captain Joseph Shippen recorded on July 8 that

This day the Major & myself lay^d out the Fort agreeable to the Gov^{rs} Plan; The sides of the Great Square being 204 ft the Perpendicular 25½—The Curtain of the Fort 83 ft the Flanks of the Bastions about 22 ft, the Faces 58¼. The Square made by the Curtain 130 ft—¹²⁰

The Governor's plans for the fort have not survived, but this description shows that the square form had been chosen; and plans of

¹¹⁴ Draft in PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 667. Italicized and bracketed words are cancelled in the original manuscript.

¹¹⁵ Morris to Clapham, June 12, 1756, *ibid.*, 665; Clapham to Morris, June 20, 1756, *ibid.*, 672.

¹¹⁶ *CR*, VII, 161.

¹¹⁷ Shippen Journal, Shippen Family Papers.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, under date of July 2, 1756.

¹¹⁹ Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, July 10, 1756, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 388.

¹²⁰ Shippen Journal, Shippen Family Papers. For the significance of the dimensions, see the concluding section of the present chapter.

the fort as constructed serve better than words to describe the fortification in detail. Designed to accommodate a garrison of four hundred men (four times the number assigned to any other Provincial post), it was by far the largest and most elaborate Pennsylvania fort. Like the lesser defenses, however, it was built of timber, and as first constructed was not intended to withstand cannon. Work on the fort was a constant task of the garrison. By July 10 Captain Shippen could report that "we have already erected within the lines of the Fort two Houses 11 logs high for Barracks for soldiers each 30 feet by 25";¹²¹ and on July 25 he wrote that "we have now 7 or 8 Houses nearly finished for Soldiers Barracks, and are compleatly stockaded round our whole Camp, making almost a semi-circle each end of w^{ch} terminates on the River above & below us. The Houses are so situate as to serve for Bastions to defend & flank every part of the Stockade." In an addition to this letter, dated July 28, appears the name, "Augusta."¹²²

By August 14, 1756, Colonel Clapham could report to the Governor that "we have the Walls of the Fort now above half finished, and our other Works in such situation, that we can make a very good Defence against any Body of French & Indians that shall seat themselves before us without Cannon."¹²³ On September 3 Captain Shippen wrote to his father Edward Shippen:

I now enclose you a Draught of Fort Augusta & our other Works, w^{ch} I made to'ther Day from actual Mensuration & Survey . . . Our Fort is well built, being made of the largest Logs we could find for a mile round, and neatly Dove tailed at all the Corners, it is now carried up eleven feet & the few other Logs to compleat it will be put up next week the men are now employed in making the Platforms & mounting the Cannon three of w^{ch} are already mounted besides 2 Swivels & 2 Blunderbusses.¹²⁴

Writing a few days later to Benjamin Franklin, one of the Provincial Commissioners, Colonel Clapham raised the question "if the Government designs to strengthen this Post by doubling the Fort wth another Case of Logs, and filling up the intermediate Space with Earth, in order to render it Cannon proof."¹²⁵ In the following month Lieutenant

¹²¹ Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 388-89.

¹²² *Ibid.*, 391-92. Shippen says he was interrupted to write a letter for Clapham to Daniel Claus, enclosing "the Plans of the Forts Halifax & Augusta." The text of Clapham's letter is printed in *Johnson Papers*, II, 521-22; it is dated "Camp at Shamokin 27th July 1756."

¹²³ PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 744.

¹²⁴ *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 398-99.

¹²⁵ Clapham to Franklin, September 7, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 766.

Elias Meyer, a British army engineer, inspected Fort Augusta and drew up plans elaborating upon those of the Governor; and some time later in May, 1758, another British engineer, Captain Harry Gordon, recommended still further improvements.¹²⁶

Along with construction of the fortifications, the commander at Fort Augusta had a second major problem, that of supplying the large garrison. All supplies had to be brought up the river; and although small quantities could be carried by packhorses, most supplies were transported by a fleet of bateaux ("battoes") under the direction of George Allen. Manned by boatmen mostly drawn from the regiment and escorted normally by the equivalent of a company of soldiers, these boats, a dozen together, traveled between John Harris' and Fort Augusta almost as steadily as winter ice and summer drought permitted. Ordinarily, a round trip took about a week; exceptionally, it might require one to two months.¹²⁷ On July 31 Colonel Clapham sent the bateaux to Fort Halifax for a load of flour; by August 8, when ten of the boats returned, the supply at Fort Augusta was dangerously low, and Clapham was ready to march all but a hundred of his regiment back to Fort Halifax.¹²⁸ Major Burd, sent for flour on September 8, found little ready at Fort Hunter and had to find more farther afield; by the time he returned on September 19 with 120 horseloads of flour, the supply for the garrison was down to the last two barrels, and Clapham was so disturbed that he refused to speak to Burd until a day later.¹²⁹

Beside these problems of logistics, the garrison was troubled by the vagaries of Provincial military financing. These did not stem from Quaker pacifism—for the members of this group had withdrawn from the Assembly—but from political quarrels over the successive supply bills sent up by the Assembly to the Governor. The funds, supplied tardily and at irregular intervals, were administered by groups of commissioners named in the laws themselves, whose membership varied from bill to bill and whose authority and responsibility expired with the fund. Following the Augusta battalion's arrival at Shamokin, Commissary General Young arrived promptly enough on July 12 to

¹²⁶ For Meyer's trip to Fort Augusta, see *ibid.*, III, 9-10, 12-13, 14, 41, 47, and his plan of the fort; for Gordon's recommendations, see *ibid.*, 388-89.

¹²⁷ For Clapham's comments on this matter, see his letter of September 23, 1756, to Governor Denny, *ibid.*, II, 780. Movements of the bateaux may be traced in the Shippen Journal, Shippen Family Papers.

¹²⁸ Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, August 21, 1756, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 394-95.

¹²⁹ *Id.* to *id.*, September 24, 1756, *ibid.*, 400-401.

pay the troops; but the payment provoked disputes which left a sour taste.¹³⁰ Instructed to pay four hundred men in the battalion, Young found more than that number at Fort Augusta alone and smaller detachments at Fort Halifax, McKee's Store, Fort Hunter, and Harris'. Furthermore, the officers had been led to believe that they and their men would receive higher pay than the troops in the defensive line; but Young had orders to pay them at the regular rates. By the end of the month the fund from which this pay was drawn had been exhausted, and the next supply law was not signed until September 21, 1756. At the end of the one-year term of enlistment, three-fourths of these men left the service.

Colonel Clapham, who had received the command of the regiment on March 28, 1756, resigned a year later; except for ten days in October, he exercised the command at Fort Augusta from July 6 until December 6, 1756. Taxed as his troops were to build and supply this fort, it is not surprising that they engaged in few field operations.¹³¹ On July 23, 1756, the equivalent of two companies under command of Captain Work and Captain Jameson was sent on a scouting expedition to Bald Eagle's Nest near present Milesburg, Centre County; however, hampered by heavy rain, the party returned three days later without attaining its objective.¹³²

On November 4 a company commanded by Captain Hambright was sent "to attack, burn and destroy, an Indian Town or Towns, with their Inhabitants, on the West Branch of Susquehanna, to which Monsieur Montoure will conduct you."¹³³ This region had been before November, 1755, the home of some Shawnee and Delaware bands and also of Andrew Montour's relatives, French Margaret and her family. A map showing the route of this party indicates that the particular settlement dealt with was one near the present Jersey Shore, Lycoming County.¹³⁴ The huts of the town stood empty, however; and Clapham reported on November 19 that "the Party I sent to the great Island

¹³⁰ Young to Morris, July 18, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 704-705.

¹³¹ For Clapham's comment on these demands on his men, see his letter of September 23, 1756, to Governor Denny, *ibid.*, 780.

¹³² Shippen Journal, Shippen Family Papers.

¹³³ Clapham, orders to Hambright, copy enclosed with Clapham to Denny, November 8, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 42-43.

¹³⁴ Reproduced on the following page in redrawn form, as printed in Meginness, *Otzinachson* . . . (1889 ed.), I, 181, and in Meginness (ed.), *Historical Journal*, II (1894), 6. In the later publication, the cut is inverted to give the map its normal orientation.

and garrison duty at one of the lesser posts, called the troops from Fort Augusta. In October, 1756, following the attack on Kittanning, Governor Denny held a military council at Carlisle to which Colonel Clapham went, escorted by some of his regiment. Lieutenants Clayton and Clapham (the Colonel's son) and forty men set out from Fort Augusta on October 7, followed by Clapham himself, Captains Lloyd and Hambright, and twenty-five men on October 8;¹³⁷ and the party returned on October 17.¹³⁸ In Clapham's absence, Major Burd commanded at the fort.¹³⁹ A day after Clapham's return, Commissary General Young arrived at Fort Augusta with Engineer Lieutenant Meyer, who had inspected the forts west of the Susquehanna and made recommendations for bettering them and now spent several days inspecting Fort Augusta and drawing up plans for strengthening it.¹⁴⁰ Sometime later Clapham sent Captain Patterson with a party to Patterson's former post on the Juniata to see about a quantity of flour that had been left there when that post was abandoned.¹⁴¹

On the other hand, the fort suffered almost no loss from enemy attack. On August 23, 1756, an express sent by Captain Lloyd from Captain Jameson's garrison at Fort Halifax was attacked by Indians a few miles below Fort Augusta; one of the two men was killed, but the other, Sergeant McManes, outran the Indians and escaped. On August 29 James Pattin of Captain Shippen's company was shot by an Indian at the spring about a mile from the fort.¹⁴²

Clapham had intimated to Governor Denny his own wish to go to Philadelphia "to attend your Commands in Person";¹⁴³ and on December 6 he left Fort Augusta, turning over the command to Captain Hambright pending the return of Major Burd, who was bringing up supplies.¹⁴⁴ It seems not unlikely that the Colonel's wish to see the Governor resulted partly from the dissension that had arisen in the

¹³⁷ Shippen Journal, Shippen Family Papers.

¹³⁸ Young to [Denny], October 17, 1756, *PAI*, III, 12; Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, October 22, 1756, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 404.

¹³⁹ Clapham, orders to Burd, October 8, 1756, Shippen Family Papers, II, 75: "You are to take upon you the Command of Fort Augusta which you are to defend to the last Extremity. . . ."

¹⁴⁰ See n. 126 above; also Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, October 22, 1756, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 403.

¹⁴¹ Lloyd to [Denny], October 14, 1756, *PAI*, III, 11-12; Clapham to Denny, [November 19, 1756], *ibid.*, 65; *id.* to *id.*, November 23, 1756, *ibid.*, 60.

¹⁴² Lloyd to Edward Shippen, August 24, 1756, *ibid.*, 759-60; Bard to Morris, September 4, 1756, *ibid.*, 764-65.

¹⁴³ Clapham to Denny, November 8, 1756, *ibid.*, 42; *id.* to *id.*, [November 19, 1756], *ibid.*, 66.

¹⁴⁴ Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 745 (1876 ed.).

regiment; and although it would be both difficult and irrelevant to examine the details and responsibilities in this affair, the main facts must be mentioned.

As has been noted, a coolness had appeared between Colonel Clapham and Governor Morris in May, while the battalion was still at Harris' Ferry; and although this difference was then reconciled, it probably affected later reactions toward Clapham. The Colonel next attracted unfavorable outside attention in July, when Commissary General Young arrived at Fort Augusta to pay the troops. The officers learned that they were not to be paid at the rates they had been led to expect; and on July 18 the Colonel complained to the Governor in a letter signed by all the company commanders.¹⁴⁵ With the letter went two protests. One, dated July 13 and signed by all the subalterns, protested that they had been promised 7/6 a month for lieutenants and 5/6 for ensigns instead of the 5/6 and 4/—, respectively, paid elsewhere in the Pennsylvania service; and the subalterns requested permission to resign as of August 20.¹⁴⁶ The other complaint, dated July 15 and signed by the company commanders, objected to the terms on which the men were to be paid.¹⁴⁷ Clapham sent Captain Lloyd express to deliver both letter and protests to the Governor; and Young wrote on July 18 from Carlisle, reporting the dispute and enclosing a copy of the subalterns' protest. According to Young, Clapham "threatens to leave the Service, and that he will go and join the Six Nations, whether they side with the English or French." The grounds for this dissatisfaction had been provided by the lack of harmony and co-operation between the Governor and the commissioners, but in the face of the protests these officials naturally joined in blaming Clapham for fomenting disaffection among his men.

Although most of Clapham's men were enlisted for a year, it appears that his regiment included some six-month men. In September, therefore, Clapham—and the Province—had warning of a worse crisis to come. On September 17, 1756, James Biddle wrote from Reading to Surveyor General Nicholas Scull:

We have nothing here that's new but what comes from Philad^a except yesterday that 12 Men came down from Shamokin & Fort Hunter on their way home to Bucks County having serv'd

¹⁴⁵ Clapham *et al.* to Morris, July 18, 1756, PPC; printed in *PAI*, II, 705-708.

¹⁴⁶ PPC, filed with Clapham *et al.* to Morris, July 18, 1756; printed in *PAI*, II, 700-701.

¹⁴⁷ PPC, original filed with Clapham *et al.* to Morris, July 18, 1756, and copy filed with Young to Morris, July 18, 1756; printed in *PAI*, II, 703.

Six Months the full time of their Inlistment. They say there are about 200 Men at Shamokin and a pretty strong Fort is near finish'd; but that most of the People will very speedily come off; their time being soon out. The great Complaint is Want of pay. These have reced but for one Month out of the Six they have serv'd. . . .¹⁴⁸

However the blame may be apportioned, bad feeling developed between Clapham and his second-in-command, Major Burd; and unfortunately for Clapham, Burd and his brother-in-law Captain Shippen had influential relations in the Province. On November 5 Lieutenant Clark, Burd's subaltern, wrote to Richard Peters about the quarrel and expressed his wish either to resign or to be returned to Armstrong's battalion from which he had transferred.¹⁴⁹ On December 4 Captain Jameson wrote to Edward Shippen and William Allen, blaming Clapham for conditions in the regiment and proposing that Shippen and Allen at their discretion relay his complaints to the Governor.¹⁵⁰

By this time probably, the Pennsylvania troops had been divided into two regiments as described in Chapter VI, thereby limiting Clapham's command to the one battalion now known as the Augusta Regiment.¹⁵¹ This division was consistent with the fact of Fort Augusta's distinctive role, but it may also reflect dissatisfaction with Colonel Clapham's management.

If Clapham went to Philadelphia to dispel these criticisms, he did not succeed. It was reported that he said Captain Jameson was demented.¹⁵² Not surprisingly, Captain Shippen wrote that if Clapham returned to his command, Captain Jameson and Lieutenant Clark would not remain in the regiment.¹⁵³ In February, 1757, Captain Work and Lieutenant Clark told Edward Shippen (as the latter informed his son), "that the Colonel is to Submit to Some interrogatorys from

¹⁴⁸ Land Records, Letters Received, 1713-1853, Public Records Division.

¹⁴⁹ Daniel Clark to Peters, Fort Augusta, November 5, 1756, PPC.

¹⁵⁰ David Jameson to Allen, Shippen Papers, American Philosophical Society; Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, January 1, 1757, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 407.

¹⁵¹ This alteration is documented, first, by "A List of the Offrs in the Province Pay . . .," a rough draft preserved in PPC, dated 1756 and listing no commission later than October 11 of that year; second, by a very similar list printed in *PA5*, I, 70-71, which however includes a commission of December 10, 1756. The former list identifies Weiser's, Armstrong's, and Clapham's immediate commands as the 1st, 2d, and 3d Battalions, respectively; the later list includes the Pennsylvania Regiment, divided into the 1st and 2d Battalions, and the Augusta Regiment.

¹⁵² Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, February 21, 1757, Shippen Family Papers, II, 121; see also Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, March 4, 1757, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 412.

¹⁵³ *Id.* to *id.*, January 19, 1757, *ibid.*, 408.

Col. Armstrong & some of his Officers, in relation to your officers charge against him.”¹⁵⁴ About a month later the news began to circulate that Clapham had resigned.¹⁵⁵ “That Gentleman,” wrote Governor Denny, “tired with the Discouragements perpetually given to the Service by the Commissioners, and with their particular Treatment of him, has resigned his Commission; and there never having been a Lieutenant Colonel appointed to that Battalion, Major Burd has now the Command at Augusta.”¹⁵⁶

Burd had in fact had the command since December 8, 1756, when, with Captain Shippen and Captain Jameson, he returned to the fort with supplies and relieved Captain Hambright, whom Clapham had left in command two days earlier.¹⁵⁷

No one would expect that Burd would give a favorable picture of conditions as he found them; on December 9 he recorded in his journal that

This day I inquired into the State of the Garrison, & found 280 men here doing duty, and that no work has been done for some time; the ditch unfinished; the Picketts up; the Beeff all in the store in bulk; no place provided for the flour, & the salt in Casks, —in ye heads standing on the Parade, the Battoes all frose up in the River, and Nine officers for duty; no Instructions given to any officer Concerning the works begun, nor do I find in my Instructions any plan of the Fort, or orders Informing me how the begun works was intended to be finished.¹⁵⁸

On December 16 Burd sent Captain Jameson and a hundred men with all the horses and the bateaux to bring up provisions from Hunter's. By the time Jameson returned on January 7 bringing the horses loaded with flour, the garrison had been on reduced rations for ten days; and the bateaux, weatherbound both on the downward and on the return trip, did not arrive until February 18 “with 51 barrells flour; 3 hhds. of Rum, 1 faggott steel, 12 barrells pork.”¹⁵⁹ Supplies

¹⁵⁴ Edward Shippen to Joseph Shippen, February 21, 1757, Shippen Family Papers, II, 121.

¹⁵⁵ Croghan to Burd, April 3, 1757, *ibid.*, 145: “I Need Nott Infirm you that Coll. Clapham has Resign'd I Sopose Capt yound [*sic*] has Inferm'd you of that and I blive he is in Great Disgrass with his Lordshipe as Well as With Most Gentelmen in Phila A Due G: C: Pray keep this to yr Self till you hear further—”

¹⁵⁶ Denny to the Proprietors, April 9, 1757, draft in PPC; printed in *PA1*, III, 117.

¹⁵⁷ Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 745 (1876 ed.); Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, December [16], 1756, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 406.

¹⁵⁸ *PA2*, II, 746 (1876 ed.).

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 748, 752, 762.

came up more regularly thereafter—too steadily, it would appear, for the boatmen: Returning with a load of supplies on May 25, the bateau crews stopped overnight a few miles short of their destination to postpone their next assignment. Burd confined three of the men, who were court-martialed on June 2, when one man was remitted and two were drummed out.¹⁶⁰

Major Burd's second crisis came when the men's one-year term of enlistment expired. Dissatisfaction growing out of the conditions of service—the isolation, uncertain supplies, irregular pay, and trying discipline—might have been enough to provoke a crisis at this time, but such an outcome was assured by the actions of the Province's friendly Indians on their way to a treaty at Lancaster.

Ninety or a hundred of these Indians arrived by way of the North Branch on March 13, 1757, and stayed at Fort Augusta for four days; and a few hours after their departure a second party of thirty or forty more Indians arrived. In formal council on March 18, the chiefs of this second party confirmed the story already reported by the preceding group, that eight hundred French and Indians were preparing to descend the West Branch. Since there were at the fort "but 190 effective besides the sick & a Party of 30 or 40 Men below with the Battoes," the consequences were predictable.¹⁶¹ On April 1 Commissary General Young arrived with £2,300—all that remained in the Loan Office—and disbursed four months' pay to the enlisted men. Young left on April 5, and next day about a hundred men whose term had expired left the fort in a body.¹⁶²

On April 7 Burd sent Captain Patterson and ten men up the West Branch to Chinclacamoose (Clearfield) in search of the reported enemy force. This party, which returned on April 25, found Chinclacamoose deserted and largely burnt and found no trace or track of the enemy; but the damage had been done.¹⁶³ On May 6-10 Young was again at the fort, and on his departure a second body of discharged men left the service, reducing the garrison to twenty-one commissioned officers and eighty-two men. On May 15 Burd sent his subaltern, Lieutenant

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 786-89.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 770-73; Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, March 18, 1757, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 416-17.

¹⁶² Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 775-76 (1876 ed.); Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, April 18, 1757, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 419.

¹⁶³ Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 777-81 (1876 ed.).

Clark, and the commanders of the other six companies to the settlements to recruit.¹⁶⁴

Major Burd's problem of Indian relations, while less acute, was embarrassing. The fortification of Shamokin had been represented as something done in compliance with the Indians' request and for their protection. Thus it is recorded that on February 26, 1756, the Belt of Wampum had told the Provincial Council: "We advised you, when at Carlisle, immediately to build a Fort at Shamokin. . . . Such Indians as continue true to you want a Place to come to, and to live in Security against your and their Enemies—And to Shamokin when made strong they will come and bring their Wives and Children with them. . . ." ¹⁶⁵ But the Indians who made these requests and promises—the Belt of Wampum (Kaghsuaghtaniunt), Scarroyady, and others—were refugees from the Ohio, followers of the Half King Tanaghrisson; and after the Half King's death at John Harris' on October 4, 1754, his followers had retired to the Six Nations country in New York.

This left Fort Augusta with little justification from the Indian point of view, and there is no reason to think that the Six Nations as a whole approved of the establishment. Ogaghradariha, who had left Shamokin on July 27, 1756, with Clapham's reply to Daniel Claus, returned to Fort Augusta on October 11 with the story of an impending enemy attack. This Indian remained afterward at the fort, but apparently in no official role.¹⁶⁶

Scarroyady, successor to Tanaghrisson as head of the Six Nations Indians from the Ohio, was among the chiefs who on their way to Lancaster warned Major Burd on March 18, 1757, of a rumored enemy force on the West Branch.¹⁶⁷ Whatever the intent of their warning, these friendly Indians did the fort more harm than all its enemies.

The Indians' experiences at Lancaster did not improve their humor.¹⁶⁸ The negotiators waited in vain for Teedyuscung, the Delaware spokesman who at Easton had protested a renewed friendship with the Six Nations and the English. Governor Denny reminded the Indians of their promise to settle at Shamokin. Scarroyady died of

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 783-84; List of the Provincial Forces as Mustered and paid last Muster, by Commissary Young Commencing 20th April, to the 1st June 1757, Loudoun Papers, Box 85, No. 3769.

¹⁶⁵ PR, O, 44; printed in CR, VII, 54.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 281; for his subsequent presence at the fort, see Burd Journal, PA2, II, 791-98, *passim* (1876 ed.).

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 772; he is mentioned by his Shawnee name Monicatutha (Monacatootha).

¹⁶⁸ For the conference minutes, May 10-22, 1757, see CR, VII, 505-51.

smallpox.¹⁶⁹ Escorted by Captain McKee, the Indians arrived at Fort Augusta on June 2 on their way home in a disagreeable temper. In council on June 5, McKee asked the Indian spokesman "which of his People he wou'd leave there, And he replied that he wou'd leave none but what died here." The Indians then reminded Major Burd of the Governor's promise, made at Easton in November, 1756, and still unkept, to open a trading post at Shamokin. The Indians left the fort this same day; but on June 9 the garrison's bullock guard was attacked and a sentry was killed by Indians said to have been at the treaty.¹⁷⁰

Meanwhile the regiment was rebuilt. As has been noted, Weiser's 1st Battalion was called upon in the emergency to lend the equivalent of three companies to garrison Fort Augusta; and Weiser's troops in turn were replaced with men enlisted for three months only (about May-August). Some of Weiser's men were retained until October, 1757. Captains Lloyd, Shippen, Jameson, Hambright, and Trump, Captain Lieutenant Davis, and Lieutenant Clark, who had left on May 15 to recruit, returned to the fort at various dates: Hambright, June 24; Trump, July 10; Shippen, July 20; Jameson, August 2; Lloyd, September 17; Davis (of the Colonel's former company), not until November 6.¹⁷¹ In the interval Jameson had undergone an attack of smallpox.¹⁷² On December 18, 1757, Major Burd left the fort on leave of absence after an unbroken year of command; and Captain Shippen took his place.¹⁷³ By this time the regiment had made good its losses; as of January 1, 1758, Fort Augusta was garrisoned by 13 officers and 337 men.¹⁷⁴

In such circumstances the Fort Augusta garrison was even less active in the field than previously. Upon an alarm in Cumberland County, Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong had on January 28, 1757, written to Major Burd for aid; and on Colonel Clapham's orders Burd had Captain Shippen prepare to march with two companies to Armstrong's

¹⁶⁹ Croghan to Burd, June 6, 1757, Shippen Family Papers, II, 201: "Monacatootha is Dead of the Small Pox in Lancaster."

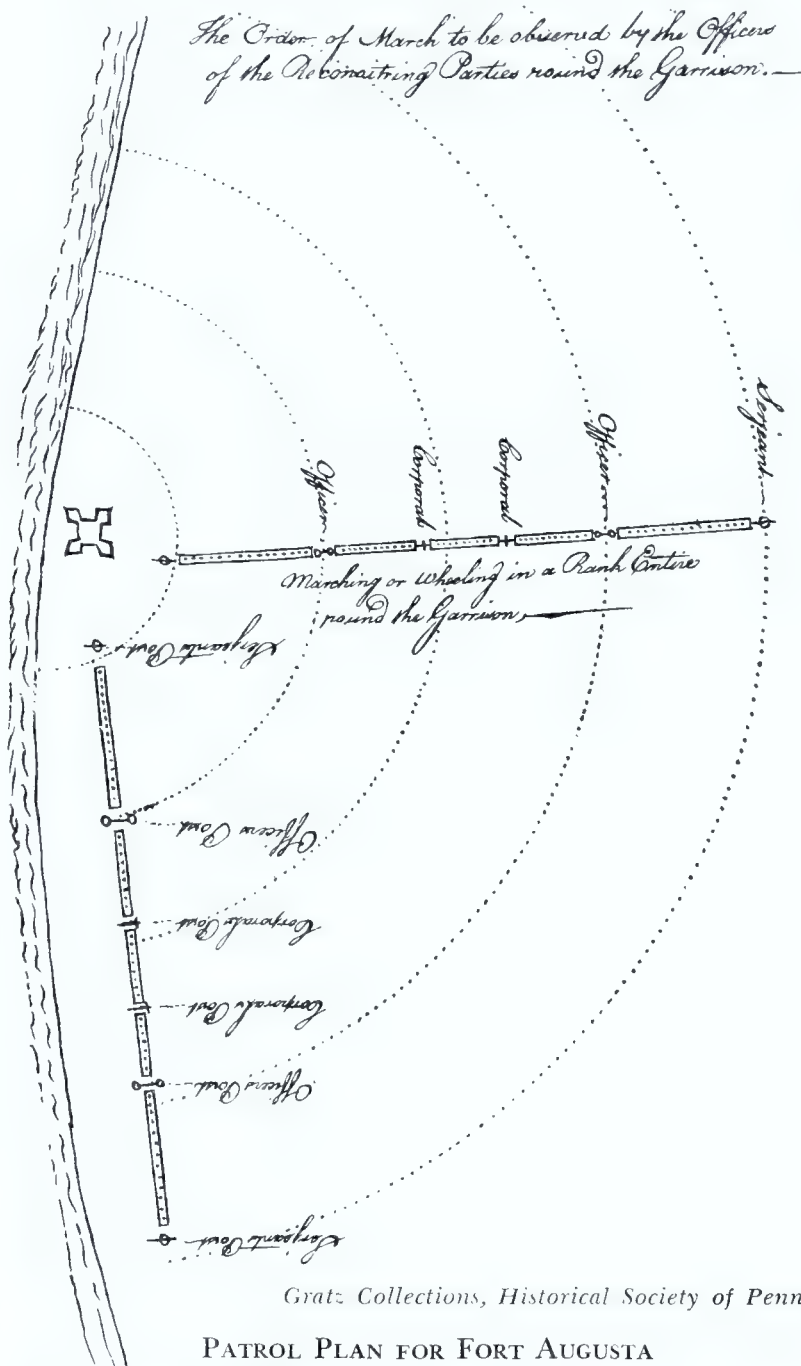
¹⁷⁰ Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 789-95 (1876 ed.); McKee to Denny, June 16, 1757, *CR*, VII, 597-98.

¹⁷¹ Burd Journal, under the dates given, *PA2*, II, 784-820 (1876 ed.), and Shippen Family Papers.

¹⁷² Joseph Shippen to Burd, June 16, 1757, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 435. A report that Davis also had smallpox at this time seems to have been erroneous; see *id.* to *id.*, January 2, 1758, *ibid.*, 450.

¹⁷³ Shippen Journal, Shippen Family Papers.

¹⁷⁴ *PA1*, III, 326-27.



Captain Joseph Shippen in a letter of September 3, 1756 (*PMHB*, XXXVI, 397), described the patrols as follows: "Every Morning before Sun-rise a Party of 50 Men goes out to reconnoitre the Ground for a mile & a half round the Fort, they take different Routs every time & march at the Distance of 6 or 7 Yards apart & all a Breast in one rank entire, so as to sweep a large space of Ground. . . ."

support.¹⁷⁵ The expected attack on Cumberland County did not materialize, however, and by March 17 Captain Shippen expressed a doubt that a hundred men could be spared whose time was not about to expire. Shortly afterward he heard "that Col^o Armstrong instead of send^g for the Detachment of 100 Men intends to send a Reinforcement to this Garrison."¹⁷⁶

As noted, Captain Patterson and ten men were sent to Chinlcamoose in April, 1757, upon report that a force of French and Indians were assembling there. In June Lieutenant Colonel Weiser heard that the enemy had cut a road to within ten miles of Fort Augusta; but Captain Hambright and a company of men, sent out on June 26 to explore the country for twenty miles around, found nothing.¹⁷⁷

Writing to Thomas Penn on June 22, 1758, Commissary Young described Fort Augusta as he had seen it in the fall of 1757:

I have not been there since last Sep^r [1757] at which time there was a very good Ditch, Parrapet, and Cover'd way all round it, but the Glassee was not near finish'd tho' now I am inform'd it is in great forwardness, there was Eight 4 Pound Cannon Mounted, which might be run round the whole Fort on the Platform and and [*sic*] at any place over the Parrapet, there is good Barraks for 400 men with houses for the Officers, also a good Well, no Magazine Vaulted, nor Place of Security for the Garrison from Shels, there is some small Logg house without for advanc'd and Picquet Guards, The land is Clear'd for half a Mile round all a Level and soft Ground, the level ground about the Fort I imagine to be About 4000 Acres fine rich Land Exceeding well timber'd. . . .¹⁷⁸

The only operation of any importance in which this regiment participated during 1757 was the nonmilitary Wyoming expedition in November. After the reconciliation with the Indians of the North Branch in November, 1756, Teedyuscung requested at Easton on July 30, 1757, that "as we intend to make a Settlement at Wyoming, and to build different Houses from what we have done heretofore, . . . We desire you will assist us . . . in building Houses. . . ." ¹⁷⁹ The Assembly recommended to the Governor on September 5 that the request be granted; and on October 5 Governor Denny commissioned John

¹⁷⁵ Armstrong to Burd, January 28, 1757, Shippen Family Papers, II, 103; Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, February 22, 1757, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 411.

¹⁷⁶ *Id.* to *id.*, March 17, 1757, *ibid.*, 415; *id.* to *id.*, March 28, 1757, *ibid.*, 418.

¹⁷⁷ Stanwix to Denny, June 19, 1757, *CR*, VII, 603; Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 799-800 (1876 ed.).

¹⁷⁸ Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, IX, 41.

¹⁷⁹ *PR*, Q, 27; printed in *CR*, VII, 682.

Hughes, Edward Shippen, and James Galbreath to oversee the work.¹⁸⁰ The Governor determined that Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong should provide three companies to escort and guard the party; but upon Colonel Stanwix' objecting, one company was ordered from each of the three Provincial battalions.¹⁸¹

Accordingly, the commissioners and their party set out from Fort Hunter on November 3, escorted by Captain Mercer's company of the 2d Battalion and by Captain Shippen's company returning to Fort Augusta with the bateaux,¹⁸² and arrived at Fort Augusta three days later. By November 9 Captain Samuel Weiser had not arrived with the men of the 1st Battalion, so Burd sent off two companies of men under Captains Shippen and Jameson. Weiser's men, who arrived next day, remained at Fort Augusta to replace the extra company. The commissioners' party and their escort returned to Fort Augusta on November 19; and on the 21st the commissioners and Mercer's and Weiser's men left for home.¹⁸³

The establishment of a Provincial Indian trading post, promised in November, 1756, was delayed even later than the erection of a town at Wyoming. It was not until early December, 1757, that John Carson opened a temporary post, pending enactment of the long-delayed "Act for preventing Abuses in the Indian Trade." This act was not signed, however, until April 8, 1758; and Carson continued his trade until April 24.¹⁸⁴ Even then there was delay in settling a regular Provincial agent at the store; on June 20 Governor Denny wrote C. Frederick Post that "By a mere accident, the Indian Store at Augusta is Shut; the Agent, on the passing of [the Act], oblig'd to come to this City."¹⁸⁵ The agent first selected declined to serve; and Nathaniel Holland, commissioned June 5, did not arrive at Fort Augusta until June 28.¹⁸⁶

The Indian store was set up within the fortifications. On December 1 Captain Shippen wrote to his father:

Mr Carson arrived here with the Battoes we^h brought up his Goods, they received a Little Wet occasioned by the sinking

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 730, 754-55; *PAI*, III, 297-98.

¹⁸¹ Stanwix to Denny, October 24, 1757, *PAI*, III, 301-302.

¹⁸² John Hughes *et al.* to Denny, November 3, 1757, *ibid.*, 316-17.

¹⁸³ Burd Journal, Shippen Family Papers.

¹⁸⁴ Carson to Denny, December 17, 1757, *CR*, VII, 773; Carson, account of trade, December 9-13, 1757, PPC; Carson to Denny, January 20, 1758, enclosing account of trade, December 16-January 20, PPC; Carson, account of trade, March 23-April 24, 1758, *ibid.*; Accot of Goods sent up to Mr John Carson at Fort Augusta . . . , April 6, 1758, *ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ *CR*, VIII, 138.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 99, 128-29; Peter Bard to Denny, July 1, 1758, *PAI*, III, 432.

of one of the Battoes. He lodges with us till the Store House is put into compleat order, it will be finished in a day or two; & he will be exceedingly well accomedated.¹⁸⁷

A month later on January 2, 1758, Captain Shippen wrote to John Hughes: "Major Burd left us the 18 Ulto by the Governors permission to see his Family. Since his Departure I have ∇ his orders erected a good Pallisade Bastion at the provincial Trading House, for the better Defence of it & the Adjacent Barracks we are carrying up."¹⁸⁸ Attracted by trade, Indians began to come in increasing numbers and to prolong their visits. On February 15, 1758, Shippen noted there were sixty-two Indians at the fort.¹⁸⁹

Despite rumors and the weakened state of the garrison, the fort continued to suffer little damage from the enemy. On February 26, 1757, Indians killed and scalped two sentries accompanying carters to "the old house at the spring."¹⁹⁰ George Croghan's messengers, returning on May 9 from the Ohio, brought a report that this attack had been made by a party of Delaware Indians and Frenchmen; no other Delawares or Shawnees, they said, had been out that spring, other frontier attacks having been the work of more distant Indians.¹⁹¹ On June 9, 1757, as has been mentioned, Indians suspected to have been at the Lancaster treaty killed a sentry; and later this month, on June 23, a party of some forty Indians (according to Burd) surrounded the cattle guard, killing four men and wounding five others.¹⁹² There were no other attacks, however, despite intermittent appearance of hostile Indians in the neighborhood.

From a French account it is known that thirteen Indians—"domiliated Iroquois," the report calls them—who had attacked the cattle guard on June 23 returned to Niagara July 30. They reported that the fort at "Schamoken" was almost as large as that at Niagara, terraced to protect the buildings, surrounded by a palisade; that it was much commanded by two mountains; that there were almost no clearings; that they thought it might easily be captured. Along the river, they said, there was a little fort, then one larger, and then a third; undoubtedly, these were the main fort, with the connected blockhouses above and below it along the riverbank. The Indians thought one of

¹⁸⁷ *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 448.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 452; see also Shippen Journal under dates of December 21-24, 1757, Shippen Family Papers.

¹⁸⁹ Shippen Journal, Shippen Family Papers.

¹⁹⁰ Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 764 (1876 ed.).

¹⁹¹ Croghan Journal, *CR*, VII, 515.

¹⁹² Burd Journal, *PA2*, II, 798 (1876 ed.).

the men they had killed was an officer because he had a shaved head: *qu'ils croyoient bien avoir tué un chef parce qu'ils n'avoient apporté que de la peau ayant la tête rasée*. Gentlemen who wore wigs shaved their heads, of course, but in fact no officer had been killed; perhaps one of the victims simply was baldheaded.¹⁹³

On February 28, 1758, Captain Shippen received from Burd the news of the reorganization of the troops and of Burd's new assignments. From a letter dated January 25 he had official word that the old Augusta Regiment had been swallowed up by the new 2d Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment, with Burd (commissioned as of January 2) as lieutenant colonel and Thomas Lloyd (as of December 7) as major. From a second letter dated February 19 he learned that Burd was to inspect the eastern garrisons before returning to his headquarters at Fort Augusta.¹⁹⁴

Captain Shippen on March 25, 1758, turned over the command to Major Lloyd, who returned that day to the fort; and two days later he departed on leave of absence.¹⁹⁵ Burd carried out his tour of inspection between February 16, when he left Lancaster, and March 7, when he arrived at Philadelphia; but he was busy thereafter with plans for the forthcoming campaign and did not return to Fort Augusta until April. On April 9 he wrote from Fort Hunter to order the captains of the eastern companies to have their companies at full strength and ready to march on the first order. Lieutenant Colonel Burd himself had received orders to be ready by May 1.¹⁹⁶

These preparations in fact reduced Fort Augusta to the position of a secondary post. The chief value of the Pennsylvania troop alterations was that by abandoning the territorial basis of organization it facilitated a more effective reassignment of troops. Any British campaign would have depleted the less active eastern garrisons; and since the campaign was aimed specifically at Fort Duquesne, its Pennsylvania bases would be the military posts in Cumberland County, not the more northern Fort Augusta, which, however well situated as a defensive outpost, stood on no feasible route for offensive operations. Nevertheless, Fort Augusta remained the strongest post manned by Provincial troops. Captain Harry Gordon, a British army engineer who later planned Fort Pitt, inspected Fort Augusta and on May 6

¹⁹³ "Journal de Niagara," in Casgrain (ed.), *Relations et journaux*, 113.

¹⁹⁴ Shippen Journal, Shippen Family Papers.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁶ Burd Letter Book, Shippen Family Papers. Quoted in Lily Lee Nixon, *James Burd, Frontier Defender, 1726-1793*, p. 45; see also *id.*, "Colonel James Burd in the Forbes Campaign," *PMHB*, LIX (1935), 108.

made recommendations for strengthening it;¹⁹⁷ and of the 395 enlisted men assigned on July 9 to garrison the forts east of Susquehanna, 197 (one-half) were allotted to Fort Augusta.¹⁹⁸

On May 23, 1758, Burd again turned over the command of Fort Augusta, this time to Captain Levi Trump, and set out for Carlisle, leaving behind him "three Officers and One hundred & Thirty Men" and a piece of unfinished business: "When the Indians and Volunteers arrive here from the Ohio (which I have sent on the Governments Business) You'll send them to me at Carlisle ordering them to keep secret & relate to Nobody what they have to say until they come to me, and Give them a Pass from under Your Hand—" ¹⁹⁹

This party, consisting of two cadets, Montgomery and Dunlap, and three Delaware Indians, had set out on May 1. Montgomery and two of the Indians returned on May 30, having become separated from the others;²⁰⁰ Dunlap and the third Indian, Hambus, completed their mission, however, and returned on June 16:

they ware in a Delawar Town twelve miles above Vaningo Fort, where they Stay'd three days, and was kindly entertain'd by all the Indians there, they left the Town on the third instant, and on the thirteenth there was a number of the men Belonging to the Town, to leave it and come down to the North Branch of Susquahana to settle.²⁰¹

The Indians' promise to remove to the North Branch perhaps should not be taken too seriously; but even so, it was a welcome change from the earlier rumors of hostile forces assembling on the river!

The weakening of Fort Augusta's garrison did not wholly please Colonel Henry Bouquet, who was then at Carlisle preparing for General Forbes' westward march; and he wrote to Forbes on May 29, 1758:

I understand that this fort is not in a condition to defend itself with the small garrison remaining there. It is a post of very great importance, and one not readily accessible to us. It could not be assisted in case of attack; and if the enemy seized it, it could ruin us. I beg you to please consider whether it would not be wise to reinforce it with recruits, and to send a commander there to be responsible for the post.²⁰²

¹⁹⁷ PPC; printed in *PAI*, III, 388-89.

¹⁹⁸ *PA5*, I, 241.

¹⁹⁹ Shippen Family Papers, III, 157.

²⁰⁰ Levi Trump to Denny, May 30, 1758, *PAI*, III, 403.

²⁰¹ *Id.* to *id.*, June 17, 1758, *ibid.*, 425.

²⁰² *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21652, p. 26, in French; translation, p. 31.

Continuing his letter next day, Bouquet reiterated:

Permit me to repeat that I fear for Fort Augusta. If that post were taken, there would be an outcry against us, for the Quakers consider it the key of the province.

Captain Trump who commands there is not suitable for that duty. The garrison of 130 men is made up of the worst of the battalion. The arms are worthless, and they have only 104 bullets.²⁰³

For this time, the history of the fort is little more than an account of the garrison, which on June 2 numbered 3 officers and 121 men, representing all eight companies of the former Augusta Regiment: Lieutenant Colonel Burd's (4 men), Major Lloyd's (ensign, 14 men), Brigade Major Shippen's (ensign, 13 men), Captain Work's (15 men), Jameson's (18 men), Hambright's (4 men), Trump's (captain, 40 men), and Clayton's (13 men).²⁰⁴

Temporarily, the garrison was then reinforced by Captain Robert Eastburn and Captain Paul Jackson of the new levies, who arrived at Fort Augusta on June 20 with about 70 of their men (having left an ensign and 30 others at Fort Hunter); so on July 1 Captain Trump could report 9 officers and 189 men, including a captain, a lieutenant, and 31 men of Eastburn's company and 3 officers and 35 of Jackson's.²⁰⁵ However, General Forbes subsequently ordered these new levies and 40 more of Burd's battalion under Lieutenant Brodhead and Ensign Holler to join his army; and in their place he sent to Fort Augusta Captain John Montgomery, also of the new levies, with 3 subalterns and 62 men drawn from five different companies.²⁰⁶

This last party arrived on July 17.²⁰⁷ Needless to say, they were not choice troops. Colonel Armstrong had already remarked of Montgomery and another of the new captains that they "want Little but horn, hair & hoof";²⁰⁸ and Commissary Peter Bard on July 20, 1758, wrote from Fort Augusta of the recent arrivals: "I think they Exceed

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 27 and 32.

²⁰⁴ *PAI*, III, 408.

²⁰⁵ Levi Trump to Denny, July 1, 1758, and enclosed return, *PAI*, III, 430-31. Eastburn's and Jackson's companies were sent up on General Forbes' order of about June 5, 1758, Shippen Family Papers, III, 225, n.d.; incorrectly assigned in James (ed.), *Writings of General John Forbes*, 131-32, to July 8, 1758. Forbes refers to these orders in a letter of June 6, 1758, in *Bouquet Papers*, II, 39. See also Joseph Shippen's journal of June 6-25, 1758, Shippen Family Papers.

²⁰⁶ *Id.* to *id.*, July 19, 1758, *ibid.*, 480-82.

²⁰⁷ Peter Bard to Burd, July 20, 1758, Shippen Family Papers, III, 183. Trump, in the letter just cited, places the arrival on July 16.

²⁰⁸ Armstrong to [Peters], July 8, 1758, *PAI*, III, 447.

any thing of Menkind I Ever saw, they look more like a detachment from the dead than the Liveing, I would have given five pounds to have had Hogart here when they were draw'd up upon the parade to have taken them off. . . ."209 In the absence of any "take off" by the artist Hogarth, there is at least Bard's word-picture!

With a garrison of 170 men drawn from fifteen companies, rejected for more active duty and including 100 new levies of the kind described by Commissary Bard, Captain Trump could not be expected to exercise an active command. Generally peaceful relations with the Indians seemed the chief topic of interest. It has been noted elsewhere that Christian Frederick Post, who left Fort Augusta on July 27, 1758, on his first trip to the Ohio Indians, returned there on September 22 and remained a few days while his rough notes were rewritten into a formal journal. Under the protection of the fort, Nathaniel Holland conducted a growing trade with the Indians.

There was opportunity also to tend the garden. At a fort any distance removed from the settlements it was common practice to supplement the official rations by such homely means. It was the commander and other officers whose fare was chiefly improved from this source, of course, but some benefit at least was shared by the troops. Earlier references to these domestic touches generally reflect the advantages to the officers. Subsequent to Clapham's departure from Fort Augusta but before his resignation, Captain Shippen reported on March 4, 1757, that he and Major Burd had "pan-cakes as often as the Col^o's Hens lay Eggs, which would either spoil or be taken by the Soldiers if we did not use them," and that they intended to have cornmeal mush "three times a Week for the future, w^{ch} is as often as we can spare Milk for the purpose as we give every Officer a little for his Tea & the province Cow does not yield much now."²¹⁰

By April 20 of this year Shippen had received watermelon seeds from his father and was awaiting some boxes of garden seeds sent up by Mr. Bard the commissary; and by July 1 of the following year gardening had so progressed that Bard could report a thousand cabbage plants, ten acres of ground fenced in for turnips, and the expectation of a hundred bushels of potatoes.²¹¹ Since the garrison then numbered about two hundred officers and men, such a garden was an appreciable advantage.

²⁰⁹ Bard to Burd, Shippen Family Papers, III, 183.

²¹⁰ Joseph Shippen to Edward Shippen, *PMHB*, XXXVI (1912), 412.

²¹¹ Bard to Edward Shippen, Shippen Family Papers, III, 179.

The new levies of 1758 had enlisted for the duration of the campaign which had resulted on November 25 in the British occupation of Fort Duquesne, soon to be replaced by Fort Pitt. Accordingly, Governor Denny ordered the new levies who had served on the westward expedition to be paid off; those at Fort Augusta were retained in service, however, and in time became restive. On January 15, 1759, Captain Trump wrote to Governor Denny:

The New Levies in this Garrison are greatly dissatisfied at being detain'd longer than they expected, and more so, as some of them have not as yet rec'd any pay, and the others not since the first of August, and are greatly distress'd for Cloathing; They have frequently attempted, and I have with difficulty prevented their marching off in a Body; with an intent (as they say) to represent matters to your Honour, thinking themselves greatly ronged. I have sent Corporal Baxter express with this, and shall be very glad to hear from your Honour by him respecting the affair.²¹²

Three weeks later on February 8, Trump wrote again:

The express I sent to your Honour respeting the new Levies return'd the first Instant with a Letter from Rich^d Tea,²¹³ imparting that your Honour was Just setting out for Newcastle when he arriv'd, and had defer'd writing to me untill your return. They still continue very uneasy which makes me desirous of hearing from your Honour on that head.

Inclos'd are the returns of this Garrison. I have Business of great consequence to me unsettled in Philad^a that require my presence, and shall be very proud to have leave of absence from your Honour on that Acc^t—²¹⁴

To remedy the situation at Fort Augusta, Colonel James Burd, then at Philadelphia, on March 19, 1759, sent orders to Captain Patrick Work:

You will proceed Immediately to Fort Augusta where you will take upon you the Command of that Garrison and I desire that upon your arrivall there you will permitt Captⁿ Trump to come to Philadelphia. . . .

When the New Levie Comp^y is discharged you'l endeavour to Recruit as many of them as you can that you Judge fitt for the service. . . .

I have ordered Ensigne Johnston to take post at Fort Augusta under your Command. . . .²¹⁵

²¹² Pennsylvania Miscellaneous, 1620-1850, New York Public Library.

²¹³ Richard Peters' clerk; see *CR*, VIII, 242.

²¹⁴ Trump to Denny, PPC.

²¹⁵ Shippen Family Papers, IV, 19.

A letter dated April 8 shows Trump still in command;²¹⁶ but Work must have relieved him soon afterward. Discharge of the new levies left a garrison of seventy men of the old companies, whom the Assembly had agreed to retain in service.

Meanwhile, on January 21 Lieutenant William Patterson (son of Captain James Patterson) had set out from Fort Augusta with a party of sixteen Indians to scout the enemy, who after evacuating Fort Duquesne continued to hold Fort Machault at Venango.²¹⁷ Colonel Armstrong had proposed in September, 1758, to lead three hundred provincials against this place;²¹⁸ and at the time of Patterson's venture Colonel Hugh Mercer was preparing for an attack from Pittsburgh, the success of which he feared might be endangered by Patterson's "mad Enterprise . . . does he propose taking one of the Enemies forts, or to catch a french Man out of them?"²¹⁹ But the success of Patterson's venture is reported by the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for April 5:

From Fort Augusta we learn, that a Party of Delawares and one white Man, who went out on a scout some time ago, had returned with a French Prisoner,²²⁰ whom they took a little Way from the Fort at Venango. They were immediately pursued by 70 or 80 French and Indians, but got clear off. The Prisoner is expected soon in Town.

Captain Work, transmitting the returns of this post on May 6, 1759, reported that a friendly Delaware Indian, Job Chilloway, had warned him of a party of Ottawa and Mingo Indians near by. "I hope to have the works in a good situation verely soon," he wrote; "we are Building the bank with Sods, which I am setisfied will stand good."²²¹

In the fall of this year the Fort Augusta garrison was under command of Major Jacob Orndt of the 1st Battalion; and on September 13, 1759, the *Gazette* reported favorably on the situation of the post:

From Fort Augusta we learn, that the Garrison was well there the First Instant: That a Number of Indians were at that Place, in order to trade with our People, who all seemed well satisfied, and very quiet: That there were amongst them some Families from Allegheny, who said they would go and settle at Wyoming: And that several of the Mingo Indians had also

²¹⁶ Trump to Denny, *PAI*, III, 582-83.

²¹⁷ William Patterson to [], January 21, 1759, Shippen Family Papers, IV, 3.

²¹⁸ Forbes to Bouquet, September 17, 1758, *Bouquet Papers*, II, 523.

²¹⁹ Mercer to *id.*, March 1, 1759, *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21644, Vol. I, p. 65.

²²⁰ Identified as Martin Whoolly, or Wooley; his examination, March 20, 1759, is in Amherst Papers, PRO 273, WO 34/33.

²²¹ Work to Burd, Shippen Family Papers, IV, 33.

been at that Fort, and brought with them a white Prisoner, a Lad about sixteen Years of Age, who was carried off from Juniata four Years ago.

Unfortunately, this pleasant picture is marred somewhat by a letter from Orndt to Governor Denny dated September 17. In this the Major reports the dissension caused by one "George Domas, Shoemaker," who upon being refused permission to stay longer at the fort because of his traffic in liquor had gone to the soldiers for backing and was now addressing a petition to the Governor.²²² On October 5 Governor Denny referred the matter to the commissioners:

Inclosed is a Letter from Major Orndt with a Petition from the Garrison of Fort Augusta which is of a very extraordinary nature. As bad consequences may happen from the mutinous disposition of the Soldiers I wish it may be agreeable to you to order the Garrison to be relieved, and if an additional number of Soldiers could be spared I should be glad if the Garrison considering ye importance of this place was stronger.²²³

In the latter part of October, 1759, apparently, Captain Work, then at Fort Bedford, wrote that "Col^o [Thomas] Lloyd has applyd to the General [Stanwix] to be sent to Augusta which was redely Complyd with, he is gone down, he can Drink swear and Eat beef with any man in the service."²²⁴ This is the same Captain Lloyd whom Burd had described at Fort Augusta in 1757 as "A Young Gentleⁿ of a pritty Education & A good Schollar."²²⁵

It appears that Lieutenant Colonel Lloyd did not continue in the Provincial service, however, and that for the time Orndt remained at Fort Augusta.

In anticipation of the disbanding of the "new levies," preparations were made meanwhile for reassignment of the old Pennsylvania companies. A list drawn up apparently by Colonel Burd proposed to send to Fort Augusta Captains Levi Trump and Samuel J. Attlee, Lieutenant Caleb Graydon, Ensigns Adam Henry, Asher Clayton, and

²²² PA2, II, 728-30 (1876 ed.). Orndt wrote again three days later on other matters; see CR, VIII, 401.

²²³ PPC; printed in PA1, III, 686.

²²⁴ Work to [Burd], n. d., Shippen Family Papers, IV, 159. Work mentions a letter written a few days earlier, apparently Work to Burd, Bedford, October 19, 1759, *ibid.*, 189.

²²⁵ Burd, character of officers, n. d. [1757], *ibid.*, III, 111. On one occasion Lloyd had written a dispatch in Latin, apparently assuming that if it were intercepted by the French, they could not read it. See Lloyd to Edward Shippen, August 24, 1756, PA1, II, 759.

Francis Johnston, and a garrison of 8 sergeants, 3 drummers, and 119 rank and file, all of Burd's 2d Battalion; and Colonel Armstrong of the 1st Battalion seems to have approved this except to reduce the number of sergeants to 4 and that of the rank and file to 100.²²⁶ On December 23, 1759, Joseph Shippen wrote from Fort Bedford to Colonel Burd:

As Col^o Armstrong committed to me the Care of send^g the 2nd Battalion to their Stations. I yesterday sent off Cap^t Trump 2 Serj^{ts} 2 Drum^s & 32 R. & F. to F. Augusta to compleat the Garrison there to a hundred Men & to relieve Major Orndt whom I have ordered to repair hither without Delay.²²⁷

On December 7, however, the Assembly had decided not only to disband the new levies but also to reduce most of the old troops, retaining only 150 men in the Provincial pay. Writing to Colonel Burd ten days later, Governor Hamilton advised him that

I propose that those of your Battalion now in Garrison at Fort Augusta & Fort Allen be part of the hundred and fifty men . . . which will make two Companies and if it be agreeable to you to take the Command of one of them I very heartily make you an offer of it and desire in that case you will recommend Subalterns that the Commissions may be made out at the same time. . . .²²⁸

On January 15, 1760, accordingly, the forces were reduced to three companies, each of "Forty four Privates, Two Serjeants a Drum and Three Commission'd Officers," of which two companies were to be stationed at Fort Augusta and Fort Allen. In formal orders dated January 7, the Governor informed Burd that

Agreeable to your desire I propose to continue you in the Command of your own Company, and likewise to give you a Commission to Command the Garrison at Fort Augusta which is to consist of Seventy five Men, that is to say Sixty seven Privates, four Commissioned Officers, Three Serjeants and a Drum Twenty three Privates, an Ensign, and a Serjeant will be ordered from Colonel Mercers Company. . . .²²⁹

²²⁶ Disposition of the 2d Battalion, n. d., Shippen Family Papers, IX, Part I, 267; disposition of the Pennsylvania troops, November 13, 1759, *ibid.*, 273. Relative to these two returns, see Jameson to Burd, December 7, 1759, and Shippen to Burd, December 15, 1759, *ibid.*, IV, 217 and 223.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 233.

²²⁸ Hamilton to Burd, December 17, 1759, *ibid.*, 227.

²²⁹ *Ibid.*, V, 3.

The arrangement had been arrived at before this date, and Burd had already chosen Ensign Caleb Graydon as one of the officers to serve at this new post. Writing from Fort Bedford on January 6, 1760, Shippen told Burd:

Mr Graydon thanks You for Your Friendship to him: But, to avoid any Suspicion, I think it will be best for him to march as far as Loudoun with me & then he can push on to Augusta without calling at Shippensburg or Carlisle; I shall however advise him for the best as soon as I march from hence—²³⁰

On February 2 Captain Trump reported the garrison as comprising himself, Lloyd's ensign, and a total of 117 men.²³¹ Soon afterward, apparently, Lieutenant Caleb Graydon of Burd's company took over the command.

On February 15, 1760, Burd himself took command at the fort, where Graydon had been temporarily in charge. Burd noted that he "Found, at Fort Augusta, Ensign Graydon & 36 men. Little stores, no tools, and everything much out of order." On the 17th the new commandant "Had a Court Martial on Serj^t Thomson for encourageing the old Garrison to Mutiny"; and two days later the old garrison marched off.²³² At this time men of Burd's own company were serving at Fort Bedford under Captain Shippen, who could not spare them because of the mutinous temper of the garrison.²³³

Burd wrote to the Governor on March 1 that he expected "to sett off for Lancaster in 6 or 8 Days & from thence I shall go to Philad^a."²³⁴ In his absence Colonel Hugh Mercer exercised the command, arriving here sometime before March 16 and remaining until the beginning of May.²³⁵

One matter of concern during this period was the plan initiated by Burd to have John Shikellamy, son of the former Six Nations representative at Shamokin, apply to the Six Nations council for permission to open a road for more direct communication between Reading and Fort Augusta.²³⁶ The course of this road had been surveyed by Benjamin Lightfoot in 1759; but it was in fact not opened until several years later.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, IX, Part I, 273.

²³² Burd Journal, PA2, VII, 415-16 (1878 ed.).

²³³ Shippen to Burd, January 21, 1760, Shippen Family Papers, V, 7.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, 17.

²³⁵ Mercer to Burd, Fort Augusta, March 16, 1760, *ibid.*, 19.

²³⁶ Mercer to Hamilton, April 23, 1760, PA1, III, 721.

Another problem was the chronic one of maintaining and improving the works. On April 23, 1760, Mercer reported to Burd that

Jn^o Shekalemy . . . tells me that We may extend our fences as far upon the Plain as we Please that his People will have no Objection to our Making any improvements necessary for the Garrison—The late Rains have demolished a great part of the East Side of the Rampart, part of both faces & flanks are tumbled down, a good dale owing to the weight of the Pickets—That whole Side will require to be done, next [Sum]mer, and it might be worth [think]ing upon, whether the Repairs [might] better be made by revetting the Rampart with Brick, if the fort is intended to be of much duration—²³⁷

By May 3, 1760, Colonel Mercer was at John Harris' setting out on the western campaign of this year.²³⁸ With the resignation of Colonel John Armstrong, Burd now ranked as colonel of the 1st Battalion and Mercer of the 2d, commissioned as of April 12 and 13, respectively. In Mercer's place, Lieutenant Caleb Graydon, promoted as of April 15,²³⁹ resumed the command at Fort Augusta but remained only a short time. On June 5 he wrote to Colonel Burd that

I have gott the new Oven finished, but cannot goe on at any thing else of building with out Horses of which we have but One—And the plaistering of y^r House Must stop untill y^o send up a Seeve or a Riddle.—Our Lime turns out but sorry stuff—²⁴⁰

Captain Francis Johnston arrived on June 20, 1760, to relieve Graydon, who, as Johnston wrote Burd next day, "will sett off for Ft Allen as soon as we have every thing settled here."²⁴¹ Graydon's errand apparently was to pay the Fort Allen garrison and to look into the conduct of the commanding officer there; and in this absence Johnston carried out the Governor's orders for supplying Indian messengers and repairing the fort.²⁴² On August 1 Johnston reported to Burd that "We have gott That part of the Works up and repaired that was tumbled down. . . . L^t Graydon is returned f^m Ft. Allen . . . Poor

²³⁷ Shippen Family Papers, V, 31.

²³⁸ Mercer to Graydon, Harris, May 3, 1760, *PAI*, III, 728. Note also Peters to "Col. Mercer or the Commanding Officer at Fort Augusta," April 30, 1760, *ibid.*, 727-28.

²³⁹ *PA5*, I, 312.

²⁴⁰ Shippen Family Papers, V, 51.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 55.

²⁴² Hamilton to Johnston or to the commander at Fort Augusta, June 28, 1760, *ibid.*, 57; *id.* to Johnston, "Commander in chief of Fort Augusta," July 10, 1760, *ibid.*, 61.

Graydon Alas! ever unfortunate, as he was at Hunter's on his way home, had taken out or lost out of his Pockett Boock with £30- in it which I had sent wth him to inlist Col^o Mercer's Men at F^t Allen."²⁴³

In much more serious mood, Johnston wrote to Governor Hamilton on October 16, 1760, that on that day detachments of Burd's and Mercer's companies had threatened mutiny, saying that their time had expired in the spring and that they had remained in service on the Paymaster's promise of relief by June 1; and they had drawn up an enclosed petition, signed in round-robin fashion by seventeen soldiers.²⁴⁴

Captain Johnston's return of November 1, 1760, details the composition of the garrison as of that date: Of Colonel Burd's company, a lieutenant (Graydon), a surgeon, a sergeant, and thirty-two men; of Colonel Mercer's company, a sergeant, a drummer, and thirteen men; of Johnston's own company, the captain, a lieutenant (unspecified), and eleven men.²⁴⁵

Toward the end of this year Lieutenant Graydon resumed the command. As before, the Pennsylvania forces were reduced at the conclusion of the western campaign; as before, Governor Hamilton retained Colonel Burd to oversee Fort Augusta: "I do hereby empower and appoint You to take upon You the Command of that Garrison retaining . . . Sixty Men besides Officers until You shall [receive] further Orders from me or the Commander in Cheif thereupon," he wrote on December 5.²⁴⁶ In a letter accompanying these orders, Paymaster James Young included the Governor's further instructions: "that the Garrison should be made up of those men that are inlisted for three years, . . . that M^r Graydon should be Continued Liev^t the Ensⁿ he leaves to your own Choise, . . . that there are only to be three Off^{rs} at Augusta A Cap^t Liev^t and Ensⁿ. . . ." ²⁴⁷

A week later Graydon wrote Burd from Fort Augusta:

I arrived here this Morning with the Dispatches for Capt Johnston. He marches off his Party this Afternoon. I have herewith enclosed you a Roll of the Garrison remaining here under their proper Distinctions. They are all exceeding good Men and their Number, added to the Fourty of M^r Hunter's

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 75.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 105, 107. Apparently related to this dispute is the roll printed in *PA5*, I, 308, of forty-seven men to be paid for the period January 15-September 15, 1760.

²⁴⁵ Shippen Family Papers, IX, Part I, 281.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 113.

²⁴⁷ Dated only "From the Ship Parks's Fryday 7 a Clock P:M:" but evidently Friday, December 5.

Command expected here will exceed the Compliment of 60 Men by Four—When Mr Hunter arrives I shall discharge the odd Men which shall be the worst in the whole—²⁴⁸

A subsequent report discloses that Lieutenant Hunter arrived with thirty-one men on December 24.²⁴⁹

At the close of the western campaign of 1760, some provincials had not been released immediately; so when the Assembly met, the Governor asked it to pay these men for their additional service and also to keep up the garrisons at Fort Augusta and Fort Allen. The Assembly at first refused these requests, but on February 5, 1761, altered its stand to the extent of agreeing to maintain thirty men at Fort Augusta until September 10. It appears that the garrison was in fact continued beyond that date, however.²⁵⁰

In January, 1761, Burd visited the fort. Submitting his returns of the garrison, he wrote the Governor from Lancaster on January 20. He had returned on the 8th, he said, and had "nothing Materiall to Acquaint Your Hon^r only that the Parapett on the North side is much fallen down which shall be properly Repair'd as soon as the Season will permitt."²⁵¹

Repair of the parapet was not a pressing matter, for the times were peaceful. Colonel Burd went off on the annual western campaign and left Lieutenant Graydon, assisted by Lieutenant Samuel Hunter, to manage the fort. The return dated June 1, 1761, reports the garrison here as consisting of two officers (a lieutenant and an ensign) and twenty-nine men (including two sergeants and a drummer) of a company under Colonel Burd's command.²⁵² It is to be noted that Samuel Hunter, whom Burd had chosen to serve here as ensign, had on May 2, 1760, been commissioned lieutenant;²⁵³ so his rank was somewhat ambiguous. On December 10, 1763, it may be further noted, Burd was to explain to Governor John Penn that "The Augusta Companys have no Ensign, they are first and Second Lieutenants."²⁵⁴ Returns made by Graydon on September 1, 1761, March 1, 1762, and April 1,

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 115.

²⁴⁹ *PA5*, I, 309-310.

²⁵⁰ *CR*, VIII, 513-14, 752-54; *PA8*, VI, 5186-87. Reduction of the garrison from sixty to thirty men is further documented by a list of the thirty to be discharged on February 21, 1761, in the E. S. Thompson Collection.

²⁵¹ Shippen Family Papers, V, 127.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, IX, Part I, 291.

²⁵³ *PA5*, I, 314.

²⁵⁴ *PA1*, IV, 144. This illustrates the gradual disappearance of the ensign as an army officer.

1763, are identical with the one just mentioned except that they report a full quota of thirty men.²⁵⁵

After his return from the campaign of 1761, Burd visited Fort Augusta on December 28, paid the garrison to November 25, and returned home to Lancaster, from which place he wrote to the Governor on February 5.²⁵⁶ Apparently he was at the fort again in June; for James Young, writing from Philadelphia on the 19th of that month, congratulated him on his return from Augusta.²⁵⁷

During the interwar period 1759-1763, the most important activity at Fort Augusta was the Indian trade carried on at the Provincial store. As has been noted, Nathaniel Holland had arrived here on June 28, 1758; and July 1 Captain Trump wrote to Governor Denny:

I was favoured with your's of the 23^d Ult^o, and agreeable to your orders to me, I have begun to dig the Cellar for the Store house for Indian Goods, but there is not Carpenters Tools here sufficient to Compleat the Building of the House. I have sent to the Commissioners a Copy of the inclosed List, which is of Tools wanting here.²⁵⁸

Trump reported on July 19, 1758, that he could not then work on the store, "but I have for the present fitted up one of the Barracks, that is almost joining the present Indian store, which will hold a great quantity of skins. . . ."²⁵⁹

Along with his official duties as agent, Holland worked to recover white prisoners from the Indian towns on the upper Susquehanna. On October 11, 1759, Holland wrote to the Quaker leader Israel Pemberton that he had married one of the returned captives.²⁶⁰

Holland's presence and activities at the fort created difficulties occasionally. On November 10, 1758, a soldier named Joseph Billings wrote a letter for Job Chilloway, a Delaware Indian, complaining to the Governor that Holland defrauded the Indians by charging varying prices for goods. According to depositions sent by Holland on February 24, 1759, Billings had written the offending letter at the request of Ensign Adam Henry; Job said he had no personal complaint, but acted on the request of another Indian, Ahoalint or Cornelius Loosebome; and Ahoalint denied this.²⁶¹ Colonel Burd reported that on

²⁵⁵ Shippen Family Papers, IX, Part I, 293, 295.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, V, 181.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 193.

²⁵⁸ *PAL*, III, 430; for the list of tools here referred to, see *ibid.*, 478.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 482.

²⁶⁰ Papers Relating to the Friendly Association, III, 395.

²⁶¹ Holland to Denny, February 24, 1759, enclosing copy of depositions of Martha McCoy, Nathaniel Holland, Captain Levi Trump, and Joseph Billings, a soldier, PPC.

March 3, 1760, an Indian tried to kill Holland just outside the fort but was driven off by some of the garrison.²⁶²

Three months later on June 5, Lieutenant Graydon wrote to Colonel Burd, enclosing a letter which Holland had received from the Moravian missionary Christian Frederick Post. Post had been appointed by the Governor to accompany the Delaware leader Teedyuscung to an Indian council near present Sandusky, Ohio; and on May 12 Post had written from Teedyuscung's home at Wyoming that during the chief's absence his wife was to be supplied with provisions from the fort. Graydon had had no other word of this arrangement, but on the strength of Holland's recommendation of Post he had sent two barrels of flour and a hundredweight of pork. He would send no more without orders, however, he said, for Teedyuscung was expected to be gone not less than nine or ten weeks.²⁶³ In actual fact, Teedyuscung did not return to Philadelphia until September;²⁶⁴ and long before that date Graydon had turned over his command.

More Indian captives arrived. On April 20, 1761, a son-in-law of French Margaret (of the mixed French-Indian Montour family) came to the fort and promised to deliver the prisoners held by his family, and within a month he returned with three white women.²⁶⁵ Two of these went on to Philadelphia with the Indian, who delivered them to the Governor on May 29;²⁶⁶ the other, unable to travel on foot, was sent down the river and by way of Lancaster, carrying with her a letter from Graydon to Burd.²⁶⁷

On July 20, 1761, Graydon wrote to Burd of the arrival of "a small Tribe of strange Indians called Sappony's" from Carolina, who were, he said, "in great Stress for Want of Provisions."²⁶⁸ These strangers were among the last of several southern groups—Shawnee, Nanticoke and Conoy, Tuscarora, Tutelo—who at various times sought shelter with the stronger and richer Iroquois.

Writing to the Governor on January 20, 1761, after a visit to Fort Augusta, Burd had noted somewhat drily that "the Indians seem'd in very good humour, & pritty Regular. I had no Complaints from

²⁶² Burd Journal, *PA2*, VII, 417 (1878 ed.).

²⁶³ Shippen Family Papers, V, 51; Christian Frederick Post Journal, 1760, under date of May 12, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

²⁶⁴ *CR*, VIII, 497.

²⁶⁵ Graydon to Hamilton, May 20, 1761, *PA1*, IV, 52.

²⁶⁶ *CR*, VIII, 628.

²⁶⁷ Graydon to Burd, May 20, 1761, Shippen Family Papers, V, 145.

²⁶⁸ *Id.* to *id.*, July 20, 1761, *ibid.*, 159.

the Indian Agent.”²⁶⁹ September, however, was enlivened by Mr. Holland’s renewed complaints. On September 30 the Governor ordered Graydon to put a stop to the trade he was reported to be carrying on with the Indians. As it happened, Graydon had been bartering flour for venison on Burd’s orders. The fort had an oversupply of flour, stored there in the time of a larger garrison; and to avoid loss by spoilage and to save expenditure for meat, Burd had authorized the exchange, overlooking the impingement upon the monopoly of the Provincial trading post. Then, before Graydon replied to this, Holland made the further complaint that Graydon had allowed some of his men to help William Blyth build a trading post eight miles below the fort on the west side of the river; so on October 10, 1761, the Governor wrote again. In his reply dated November 13 the unhappy officer explained his own trade, protested that he had known nothing of Blyth’s intention to trade, and commented on Holland’s self-important ways; and Burd later confirmed Graydon’s explanation.²⁷⁰

On March 25, 1762, Graydon reported to Burd that Holland had returned the previous day from a trip to Philadelphia and that “We Are to have a change here in our Indian Agency immediately.”²⁷¹ Unfortunately, Holland stayed on as clerk to the new agent, and Graydon’s trials were not at an end. Earlier this month Andrew Montour (a cousin of French Margaret) and his son had come to the fort as messengers from George Croghan; on April 10 they returned and to Graydon’s dismay announced their intention of setting up a trading post at the adjacent “Bloody Spring” (where a soldier of the garrison had been shot by an Indian on August 29, 1756). Calling in the new agent James Irvine, Graydon in his presence informed the Montours that he could not permit them to trade; but “They argued, that being Indians, they had a Right to settle anywhere upon Indian Lands.” The younger Montour proposed to go to the Governor, who may have dissuaded them; at least, no more was heard of the matter.²⁷²

On July 12, 1762, Lieutenant Graydon wrote to Joseph Shippen (who had replaced Richard Peters as Provincial Secretary) that the new Indian agent James Irvine had that morning accused Colonel Burd’s clerk, Dennis McCormick, of selling rum to Indians; Nathaniel

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 127.

²⁷⁰ Hamilton to Graydon, September 30, 1761, *ibid.*, 165; *id.* to *id.*, October 10, 1761, *ibid.*, 167; Graydon to Hamilton, November 13, 1761, *ibid.*, 171; Burd to *id.*, February 5, 1762, *ibid.*, 181.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 185.

²⁷² Graydon to Hamilton, March 5, 1762, *ibid.*, 183; *id.* to *id.*, April 10, 1762, *ibid.*, 187.

Holland claimed to have watched the transaction through a peephole.²⁷³ Holland's charge that the alleged irregularities had Burd's approval was hotly denied by Burd;²⁷⁴ and McCormick himself, in a deposition dated July 17, denied the whole transaction.²⁷⁵

Early in August, 1762, delegations of Six Nations and others arrived at Fort Augusta on their way to a great treaty at Lancaster. Western Indians arrived at the latter place on August 8 and the northern delegations on the 13th.²⁷⁶ In the course of the conferences which lasted until August 29, a Six Nations spokesman demanded that the Province evacuate Fort Augusta:

. . . I granted you liberty to build a Fort, because you told me it was the Great King George desired you might build one on my Land. . . .

Now, all the different Tribes of us present, desire that you will call your Soldiers away from Shamokin, for we have concluded a Peace, and are as one Brother. . . .²⁷⁷

The Indians wanted the trading post continued, however; but requested "that the present Storekeepers at Shamokin may be removed, & honest Men placed there in their Room. . . ."

As it turned out, however, the fort was maintained, and it was the store that was closed. On June 7, 1763, the Indian Commissioners re-appointed James Irvine agent at the Fort Augusta store;²⁷⁸ he arrived there June 15, and Holland left two days later. Irvine's deputy, Mr. Carmalt, was at the post from June 18 until July 25, by which time the trade was at an end. On June 7, the day of Irvine's appointment, some Indians who had come to trade had aroused suspicion by insisting on receiving all their pay in gunpowder; and Lieutenant Graydon had begun to exercise added precaution. On June 29 he pulled down three houses at the south end of the "town" that had begun to rise near the fort, and on July 16-19 he had the Indian trading house torn down. Irvine went downriver on July 28 with three bateaux carrying part of the trade goods, and on August 11 he and the same bateaux left with the remainder of the goods.²⁷⁹ The outbreak of Pontiac's

²⁷³ *PAI*, IV, 88; see also Graydon to Burd, July 14, 1762, Shippen Family Papers, V, 199.

²⁷⁴ Burd to Joseph Shippen, July 18, 1762, *PAI*, IV, 88-89.

²⁷⁵ Lancaster County Papers, 133, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

²⁷⁶ Post Journal, 1762, *PAI*, IV, 97-98; *CR*, VIII, 721 ff.

²⁷⁷ *CR*, VIII, 752-53; minutes for August 23.

²⁷⁸ Gratz Collections, Indian Commissioners' Papers.

²⁷⁹ Fort Augusta Journal, 1763, *PA2*, VII, 433-41 (1878 ed.).

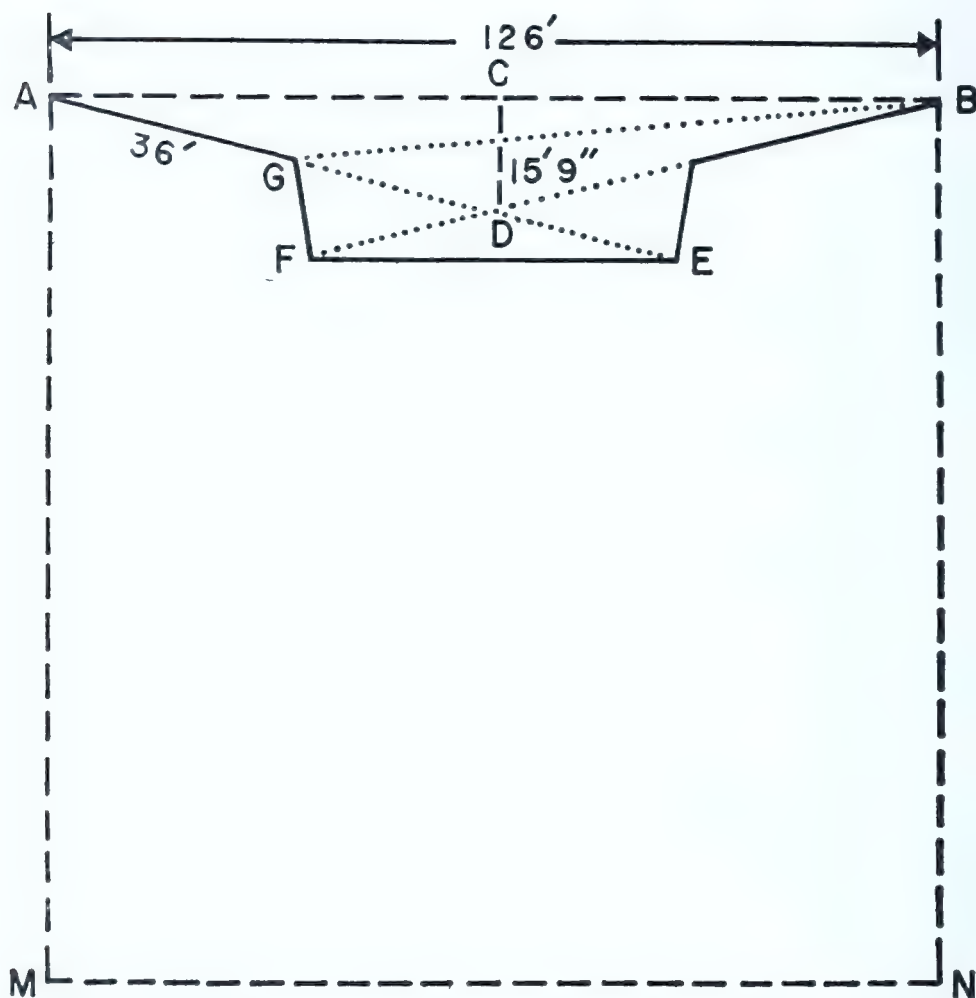
War brought a renewal of strength and activity to the fort, but ended the usefulness of the peaceful trading post.

Built in the summer of 1756 as the largest of the Pennsylvania forts and standing well in advance of the line of frontier defenses, Fort Augusta had first been garrisoned by a distinct battalion or regiment of Provincial troops. Tied more closely to the rest of the defense system by the troop reorganization of 1758, it had then suffered a decline in importance through the withdrawal of troops for the Forbes campaign. Nevertheless, it had survived both this reduction of strength and the general diminution of Provincial military power which followed; and after 1761 it had been the only frontier fort maintained by Pennsylvania. Here in 1763 was the only Provincial garrison to face the outbreak of hostilities which opened a new chapter in the history of this fort.

THE PATTERN FOR THE LAYING OUT OF FORT HALIFAX AND FORT AUGUSTA

In the Gratz Collections at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is a box of manuscripts identified as "French and Indian Wars, 1756," consisting of papers of Robert Hunter Morris, including some letters received by Morris and rough drafts of letters written by him. Among the manuscripts of the latter class is one which appears to be a clerk's rough copy of a communication from Governor Morris to Colonel Clapham. A complete transcript of this paper follows, except for the omission of a few words which are cancelled in the original. The diagram which must have accompanied this communication is not to be found, but is added here as reconstructed.

- A.B.NM The outside square in this plan is 126. feet
- D.C.. the length of the perpendicular always one Eighth
 of the side of the square and is the point where
 the lines of defence cross Each other
- A.E Is the Line of Defence whereof
- AG. Is the face of the Bastion—and is always two
 sevenths of the side of the square.
- G.F Is the flank of the Bastion—and is made by Pricking
 off the distance from B to G upon the Line of
 Defence from B to F
- FE Is the curtain formed by a line Drawn from the
 extremity of the two flanks



METHOD OF LAYING OUT A FORT

If you Judge the forts proposed are too small you may make them larger observing the same proportions—and as you thought a fort with the angles of the Bastions 144 foot distance from each other would be big enough I here set down the Proportions of such a fort—

out side Square	144. feet
the Perpend ^r 1/8 thereof	18.—
The face of the Bastion	41.

In a fort of this Bigness you will have more room for the Barracks and other Houses.

The actual procedure of laying out such a fort must have been somewhat as follows:

Having agreed upon the outside dimensions of the fort, the engineers began by laying out the *great square*, ABNM, which in the present

case was 126 feet on a side. They marked the four corners with stakes and also marked the midpoint of each side, from which the *perpendicular* would be measured.

From the midpoint, C, of one side, and measuring toward the midpoint of the opposite side, they then marked off a distance one-eighth that of the side of the square (in the present case 15 feet 9 inches) to determine point D, which then also was marked by a stake. At this point, as the quoted document observes, the *lines of defense*, AE and BF, cross each other.

Along these lines of defense the engineers then marked off the *face of the bastion*, measuring two-sevenths of the length of the side (in the present case 36 feet) from corner A to point G.

Next, to determine the *flank of the bastion*, GF, they measured the distance BG. When the writer of the quoted document says they "pricked off the distance," he is describing a draftsman using a pair of dividers to draw a plan on paper. The engineers may have measured by fastening an inelastic cord to the stake at B and carrying it across to G; swinging the cord around so that it ran past the stake at D would determine point F, and extending the same cord from A past D would determine point E.

Finally, a line from F to E, connecting the flanks of the bastions, marked the *curtain* of this face of the fort. In one curtain at least, space would be left for a gate.

Repetition of the whole procedure along the other three sides of the square completed the outline of the fort.

It will be noted that Fort Halifax as actually laid out was somewhat larger than the last dimensions given in the transcribed document, measuring 160 feet on the side rather than 144. This fort was therefore a very little larger than the French Fort Duquesne, which, laid out on the same plan but not quite square, measured about 153 by 157 feet. Fort Augusta, laid out on the same plan but larger, measured 204 feet on a side. Forts Ligonier and Pittsburgh, also built on this plan in 1758-1759, measured about 175 and 150 feet, respectively.

The British Take Over

BY 1758 the building of forts on the Pennsylvania frontier had passed through two phases. During the first of these, beginning in 1753, the forts were built in the western limits of the Province not by Pennsylvania itself but by French enemies or Virginia rivals who strove for control of lands to which they as well as Pennsylvania laid claim. During the second phase, beginning in 1755, the forts were built by the Province, but stood in the southeastern area not far from the borders of the settled country.

From the time of General Braddock's disastrous campaign in 1755 until the opening of General Forbes' successful one three years later, Pennsylvania had of necessity borne the unaccustomed burden of responsibility for military action. Although the experience of raising and directing a military force had been a peculiarly trying one for this Province, its achievements during that time were by no means inconsiderable. Its accomplishments included the construction of a system of fortified posts, ranging from minor blockhouses guarded by a half-company, to Fort Augusta, which was garrisoned by eight companies or four hundred men. Fifteen of these posts were in use in the early months of 1758. To man them, moreover, the Province had raised and maintained a force of 1,400 officers and men.

Until 1758 the forts and the troops were parts of one system of defense. The campaign of this year, however, and the preparations for it broke this pattern and separated its two component parts. In the preparations, Pennsylvania first discarded the geographical organization of its existing military force and then doubled its strength by raising and assigning new companies without regard for the old system of garrisons. In the campaign itself, finally, the Pennsylvania troops and the Provincial forts were almost completely divorced; to state the matter in general terms, the troops went on the expedition, the forts were left behind.

This general statement needs to be qualified, since some of the troops were left behind to guard the eastern portion of the frontier,

and the western forts were, with the possible exception of Carlisle Fort, used in the campaign. The general removal of the Provincial troops remains the significant fact, however; men and forts had thereafter their separate histories, with the mobile troops playing a more important role than that of the stationary and outmoded Provincial forts.

In 1758 Pennsylvania's first experiment in self-defense came to an end, and the British took over. This is not to say that the Province's military obligations ended in this year. On the contrary, the campaigns of this and the following years required double the number of soldiers previously maintained by the Province. However, the financial burden was lightened after 1758 by the Crown's assumption of part of the military expense. Moreover, and more significant, the British government assumed responsibility for the conduct of the war, and the Provincial troops became in practice, as they had been in theory, auxiliaries to the British regulars.

A third phase in the history of Pennsylvania frontier forts began in 1758. From this year until 1763, it was the British army rather than the Provincial authorities who constructed the new forts, which were located in the southern and western parts of the Province. The earliest of these British posts were built to support the advance against Fort Duquesne. With the fall of this French stronghold and the erection of Fort Pitt, a new system was begun. Fort Pitt was the central point, with lines of posts guarding communications from it to the settled regions to the eastward and also to remoter British forts in the western area. After the creation of the British posts, the Provincial forts fell into decay except for Fort Augusta, where the Province continued to maintain a small garrison, and for such of the western Provincial forts as were incorporated into the British military system.

However altered and superseded in 1758, the Provincial experience in frontier defense was of lasting effect. The Province, it is true, never again attempted to duplicate its original system; and as early as 1763 when it had to defend essentially the same frontier, Pennsylvania used a different approach. In particular, there was notably less emphasis on the construction of fortifications requiring fixed garrisons. Despite these changes, however, some of the practices and attitudes developed during the period of self-defense persisted into the time of the American Revolution and even later.

The most obvious of these consequences was the acceptance by Pennsylvania of the need for a military establishment. The lesson which

Pennsylvanians began to learn at Penns Creek on October 16, 1755, was not easily forgotten, the more especially when emphasized by the experience of two periods of conflict within the following decade and by uneasy Indian relations thereafter. Maintenance of this military establishment through the years 1755-1758 provided the Province for the first time in its history with a considerable body of men with military experience. Most of these trained men, and others less experienced, served under General Forbes and in later campaigns, and some of them served in the Revolution. Virginia, it is true, furnishes the most familiar example of a Revolutionary leader who had his early training in the French and Indian War, but there were others less famous; and Washington's subordinates included soldiers similarly trained in Pennsylvania, among whom the best-known probably are John Armstrong and Hugh Mercer.

A second product of these years was a clearer recognition of the back country as not merely a less developed adjunct of the seaboard settlements but as a region with its own distinctive characteristics and problems. In 1755 the Pennsylvania settlements were just beginning to expand beyond the first real mountain barriers, but the outlying settlers were too few and scattered to constitute any distinct group. Within the mountain barrier the cultivated parts of the Province were joined by relatively good communications which together with Pennsylvania's long freedom from any real Indian hostility had delayed recognition of the interior country as a distinct region. The outbreak of hostilities, however, had put the matter in a new light; Indian attacks and governmental neglect, both real and suspected, had stimulated in the frontier settlers a sense of separate status. Animosity toward Indians and resentment of the dominant political position of the older counties became thereafter increasingly familiar and characteristic traits of the frontier region.

The matter of Indian relations is especially to be noted because of its effect upon the establishment and maintenance of the frontier forts. Once begun, the pattern of Indian-white hostility persisted, despite treaty, trade, and official concern, long after the cessation of Anglo-French warfare; and white hatred and Indian resentment, equally implacable and equally indiscriminate, shadowed the later days of the Pennsylvania frontier.

A less permanent frontier product of these troubled years was a warmer regard for British authority inspired by the Crown's provision of military protection. The Royal Americans, whom General Loudoun

ordered to the western counties in 1757, were welcomed by the hard-pressed settlers. Captain Oswald of this regiment won "the Esteem and love" of the people by sending some of his company to the Berks County frontier; and Cumberland County, as has been noted, elected Colonel Stanwix, the commander, to represent them in the Provincial Assembly. After Stanwix, General Forbes and Colonel Bouquet in turn were singularly successful in gaining the affections of Pennsylvanians, and it cannot be doubted that in their cases, too, military success was a major factor.

Unwilling and unable to wage offensive warfare on its own initiative, weary of the burden of defense and of political stumbling blocks which the British officers could override, the Province was in 1758 generally, if not entirely, willing for the British to assume the military responsibilities and was prepared to contribute to the campaign necessary to bring the war to an end. It was thus that the British took over.

Appendix

The Private Forts

FREQUENT REFERENCE has been made in connection with the early Indian alarms in Pennsylvania to the "private forts" established as local refuges. Though not forts in any real military sense, these local defenses quickly became a common feature of the frontier and were very important to those settlers who chose to remain in the more exposed parts of the Province rather than seek safety elsewhere. However insignificant individually, these "private forts" cannot as a class be disregarded in any general survey of the period. Not only were these "private forts" important at the time, but it was they, rather than the more formal fortifications, that furnished the model for the frontier forts of a later day, when Pennsylvania relied on militia rather than on regular Provincial troops for border defense.

The distinction between these local defenses and the regular forts, well enough understood at the time, has not always been observed by later writers. The essential difference is this: that while the regular forts were garrisoned by paid troops in the Provincial (or British) service, the "private forts" were maintained by volunteers, either militia companies or informal groups of settlers, self-sustaining or privately maintained, though in some instances furnished guns and ammunition by the government. Obviously, what was originally a "private fort" might later be garrisoned by paid troops and so achieve a new status or, evacuated by the troops, it might revert to private status.

The distinction between these two classes of defenses was usually, though not invariably, observed in their names; the name "Fort Augusta," for example, is in the style of a regular fort, while "McCord's Fort" illustrates the usual form for "private forts." Change of status usually was reflected in change of name: Patterson's Fort, when recognized as an official post, became Fort George, and Hunter's Fort became Fort Hunter; Hyndshaw's Fort, however, resisted change and never really became known as Fort Hyndshaw. Later writers, disregarding or perhaps unaware of this distinction, have tended to give

the "private forts" a false dignity, incorrectly using such forms as "Fort Davis" or "Fort McCord."

Since surviving descriptions show that even the regular forts utilized older structures where practicable, it should not be surprising that "private forts" almost invariably consisted of previously-existing buildings adapted to a new use. Large, solidly built, well-situated structures were preferred, of course; mills commonly were selected, but houses, barns, or even churches might be used. The usual devices are illustrated by John Harris, who in 1755 cut loopholes in his house and then surrounded it with "an excellent Stockade." Ignoring the fact that these buildings were used only temporarily for defense, writers occasionally speak of a "private fort" as built, for example, about 1730, when the correct statement would be that a structure dating from about 1730 was used as a fort after 1755. The point is of some importance because the careless statement helps to give a false picture of the early Pennsylvania frontier.

Unfortunately, not only the brief histories but even the identities of these "private forts" are difficult to determine. Some which later were taken over by the Province and so achieved official status are in the present book included in the histories of the Provincial forts; others involved in significant events also have been mentioned. To this list a number of other such defenses mentioned in the surviving records of the day or in the published recollections of contemporaries can be added; and some of these are noted briefly in the list which follows.

Undoubtedly, there were others equally or more important but unnoticed in the records; and other names may come to light in documents now unknown; but it is not safe to go beyond the known sources. That a "private fort" is known only by tradition is no reflection on its authenticity, but traditions suffer alteration in the fond retelling, and their accuracy often cannot be checked. Romantic fancy, furthermore, has tended to identify as a frontier fort any surviving structure appropriately ruinous or imagined to be sufficiently old; and distinguishing between these later inventions and honest (even if mistaken) tradition can be a delicate matter.¹

Omission of any "private fort" from the following list is therefore

¹ Occasional errors may be purely verbal in origin. German-speaking settlers called any log house a blockhouse; so the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for February 2, 1747/8, carried a bilingual advertisement for land in Kingessing Township, "with a log-house thereon," "mit ein block haus darauff." The words *ford* (of a stream) and *fork* (of a road or a stream) in manuscripts are easily misread as *fort*; the French so misread Washington's journal in 1754. See *Pennsylvania History*, XIX (1952), 12, 14.

no denial of its existence, but only indicates a lack of documentation. The list is restricted to the area and the period covered by the body of the text, and the "private forts" are, like the regular defenses, grouped by the counties as they then existed rather than in terms of their present boundaries.

No attempt has been made to list the numerous houses and plantations to which small troop detachments were assigned on temporary service; for these places were in no sense of the word "forts." Examples of such temporary stations are the seasonal harvest assignments made by Lieutenant Colonel Weiser on July 9, 1756, or those reported by Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong on July 25, 1757. The patrol stations proposed in a plan of about February, 1756, for the defense of Cumberland County also belong in this class. Some features of this plan were adopted in modified form, but there is no real evidence that the patrol system was set up as proposed; and even if it was, the stations could hardly be regarded as forts in any official sense. There is evidence that one of them, Philip Davis', was in fact a "private fort," and the others may have been too, though proof of this is lacking.

NORTHAMPTON COUNTY

Other than the posts garrisoned by the Province, the only significant defenses in Northampton County were those devised by the Moravians. This religious group, officially the *Unitas Fratrum*, resembling the Quakers in their disapproval of violence but differing in acknowledgment of the principle of self-defense, set up stockades and organized guards at five of their properties.

Wishing these guards to have official status, the Brethren on March 27, 1757, requested Governor Denny to issue commissions to their officers; and the commissions were granted on April 4.² Under this arrangement George Klein and John Ortlieb commanded the watch at the *Bethlehem* headquarters, where according to a report dated July 26 five men kept the night watch and sixty-nine men were armed. Henry Frey, "Chief Overseer" of the guards at and near Nazareth, had four places under his supervision. At *Nazareth* itself, where Nicholas Shaffer was in command, three men composed the night watch, and all but seven of the men were armed; at *Friedensthal*, a mill east of Nazareth, Philip Trentson commanded, and all the men were armed; at *Gnadenthal*, west of Nazareth, Abraham Hesler was in command, two men maintained the night watch, and all but five were armed;

² CR, VII, 459-60, 464; PA2, II, 704-706 (1876 ed.).

at *Christiansbrunn*, finally, just beyond Gnadenthal, Godfried Shwarz commanded, one man kept the watch, and eighteen operated as a scouting party.³

The Provincial paymaster, James Young, who inspected the eastern forts in 1756, took brief notice on June 25 of the stockade at Friedenthal: "... past by Nazareth Mill Round which is a Large but Slight Staccade abt 400 ft. one way, and 250 the other, with Logg houses at the Corners for Bastions."⁴

Brodhead's Fort stood at present East Stroudsburg, Monroe County. This neighborhood was attacked on December 11, 1755, by Indians, reportedly a hundred in all, who burned some buildings including the barn and other outbuildings at Brodhead's, where, however, they were driven away from the house.⁵ It appears that some Provincial soldiers were posted here in the following spring, apparently only for a short time.⁶ On October 29, 1756, Daniel Brodhead wrote that "This day the Inhabitants of this Township have at their own Election chosen me to be their Cap^t and have Signed a Petition to his Honour [Governor Denny] Describing their want of a livelihood and desiring him to assist them by Putting one over them as they Enlist. . . ."⁷ However, with Fort Hamilton and its garrison so near by, the Province would have had little reason to set up a second command in the vicinity. On June 23, 1757, Indians struck again in this neighborhood and burned Brodhead's house.⁸

BERKS AND LANCASTER COUNTIES

As has been pointed out, a line of watchposts was organized in western Berks and in Lancaster County prior to the assignment of the Provincial garrisons. Designed to guard the usual mountain passes, they made use of conveniently situated houses and other buildings. Most of these posts were replaced by Provincial forts and therefore have been noticed in the accounts of those defenses. Briefly, listing the stations from east to west, these posts included *Dietrich Six's* at

³ *PAI*, III, 242-44.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 681. See also W. C. Reichel, "Friedensthal and Its Stockaded Mill," Moravian Historical Society, *Transactions*, II (1886), 1-36.

⁵ *CR*, VI, 756-60; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, December 18, 1755, using the term "Broadhead's Fort."

⁶ Morris to the Provincial Commissioners, April 20, 1756, *PAI*, II, 637.

⁷ Brodhead to Nicholas Scull, Land Records, Letters Received, 1713-1853, Public Records Division.

⁸ Van Etten Journal, *PAI*, III, 230; Parsons to Denny, June 26, 1757, Northampton County Papers, Bethlehem and Vicinity, 1741-1849 (referred to in *CR*, VII, 621).

"Tolihaio," *Peter Hedrick's* at Swatara Gap, *Adam Reed's* near Indian-town Gap, *Samuel Robinson's Mill* near Manada Gap, and *Samuel Hunter's Mill* at the Susquehanna River.

Brown's Fort when garrisoned by provincials became Fort Manada. It stood about a half-mile below Manada Gap and about two and a half miles above Robinson's mill. "James Brown that lives in ye forth" (Manada Fort) was killed by Indians on August 6, 1756.⁹ Robert Brown, presumably a member of James's family, filed an application for this land on September 17, 1756, but on October 26, 1770, sold his right to William Thom, to whose son it was patented.¹⁰ See the account of Fort Manada.

John Harris' Fort at present Harrisburg illustrates the common procedure in devising a "private fort." As is elsewhere noted, Harris wrote on October 23, 1755, that he could "raise a Stockade Fort here," but that he could not maintain a guard.¹¹ Six days later he wrote that "I have this day cut holes in my House";¹² and on April 19, 1756, it was reported that "John Harris has built an excellent Stockado round his house."¹³ The establishment of a garrison at Fort Hunter made Harris' situation less critical; and the military importance of this place lay rather in its situation at the point where roads along the fortified frontier crossed the river which served as road to Fort Augusta. For this reason, and not to serve as a garrison, small parties of troops were from time to time stationed here. References to the "fort" itself are rare, though the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported that on Sunday night, July 16, 1758,

as Mr. Harris and some People were sitting in a Room in his House, a Gun was attempted to be fired at them through a Loophole, but luckily it happened not to go off; upon which the Neighbourhood was alarmed by some Guns from the Fort, and the next Morning the Track of an Indian was seen.¹⁴

Peter Hedrick's (Hederich, Hederick, Heidrick, Hendrick, Heterich): See the account of Fort Swatara.

Heidelberg Moravian Church stood in present North Heidelberg Township, Berks County. A member of the congregation, writing on December 23, 1755, reported that Conrad Weiser's efforts to organize

⁹ Reed to Shippen, August 7, 1756, *PAI*, II, 738.

¹⁰ Application No. 805; Copied Surveys, D-5, page 261; Patent Book H-25, page 170; all in Bureau of Land Records.

¹¹ Harris to Peters, Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, VII, 127.

¹² *Id.* to Shippen, *CR*, VI, 655-56.

¹³ Shippen to Morris, April 19, 1756, *PAI*, II, 635.

¹⁴ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, July 20, 1758.

the people had been unsuccessful and that the frontier guard's time would expire in eight days, and that the Moravians had decided to strengthen their *gemeinhausz* (meetinghouse).¹⁵

Samuel Hunter's Mill. See the account of Fort Hunter.

Lancaster. Following the Penns Creek massacre on October 16, 1755, wild rumors circulated of invasion by an enemy force, and even that "1500 French and Indians had burnt Lancaster Town to the Ground."¹⁶ For a time the residents of this place talked of building a fort, but nothing came of the plans. Writing to James Hamilton on December 1, 1755, Edward Shippen referred to "Jo's Plan of a Stockaded Fort which the people would build if they were able, on the North end of Queen Street, and they would be glad to have another on the west end of Kings Street, to y^e S^o E^t, but I tell them, one must Serve turn for the present." Writing again four days later, Shippen added that "The ffort was to have been a Stockade the Logs Split in y^e middle & set on end three feet In y^e Ground & placed on y^e North side of the Town between Queen Street & Duke street & y^e Curtains to [be] 100 feet Square the flanks of the Bastions 16 feet & the fronts or faces of y^e Bastions 30 feet each."¹⁷

"Jo" (Edward's son Joseph Shippen) was on April 3, 1756, commissioned a captain in the Provincial service and transferred his interest in military engineering to the building of Fort Augusta.

Captain McKee's Fort, referred to by Edward Shippen in a letter of April 19, 1756, was in fact Hunter's Mill, where Captain Thomas McKee was then in command.¹⁸ By confusing this reference with others to "McKee's store" (present Dauphin) and to McKee's plantation, some writers have created an imaginary fort. See accounts of Fort Hunter and of McKee's Store.

Adam Reed's: See the account in Chapter VIII.

Philip Robinson's (Robison, Robeson) was about a mile and a half east of Manada Fort near the head of Bow Creek.¹⁹ The original tract was surveyed the 24th of 12th month, 1745 (February 24, 1746), on a warrant of November 29, 1744, to Philip Robinson; the patent to

¹⁵ Johannes Meyer to [Bishop] Joseph [Spangenberg], Archives of the Moravian Church, Landgemein Reports and Letters.

¹⁶ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 20, 1755.

¹⁷ Drafts in Balch Collection, Shippen-Balch Papers, 41, 42; printed inaccurately in I. Daniel Rupp, *History of Lancaster County*, 336-37.

¹⁸ Shippen to Morris, *PAI*, II, 634-35.

¹⁹ Adam Reed's well-known letter, printed in *CR*, VII, 303, places "Philip Robeson's" three-fourths of a mile from "Manady Fort"; but the surveys show this to be an error.

Philip Robeson is dated November 14, 1767.²⁰ H. M. M. Richards, not having examined the land records, assumed this place to be the same as Samuel Robinson's and tentatively identified the "private fort" actually at Philip Robinson's as "Brown's Fort."²¹ See the account of Fort Manada.

Samuel Robinson's Mill was at the present Manada Hill on a tract of land warranted to John McCurry on January 10, 1737, but subsequently on August 8, 1743, warranted to Robinson. The tract was later occupied by Samuel Robinson's eldest son Thomas, whose widow Eaffy became the wife of Timothy Green. A recital of the tract's history is included in the patent granted Timothy and Eaffy Green on July 8, 1761.²² H. M. M. Richards, an able member of the 1893 Commission to Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts, unfortunately confused Robinson's (later Green's) mill with another mill owned by Green, which stood almost three miles farther north at the entrance to the gap. However, this mill (later known as Early's mill) never belonged to Robinson.²³ See also the account of Fort Manada.

Dietrich Six's is notable chiefly for the Indian attack of November 15, 1756, in which six men of the watch were killed.²⁴ The post was replaced by Fort Henry, which, however, stood a short distance away. See the account of Fort Henry.

Captain Smith's Fort, referred to by Adam Reed in a letter of about October 25, 1756, was in fact Fort Swatara, then commanded by Captain Friedrich Schmitt (Frederick Smith).²⁵ See the account of Fort Swatara.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY

The part of the frontier west of the Susquehanna in Cumberland County had the largest number of "private forts," and for fairly obvious reasons. Geographically, this was the settled part of the Province nearest the French forts, and since its settlements sprawled beyond the

²⁰ Application No. 805; Copied Surveys, D-5, p. 261; Patent Book H-25, p. 470; all in Bureau of Land Records.

²¹ *Frontier Forts*, I, 32-41.

²² Patent Book AA-2, pp. 317-19, Bureau of Land Records. As there described and as shown in Copied Surveys, B-7, p. 237, this tract is unmistakable, and its lines remain clearly visible on the modern aerial survey maps. Its outline resembles that of an old shoe with the toe pointing west; Manada Creek forms much of its western side, and the village of Manada Hill lies just under the toe of the "shoe."

²³ *Frontier Forts*, I, 33.

²⁴ *PAI*, II, 503.

²⁵ *CR*, VII, 303.

Blue Mountain it had no natural defense line such as that range provided much of the settled country east of the river. The Indian attacks which this area suffered in the fall of 1755 and the spring and summer of 1756 increased the problems of defense; and in this county the shortcomings of a patrol line based on the four somewhat isolated Provincial forts were soon apparent.

In July, 1755, on receipt of news of Braddock's defeat, Governor Morris had directed the settlers to construct forts at Carlisle and Shippensburg; and after the attack at Penns Creek a group of eighteen settlers from Cumberland and York counties had met at Shippensburg on October 30 and voted that "Five large Forts be built Viz^t at Carlisle, Shippensburg, Collonel Chambers's, M^r Steells Meeting House, & at Will^m Alleson's Esq^r." ²⁶

Subsequent Indian attacks, the first on November 1, disrupted the orderly execution of this plan and resulted in the evacuation of some settlements and in the establishment of numerous "private forts" for the protection of other localities. Thus on February 15, 1756, William Trent wrote from Carlisle that "all the People have left their Houses betwixt this and the Mountain, some come to Town and others gathering into little Forts; they are moving their Effects from Shippensburgh, every one thinks of flying. . . ." ²⁷

Successful enemy attacks having demonstrated the limited value of these private forts, Governor Denny undertook to regulate them. Following Armstrong's attack on Kittanning, the Governor visited Cumberland County in October, 1756, with Lieutenant Elias Meyer, a British army engineer; and, as the Governor afterward reported, "the Country People dispirited and running into little Forts for a present security, which being a great detriment to the general Safety, an Order was given to have them immediately examined, that such as were tenable and placed at proper distances and in good places, might be continued and the rest to be demolished." ²⁸

As in the country east of the Susquehanna, some posts in Cumberland County which originated as "private forts" were afterward transformed into Provincial posts. Accounts of those mentioned in contemporary documents are listed below:

William Allison's at present Greencastle, Franklin County, was named on October 30, 1755, as one of the five large forts to be built

²⁶ Lamberton Scotch-Irish Collection, I, 23.

²⁷ *PAI*, II, 575.

²⁸ *CR*, VII, 278.

by the people. Further data are wanting, though local historians have expressed the belief that the place was in fact used as a fort.²⁹

Bigham's Fort was near present Honey Grove, Juniata County. This may be the "fort at Tuscarora" supposed to have been attacked on March 29, 1756 (see also Stewart's Fort).³⁰ An account of arms and ammunition distributed by the Province includes a quarter-cask of powder and seventy-five pounds of lead delivered on April 7, "To Samuel Bigher, of Tuscarora Valley."³¹ The *Pennsylvania Gazette* for June 17, 1756, reports "that on Friday Night last [June 11] Captain Bigham's Fort, in Tuscarora Valley, was destroyed by the Indians." The following issue of the same paper (June 21, 1756), contains a "List of the Persons killed and missing at Bigham's Fort."³²

Chambers' Fort at present Chambersburg, Franklin County, was one of the five forts local settlers agreed to build in the meeting of October 30, 1755. Benjamin Chambers' own account appears in a petition of October 3, 1768, to Thomas Penn:

The pitishon of Benjamin Chambers most humbely sheweth that your pitishoner heath patented under your honnor five hundred and fifty Acres of Land in the yeair 1742 in the County of Cumberland and a 151 miles west of the City of philadelphia whereon I built a Large Stockeaid fort when the war broke out wherein is a marchant mill and water at will So that Sir John St Cleair q.m.g. gaue his Judgmen^t that it was the most defensabel fort on the fronteers, I with the assistance of as many of the melishia as would venture to stay with me kept S^d fort without aney Expence to the king or prouance dureing the war, and all the generals that went on the westron Expedishoⁿ With there armeycs in Camped there over might [*sic*] general Bradack Excepted that went up by the way of Virginia and as it is a good Situation and as it may be Verrey uselull if a war would breake out ageain I Leaid out on S^d tract a Regular plan of a town. . . .³³

²⁹ William H. Egle (ed.), *Notes and Queries . . .*, Third Series, III, 206; William R. Davison, "Historical Sketch of East Conococheague Church," *Kittochintny Historical Society, Papers*, XI (1928-1939), 594-95.

³⁰ *PA1*, II, 613.

³¹ *PA2*, II, 696 (1876 ed.).

³² See also Robert Stewart to Washington, June 20, 1756: "Yesterday one Morgan from Pennsylvania inform'd us that on Monday last one of the Forts on the Frontier of that Province had surrender'd to a large Body of the Enemy—." Although the indicated date was June 14, Bigham's may be the place meant. See Hamilton (ed.), *Letters to Washington*, I, 283.

³³ Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, X, 172.

Chambers, who had been a colonel in the 1748 Association,³⁴ apparently assembled a party at the time of the Indian attack on the Coves on November 1, 1755.³⁵ On November 25 four swivel guns and a supply of ammunition were shipped by the Province "for Chambers & McDowell's Mills";³⁶ the authorities' unsuccessful attempts a year later to recover these swivels from Chambers are mentioned in the account of Fort Morris. Some of Chambers' militia company joined Captain Culbertson in pursuit of the Indians who took McCord's Fort; and Ensign John Reynolds of Chambers' company was among those killed in the encounter at Sideling Hill on April 2, 1756. James McCullough's record of casualties from Indian attacks lists on "April 2, 1757, William McKinnie and his son was killed near Chambers's fort."³⁷ Of four letters written at this place by Colonel Bouquet on July 23, 1759, three are dated at "Chambers's Fort," one at "Fort Chamber's."³⁸

Fort Conococheague probably was a local and unofficial name for Fort Loudoun, the only Provincial fort on Conococheague Creek. The name appears as *Kanegouhi* in the French account of one of Captain Joseph Armstrong's men questioned at Niagara on July 27, 1757, and as *Fort Canagojigge* in the account of Mary Jemison, captured on April 5, 1758. See the account of Fort Loudoun.

Coombs's Fort is mentioned by the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on February 12, 1756, in "a true Account of the Damage done by the Indians at the Canalaways, in Cumberland County [Tonoloway Creek, Fulton County], on the 28th of last Month . . . Richard Stillwell, was at a Neighbour's House when his was attacked, and from thence got into Coombs's Fort."

Croghan's Fort at present Shirleysburg, Huntingdon County, was originally George Croghan's trading post at Aughwick. After being made a Provincial fort it was for a time under his command and continued to be called informally by his name. See the account of Fort Shirley.

Cross's Fort is twice mentioned in James McCullough's list of Indian

³⁴ *PA5*, I, 24.

³⁵ See *PA1*, II, 461 and 463, for references to a letter from "Collo Benjamin Chambers," and *CR*, VI, 675-76, for a copy of this letter, dated November 2, 1755, at "Fallow [Falling] Spring."

³⁶ *PA2*, II, 695 (1876 ed.).

³⁷ Loudon (ed.), *Narratives*, II, 207.

³⁸ *Col. Bouquet Papers*, Series 21652, pp. 190-94.

casualties: "July 8, 1757, two boys taken from Cross's fort, conococheague"; "August 15, 1757, William Manson and his son killed near Cross's fort, conococheague."³⁹

Culbertson's Fort was at present Culbertson, Franklin County. On August 1, 1755, the Lurgan Township militia, commanded by Captain Alexander Culbertson, petitioned Governor Morris for arms and ammunition⁴⁰ and were furnished twenty-five guns and a supply of powder and lead.⁴¹ Culbertson's militia joined Captain Hance Hamilton's Provincial troops in pursuit of the Indians who on April 1, 1756, took McCord's Fort; and Captain Culbertson was killed in an encounter at Sideling Hill on the following day.⁴² On August 31, 1758, the *Pennsylvania Gazette* reported "That a little Way from Culbertson's Fort the Indians killed one Stewart, and carried off his Wife."

Cuthbertson's Fort is mentioned in James McCullough's list of Indian victims: "June 17 [1757], one man killed at Cuthbertson's fort, four men shot at the Indian while scalping the man."⁴³ Probably the name should be *Culbertson*.

David Davis' Fort appears in a letter from the Reverend John Steel, printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for March 18, 1756:

On Sunday, the Twenty-ninth of February, about Twelve o'Clock two Boys at a small Distance from David Davis's Fort, in the Little Cove, Cumberland County, were fired on by three Indians, when one of the Boys escaped, and apprized the Fort. The Indians immediately came up and took Possession of the Barn, and fired often on the Fort, which at this Time had but eight or ten Men in it. One of the Shots killed an old Man, Father-in-Law to David Davis. The Fort returned the Fire briskly, and it is believed did Execution, several Fragments of burnt Bones being afterwards found in the Barn. The Indians failing in their Attempt, divided themselves into two Parties, being computed in all to be about Twenty, and left the Fort. . . .

Philip Davis' Fort was near present Welch Run, Franklin County. That its owner was among the recipients of Provincial aid is shown by a letter dated February 24, 1756, in which Edward Shippen acknowledged receipt of "Orders for the Delivery of One hundred weight of Powder & two hundred weight of Lead to M^r Philip Davis."⁴⁴ The

³⁹ Loudon (ed.), *Narratives*, II, 208.

⁴⁰ CR, VI, 533.

⁴¹ PA1, II, 392; PA8, V, 4357.

⁴² *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 22, 1756.

⁴³ Loudon (ed.), *Narratives*, II, 207.

⁴⁴ Shippen to Peters, Peters Manuscripts, IV, 49.

Pennsylvania Gazette on July 29, 1756, published a report that about July 20 "a Dutchman and his Wife were scalped near Philip Davie's, on the Maryland Side of the Line." The most direct reference undoubtedly appears in "The Petition of Philip Davis and other Inhabitants of Peters Township," which reads in part: "That your Petitioners have a Fort, called Philip Davis's Fort, on the West Side of Conigogig which (by reason of Eleven People being killed, the Week before last, and six Captivated) is dayly Dissarted by it's Men who are now but thirteen in number. . . ." ⁴⁵ Although this document is not dated, endorsements place it after September, 1756, when Denny replaced Morris as governor: "recommended to Gov^r Morris who is desird to make him selfe well acquainted wth the merits & intercede wth Gov^r Denny for this good Man"; and, following this, "Mentioned this to M^r Denny who said he would give order accordingly." Moreover, the Indian attack here referred to seems to be that of which Thomas Barton wrote to Richard Peters on April 4, 1757: "On Saturday last [April 2] at a Place call'd Back-Run within two Miles of Colonel Chambers's House, eleven Persons were murder'd, & two Families are missing, suppos'd to be taken captive." ⁴⁶ Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong's account of a party of Cherokees who entered Pennsylvania on May 1, 1757, says these Indians "found the Tracks of the Enemy Indians who committed the late Mischiefs near the Mouth of Connigochegue, which they followed into this Province, called at Philip Davis' and Justice Maxwell's Forts, & lodged at a Place called Black's Mill, about ffive Miles from Fort Loudoun. . . ." ⁴⁷

"Fort Franklin" is a name that appears twice only in allegedly contemporary sources. A purported "disposition of the force" in 1755 includes "[Fort] Franklin, at Shippensburg, 50 [men]." However, this list is certainly a late and inaccurate compilation; and the other reference appears in a letter, purportedly written at Carlisle in 1754, which prematurely mentions "fort Augusta" and "fort Loudon." ⁴⁸ The absence of any mention of this fort in known authentic records makes it more than probable that the place intended was Fort Morris.

Harron's Fort is mentioned in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for April 14, 1757: "Two Indians were seen on the Sixth Instant near Harron's Fort, about twelve Miles from Carlisle."

⁴⁵ Gratz Collections, French and Indian Wars, 1756.

⁴⁶ Peters Manuscripts, IV, 85.

⁴⁷ *CR*, VII, 503.

⁴⁸ Hazard (ed.), *Register*, IV (1829), 390.

Allen Killough's Fort is mentioned in Captain Shippen's journal at Fort Augusta under date of August 16, 1756: "This Day 5 Dutchmen arrived from Tulpehocken, & bro^t a Letter from Jn^o Harris confirm^g the News of the reduction of Fort Granville & inform^g that Forts Shirley & Allen Killoughs Fort at Canogochegue were also taken."⁴⁹ The report regarding Fort Shirley was erroneous.

"*Fort Louthier*" like "Fort Franklin," is a name known only from the "Provincial Correspondence: 1750 to 1765" printed in Hazard's *Register* in 1829. There it appears three times, once in a purported list of Provincial garrisons in 1755: "[Fort] Louthier, at Carlisle,—50 [men]"; once in a purported letter of 1754 which refers also to Fort Augusta, built two years later, and to Fort Loudoun, built in 1757;⁵⁰ and once in a letter allegedly from "GEORGE CROGHAN" and dated "Fort Louthier, June 6, 1755."⁵¹ The list of garrisons is very inaccurate, however; the anonymous 1754 letter is a clumsy fraud; and the Croghan letter is suspiciously out of character. "Fort Louthier" probably is an invented name for the fort referred to in genuine documents as Carlisle Fort or as the Fort at Carlisle.

Maxwell's Fort was William Maxwell's between Upton and Welch Run, Franklin County. James McCullough's list of Indian victims reports that on "April 23, 1757, John Martin and William Blair was killed, and Patrick McClelland wounded in the shoulder, who afterwards died of his wound, near Maxwell's fort conococheague."⁵² As noted in the entry for Philip Davis' Fort, the Cherokee party that entered Pennsylvania on May 1 traveled from the mouth of the Conococheague by way of "Philip Davis' and Justice Maxwell's Forts."⁵³ The *Pennsylvania Gazette* on May 26, 1757, reported "that John Paul, and one Martin, were lately taken by six Indians, near Maxwell's Fort, in Conococheague, and carried to the Great Cove; but that Paul made his Escape from them in the Night." (McCullough's list identifies the men as "John Martin and Andrew Paul, and dates the event on May 12.) In July, 1757, Lieutenant Colonel Armstrong made "Will^m Maxwell's, near the Temporary line," the southernmost end of a line of some twenty small detachments assigned to protect the harvesters.⁵⁴ (See also "McField's Fort.")

⁴⁹ Shippen Family Papers.

⁵⁰ Hazard (ed.), *Register*, IV (1829), 390.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 416.

⁵² Loudon (ed.), *Narratives*, II, 207.

⁵³ *CR*, VII, 503.

⁵⁴ *PAI*, III, 239.

McCord's Fort was at William McCord's, about two and a half miles northeast of present Edenville, Franklin County. It was attacked and taken on April 1, 1756, by an Indian party headed by Shingas, who killed or captured twenty-seven persons. A detachment of Provincial troops of Captain Hance Hamilton's company from Fort Lyttelton and militia of Chambers' and Culbertson's companies, some fifty in all, overtook the retreating Indians at Sideling Hill on the following day, but were repulsed with the loss of seven soldiers and twelve militia killed and thirteen men wounded, one of whom later died. During the engagement Mary McCord was accidentally shot by the troops, but five of the Indians' prisoners, including two of William McCord's daughters, escaped to Fort Lyttelton.⁵⁵ According to a later report, "there were only three Indians killed; and that they carried but five of the Prisoners they took there to Kittatinning [Kittanning], having lost about 20 of them in the Woods."⁵⁶ One of these five, "Ann McCord, Wife of Jn^o McCord," was rescued from Kittanning by Armstrong's men on September 8, 1756.⁵⁷

McCormick's Fort appears in James McCullough's list of victims of Indian attacks: "May 13, 1757, two men killed near McCormick's Fort, at conococheague."⁵⁸ The *Pennsylvania Gazette* on May 26, 1757, reported news from Carlisle "That one William Walker was lately killed near McCormick's Fort, about six Miles from Shippensburg, and his Servant Girl carried off Prisoner." On September 15, however, the same publication, citing a letter of September 3 from Carlisle, said "that a Party of 18 Indians had been seen the Saturday before near McCormick's Fort, about seven Miles from Carlisle." Since it is about twenty-one miles from Carlisle to Shippensburg, this last statement seems to be in error, especially since the *Gazette* of September 29, 1757, reported "that on the Eighteenth two Children were carried off by the Enemy from McCormick's Fort, near Shippensburg."

McDowell's Fort was at John McDowell's mill, the present Markes, Franklin County. The work of fortification was begun on November 1, 1755, by the people of Peters Township under the direction of William Maxwell, captain of a local militia company; but from March until December, 1756, it was garrisoned as a Provincial fort. See the account of McDowell's Mill.

⁵⁵ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 8, 15, 22, 1756; *CR*, VII, 77 (where the date of the letter is to be corrected to April 4); *PA1*, II, 611-12, 617, 642-43; III, 315; *PA8*, V, 4366.

⁵⁶ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 9, 1756.

⁵⁷ *PA1*, II, 775.

⁵⁸ Loudon (ed.), *Narratives*, II, 207.

McField's Fort is mentioned in a letter of May 18, 1757, written to Governor Sharpe of Maryland by Captain Joseph Chapline, then at Baker's Fort at Conococheague: "There was Two Men taken away Captive out of Pennsylvania, near McField's Fort, the 12 Instant, about seven Miles from our Station, and one of them made his Escape, and got safe back to the Fort, and says, that he was taken by Six Indians."⁵⁹ The name seems to be an error for "Maxwell's Fort."

Mettol's Fort appears in Philip Bäder's petition of January 24, 1757: "That Your unfortuner petitioner has been Confinet, one week in mettols fort, one week in LittelTwon, Three week in Carleile . . ."⁶⁰ Bäder had a poor command of English and an indifferent clerk, and the name probably represents "McDowell's Fort."

Path Valley lies along the western edge of present Franklin County. Writing on November 3, 1755, to report the Indian attack on the Coves, William Maxwell reported from Peters Township "that the Most of the Inhabitants of the Path Valley are Encamp'd all together and in a Maner besieged they are a poor handful of people";⁶¹ three days later Adam Hoops wrote from "Canegogig" that "The people of the path valley is all Gethered Unto a Small forth, and the Last account was safe."⁶² No further reference or identification has been found.

Patterson's Fort at present Mexico, Juniata County, was originally a "private fort." James Patterson, who built the fort, was later commissioned captain of a Provincial company to be stationed at Fort Pomfret Castle on Mahantango Creek; but plans for that fort failing, Patterson's company took post at his own place. See the accounts of Fort Pomfret Castle and of Patterson's Fort or Fort George.

"*Fortt Pleasant*" appears in the date line of a letter of October 20, 1755, in which Tobias Hendricks asked "Arms and Ammunition for the Defence of this Fort and the 7th sons that has Joyned to it which is upwards of one hundred."⁶³ Hendricks, who acted as caretaker for the Proprietors' Manor of Lowther, lived at present Camp Hill, Cumberland County, and the natural assumption that he was writing from his home is supported by the fact that on November 5, 1755, George Stevenson wrote from York that "We have sent 53 Men well

⁵⁹ *Archives of Maryland*, LV, 337.

⁶⁰ PPC; printed in somewhat corrected form in CR, VII, 399.

⁶¹ Lamberton Scotch-Irish Collection, I, 25.

⁶² PA1, II, 474.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 438.

fited . . . to Tob^s Hendrix's to join the main Body of English Forces on the most needful Part of the Frontiers."⁶⁴

Robison's (Robinson's) Fort was west of present Loysville, Perry County. In January, 1756, about the time that Indians attacked near Patterson's Fort, they also killed a wool comber on Shermans Creek about ten miles from Carlisle.⁶⁵ Robert Robison in his recollections of Indian attacks said: "The next I remember of was . . . the Woolcomber's family on Shearman's creek; the whole of the inhabitants of the valley was gathered to a fort at George Robison's, but the Woolcomber would not leave home, he said it was the Irish who were killing one another, these peaceable people, the Indians, would not hurt any person."⁶⁶ Robison also told of "a murder done at our own fort in Shearman's valley, in July 1756," when three people were killed and two captured.⁶⁷ One of the latter, Hugh Gibson, who later escaped, has left two published accounts of his experiences⁶⁸ and as "Owen Gibson" appears in the well-known narrative of Marie LeRoy and Barbara Leininger.⁶⁹

Sharp's Fort is mentioned in relation to the story of Richard Bard (Baird, Beard), who was captured by Indians in Hamiltonban Township, present Adams County, on April 13, 1758, but escaped a few days later. A letter of May 2, which identifies the prisoner as "Thomas Baird," says his captors took him "through Conecocheague, by Sharp's and McCord's Forts, the Path Valley, and the Shades of Death."⁷⁰

The *Fort at Mr. Steel's Meeting House* was at present Church Hill, northeast of Mercersburg, Franklin County. "M^r Steells Meeting House" was one of the "Five large Forts" named on October 30, 1755, to be built by the county residents. Benjamin Chambers' letter of November 2 reported "The Great Cove is destroyed; James Campbell left this Company last night and went to the Fort at Mr. Steel's Meeting House, and there saw some of the Inhabitants of the Great Cove."⁷¹ The Reverend John Steel, pastor of the church, was active in local defense and on December 18, 1755, was supplied ammunition by the

⁶⁴ PPC; printed inaccurately in *PA1*, II, 514.

⁶⁵ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, February 5, 12, 1756.

⁶⁶ Loudon (ed.), *Narratives*, II, 171-72.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 181.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 192-95; Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, Third Series, VI (1837), 141-53.

⁶⁹ *PA2*, VII, 401-12 (1878 ed.).

⁷⁰ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, May 11, 1758. See also *PA1*, III, 391, 396-97; Loudon (ed.), *Narratives*, II, 57-75.

⁷¹ *CR*, VI, 675.

government.⁷² On March 25, 1756, he was commissioned a captain in the Provincial service and was stationed at McDowell's Mill.

Stewart's Fort appears on a rough map, undated but undoubtedly of 1756, showing the route from Carlisle to Fort Granville. It is shown on the southeast side of Tuscarora Creek, apparently in present Spruce Hill Township, Juniata County. This may have been the "fort at Tuscarora" supposed to have been attacked on March 29, 1756 (see also *Bigham's Fort*).⁷³

Fort at Tuscarora. See *Bigham's Fort* and *Stewart's Fort*.

YORK COUNTY

The western part of this county, present Adams County, suffered a few Indian attacks, and the county participated in plans for local defense. Citizens of this county joined with those of Cumberland County in the meeting at Shippensburg on October 30, 1755, at which it was decided to build "Five large Forts" for the safety of the settlers. York County volunteers marched toward John Harris' and to Carlisle a few days later to repel the rumored French and Indian invasion down the Susquehanna and to McDowell's Mill to oppose the Indians who on November 1 attacked the Coves. George Stevenson of York aided in both local and Provincial defense plans; and the Reverend Thomas Barton was, like the Reverend John Steel, a militia leader. On September 16, 1756, Richard Peters wrote Thomas Penn that since the previous November Mr. Barton had marched with his congregations on every alarm.⁷⁴

At York as at Lancaster, the alarms of late 1755 inspired thoughts of fortification, but here too the plans came to nothing; and on November 1 of that year George Stevenson wrote to Richard Peters that "All possible Attempts have been made here to Stockade this Town, but in Vain. . . ."⁷⁵

⁷² *PA2*, II, 695 (1876 ed.).

⁷³ Map in Lamberton Scotch-Irish Collection, I, 31. See also *PA1*, II, 613.

⁷⁴ Penn Manuscripts, Official Correspondence, VIII, 157.

⁷⁵ *PA1*, II, 449.

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